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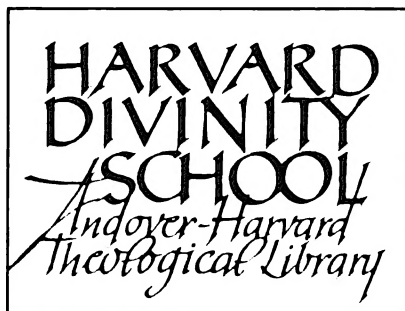
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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

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THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME V

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

BY

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RULES AND LIST OF MEMBERS

RULES

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of

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the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed : no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £10 10s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of

the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next Meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from three to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

The Library Committee.

PROF. PERCY GARDNER.

MR. WALTER LEAF.

MR. GEORGE MACMILLAN (*Hon. Sec.*).

MR. ERNEST MYERS.

REV. W. G. RUTHERFORD, LL.D.

Librarian.—MR. W. S. W. VAUX, 22, *Albemarle Street, W.*

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Thursday, March 12.

Thursday, May 7.

Thursday, June 25. (Annual.)

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 Mr. Alfred Biliotti, *H.B.M. Consul at Trebizond*.
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The Athenaion, *Athens*.
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 The Publications of the German Imperial Archaeological
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 The Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.
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THE SESSION OF 1884.

The First General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, March 13*, at 5 P.M., when PROFESSOR SIDNEY COLVIN, V.P., was in the chair.

MR. WALTER LEAF read a paper on certain details in the construction and harness of Homeric Chariots, with especial reference to *Iliad*, Book xxiv. (l. 265-74). (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 185). His main object was to show that Homer's account of the yoking of the mule-car was in substantial agreement both with the details found on Greek vases, and with the necessities of practical use.

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER read a paper on "Banqueting Scenes on Greek Tombs," pointing out that three views of their significance had been maintained by rival archaeologists: (1) that the banquet belonged to the past life of the person buried, being an ordinary event of every-day life, (2) that it stood for the sepulchral feast, or the offerings brought to the tomb of a dead man by his surviving family, (3) that it represented the sensual pleasures of the Greek Hades (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 105).

The Second General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, May 17*, at 5 P.M., PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, V.P., in the chair.

MR. THEODORE BENT read a paper on a recent visit to the Cyclades (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 42), pointing out that in

these islands might be studied (1) the great pre-historic empire of which traces have been found at Santorin, (2) the great age of Greek history, (3) the times of the Crusades, and (4) the character, customs, and language of the modern Greeks, nowhere so pure as here. Mr. Bent then proceeded to give an account of the pre-historic objects which he had found. The Chairman described the paper as of great interest, especially to the Society, as carrying out the kind of researches which it was especially intended to promote. He hoped that Mr. Bent would be able to carry his researches further. The pre-historic remains were particularly remarkable, because the little images, of which specimens had been shown, were always considered to belong to a very early period, and in these examples, a certain gradation in skill was more evident than in any previous case. Again, these rude images were here for the first time associated with equally rude pottery. Hitherto, the pottery found in connection with them had been decidedly later in character. This was a distinct advance of our knowledge of this pre-historic civilization.

MR. D. B. MONRO, Provost of Oriel, read a paper on the Epic Cycle, in continuation of one which appeared in Vol. IV. of the *Journal*. Of the Cyclic poems represented in the abstract of Proclus, Mr. Monro sketched the character and contents of the *Aethiopes* and *Iliou Persis* of Arctinus, and of the so-called *Little Iliad*, showing how they carry on the story of the *Iliad* with interesting differences in detail, introducing some incidents and ideas of a distinctly post-Homeric character, and in some cases giving variant versions of incidents used by the Tragic poets (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 1). The Chairman pointed out that the study of the Epic Cycle was of peculiar value in connection with the study of vases, where subjects taken not only from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but from the other poems, are of frequent occurrence. Professor Jebb said that the chronology of the Cyclic poems was specially interesting, as giving the only clue to the inferior limit of the date of Homer.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

Was held at 22, Albemarle Street, on *Thursday, June 26*, when the chair was taken by the BISHOP OF DURHAM, President of the Society. The following Report was read by the HON. SEC. on behalf of the Council:—

It was pointed out in the Report of last year that the resources of the Society did not as yet admit of much being done towards the fulfilment of its objects other than the publication of the *Journal*. The fourth volume of the *Journal*—containing an unusually full and varied collection of papers—must still be regarded as the chief fruit of the Society's labours in the year now ended. With the second part of the volume were issued three coloured plates, the exceptional cost of which seemed to the Council to be fully justified by the beauty of their workmanship and the unique interest of the paintings there reproduced.

The publication in the volume of 1883 of several more of the valuable series of papers in which Mr. W. M. Ramsay has from time to time recorded the results of his researches in Asia Minor, suggests a reference to the remarkable success of his work, with which the Society has from the first been at least indirectly associated. The Report issued by the Committee of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund some months ago was a most satisfactory proof of the results which the well-directed energy of the explorer has been able to achieve with comparatively small resources. So encouraging was this Report, and so strong was the testimony borne to the value of Mr. Ramsay's work by some of the leading scholars and archæologists of Europe, that the greater part of the further sum of £500 required for the continuation of the work was raised within a few weeks of the publication of the Report. Towards this sum the Council of this Society voted a contribution of £50. Mr. Ramsay has now started again into Phrygia, and has been joined by another member of the Society, Mr. A. H. Smith, who has contributed more than one paper to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Towards the expenses of Mr. Smith the sum of £100 has been voted from the Worts Fund by the University of Cambridge.

In last year's Report reference was made to a project for establishing a British School at Athens. In accordance with the intention there expressed, the Hellenic Society was last autumn invited to nominate two representatives to serve on the Executive Committee in charge of the scheme. In answer to this invitation Mr. Newton and Mr. Macmillan, who, with a good many other members of the Society were already members of the Committee in question, were, at the General Meeting of October 18, chosen to represent the Society.

The reproduction by photography of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles, which was undertaken two years ago under the sanction, though not upon the responsibility, of the Society, has been delayed longer than was anticipated. But the work is now far advanced, and it is confidently hoped that the copies may be ready for issue to the subscribers in the course of the coming autumn.

The financial position of the Society, as shown by the Balance Sheet now submitted, may be regarded as decidedly satisfactory. The total income of the year amounts, with last year's balance of £993. *os.* 11*d.* to £1,840. *2s.* 6*d.*, while the expenditure, which covers the total cost of two numbers of the *Journal*, and a considerable part of the cost of a third, amounts to £939. *os.* 6*d.*, leaving a balance in the banker's hands of £901. *2s.* But this expenditure includes £105 of Life Subscriptions invested in Consols during the year, thus raising the sum so invested to the sum of £493. *10s.* Against the balance of £901. *2s.* should be set liabilities—including the cost of printing Vol. IV. Part 2 of the *Journal*—amounting to about £235. On the other hand there are arrears of unpaid subscriptions amounting to about £150. The increase of members is decidedly greater than last

year, 74 against 49. This is no doubt partly due to the issue of a circular describing the position and objects of the Society, and inviting the candidature of all persons interested in Hellenic Studies. Copies of this circular may still be obtained from the Hon. Sec. by members who are willing to use their best efforts to obtain further support for the Society. It should be remembered that every year, by death or resignation, a certain loss occurs which must be made good. In the past year such loss amounts to 23.

Besides the 568 individual members, there are now 49 Libraries subscribing to the Journal, of which 17 have been added to the list since the last Annual Meeting. But satisfactory as its progress has been so far, much yet remains to be done if the Society is to fulfil all the objects which it professedly has in view.

The Council therefore, in conclusion, once more express the hope that members will lose no opportunity of making the Society known, and securing for it continually increasing support among all who have at heart the promotion of Hellenic Studies in this country.

This Report having been unanimously adopted on the motion of the Dean of Llandaff, seconded by Prof. Lewis Campbell, the President read out the list of Officers and Council, for the ensuing year, which was duly confirmed. The only change in the constitution of the Council was the appointment of Prof. L. Campbell, Mr. C. Waldstein and Mr. James Gow, in the place of Mr. Chenery deceased, and Mr. Peile and Prof. Mahaffy who retire. The President then delivered an address upon the work that had been done by the Society hitherto, and that might be done in the future. After expressing regret that he was only now for the first time appearing in the office which he felt it a high honour to hold, the Bishop of Durham sincerely congratulated the Society upon its achievements so far. The Journal, for its originality and scholarship, for the interest and variety of its articles, might challenge comparison with any similar periodical, whether English or foreign. Referring to the forthcoming reproduction by photography of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles, the President said that the reproduction of any unique manuscript was of essential importance, in the case of its loss by fire. It was satisfactory to note that the Society had taken an active part in promoting the scheme for a British School at Athens. It was hardly creditable that England should be so far behind her neighbours in the establishment of such a school, considering her close political connection with Greece, and her really wide interest in Greek literature. Until there was such a centre of work established on Greek soil Hellenic studies in England would be at a decided disadvantage. Referring to the Society's work in the field of exploration, the Bishop of Durham said that, perhaps, to most scholars Hellas proper presented greater attractions, but for his own part he ventured to think that the ground which had actually fallen to the lot of the Society would yield even richer results. Beneath the soil of Asia Minor lay hidden the key to many an interesting problem in history and ethnology. As an example might be cited the light recently thrown upon the remarkable extension of the Hittite empire. Referring to his own special line of study, the President dwelt in some detail upon the value of Mr. Ramsay's discoveries as illustrating the early history of the Christian Church in Phrygia, and showed by several examples how much might be learnt even from the finding on an inscription of a single name. Mr. Ramsay had still before him important and numerous discoveries, and it was greatly to be hoped that his work would not be hindered by lack of funds. The President, in conclusion, threw out two suggestions for the Society's work in the future. In the first place might be undertaken by competent persons the thorough investigation of the monastic and other libraries in the East. The investigators should be competent in every branch of Hellenic study, or some manuscripts of great value might escape if they chanced not to belong to their special department. Thus the invaluable manuscript of the Epistle of Clement of Rome was found only a few years ago in a library at Constantinople which had been already examined by three trained scholars, English, French, and German, all of whom were no doubt concentrating their attention on the discovery of classical manuscripts. But from any point of view the discovery of a piece of genuine Christian literature of the first century A.D.—

that great crisis in the world's history—was surely of the highest importance. Another work that might usefully be undertaken by the Society was the mapping out of subjects to be worked upon by competent young scholars, who would devote time and labour to their solution. Many vexed questions might be cleared up in this way. While congratulating the Society upon its achievements in the past, the President trusted that its ambition would not stop there, but push on its conquests to regions yet unconquered.

Mr. Gardner stated that the next number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* would not be published until the autumn, by which time an ample supply of papers would be forthcoming. He thought that if the excellent advice of the President as to the mapping out of subjects for investigation could be followed at Oxford and Cambridge, the greatest benefit would result both to the individual workers and to the cause of learning at large. Mr. Newton, in moving a vote of thanks to the auditors, took occasion to refer both to the work of the Society and to the general progress of archaeological research during the past year. He was peculiarly glad to hear from so great an authority as the President of the Society so high an estimation of Mr. Ramsay's work, for he had himself been concerned in appointing Mr. Ramsay as a travelling Fellow to the University of Oxford and in indicating his field of labour. Under extraordinary difficulties and in a comparatively short time Mr. Ramsay had established important historical results. Alluding to Mr. Wood's discoveries at Ephesus, Mr. Newton said that the inscriptions published in his book gave no idea of the store of facts contained in the mass of Ephesian inscriptions at the British Museum. In these, which had been carefully examined by Mr. Hicks and would be published next year, a new and most instructive light was thrown upon the constitution of the great hierarchy which governed the Temple of Artemis. It was a shameful thing, said the speaker, that when the Government grant had been exhausted Mr. Wood's frequent appeals to the British public for funds to carry on his researches had been practically unheard; whereas, when the grant made by the German Government for the excavation of Olympia had been exhausted, a sufficient sum was at once raised by private subscription to complete the excavation of the Altis. The great hope was that young men were now being trained at our Universities who would be in time competent to carry out the work of exploration. For twenty years past, in France and Germany, there had been a constant succession of young scholars, first sent to the schools at Athens, then upon special missions, and in course of time promoted to Chairs of archaeology at the different Universities. Such a supply of men, and such means of steady promotion, we might one day hope to see in England. After pointing out that much help might be given to exploration by wealthy Englishmen who went year after year to the Mediterranean in their yachts, Mr. Newton concluded with a rapid survey of the discoveries of the year, dwelling especially upon the remarkable tomb of a Seleucid monarch found by the Germans in Kurdistan. In Greece the plan of the Temple at Eleusis had been finally established, and at the entrance of the Temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus had been found a set of inscriptions recording in detail how certain miracles were worked.

The proceedings were concluded by a vote of thanks to the Chairman moved by Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel, and seconded by Mr. Henry Jackson.

THE POEMS OF THE EPIC CYCLE.

IN an article published in the last volume of this Journal I endeavoured to show (1) that the extant fragments of the 'chrestomathy' of Proclus represent the Trojan part of the 'Epic Cycle' more completely than has been maintained by eminent scholars; and (2) that, on the other hand, they are less trustworthy than they appear to be as a source of knowledge of the so-called 'Cyclic' poems. That is to say, the notion of a considerable *lacuna* in Proclus' abstract is not borne out by a more thorough examination of the only extant manuscript. But that abstract does not always give a full or accurate account of the several poems from which the Epic Cycle was made up. And this incompleteness is found (1) when two of the poems dealt with the same part of the story—in which case the abstract leaves out one of the two versions altogether;—and also (2) when the incidents of a poem are not in harmony with the accepted mythological narrative. In the latter case the abstract gives the version which was recognised as historically true. We have, in short, an account, not of the original poems, but of so much of their contents as served for a continuous and complete history of the world.

It is difficult to determine whether these omissions and alterations were made in the poems themselves—so that the 'Epic Cycle' consisted (to some extent at least) of *extracts*—or only in the account of them given by Proclus. On the latter view—which is supported by the high authority of Welcker—the Epic Cycle would be little more than a *canon* or accredited list of the most important ancient epics.

I have indicated a preference for the opinion that the 'poems of the Epic Cycle' had themselves undergone some process of mutilation to fit them for their place in the poetical chronicle. But for the purpose of the inquiry now before us it is immaterial how this question is decided. It will be enough if we bear in mind that the portion of narrative assigned to each poem in the abstract of Proclus does not always represent the plan and argument of the original work; consequently that the continuous and consistent narrative of the abstract is not due to the ancient 'Cyclic' poets themselves. And with this notion of a strict chronological sequence in the matter of the original poems, we must dismiss from our minds the unfavourable view which it implies of their merit as works of art. It cannot be too clearly understood that the *scriptor cyclicus* of Horace has nothing to do with the ancient epic poets now in question.

THE CYPRIA.

The first of the poems which composed the Trojan part of the Epic Cycle was the *Cypria*. It was in eleven books, and was generally attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, sometimes to Hegesias, or Hegesinus, of Salamis in Cyprus. The argument as given by Proclus is as follows:—

Zeus having consulted with Themis as to the lightening of the earth from the burden of its increasing multitudes, and being advised to bring about a great war, sends Discord to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and by means of the golden apple causes a quarrel between the three goddesses, Here, Athene, and Aphrodite. The victory of Aphrodite by the 'Judgment of Paris' leads to the voyage of Paris to Sparta, in which he is accompanied by Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite. The voyage is undertaken in spite of prophetic warnings from Helenus and Cassandra. On the return journey, according to Proclus' abstract, a storm was sent by Here, and Paris was driven out of his course as far as Sidon, which he took; but in the original poem, as we know from Herodotus (2. 117), he reached Troy in three days, with a fair wind and smooth sea. The story then returned to Sparta, and related the war of the Dioscuri with the Messenian twins, Idas and Lynceus, the death of Castor, and the alternate immortality granted by Zeus

to Castor and Pollux. Then come the preparations for the war. Menelaus goes for advice to Agamemnon, and then to Nestor, who relates the stories of Epopeus and the daughter of Lycus, of Oedipus, of the madness of Hercules, and of Theseus and Ariadne. They then make a circuit of Greece, and assemble the chiefs for the expedition against Troy. Ulysses, feigning madness to avoid serving, is detected by Palamedes. The fleet is mustered at Aulis in Boeotia, where the incident of the sparrows takes place, with the prophecy of Calchas founded upon it (*Il.* 2. 300 ff.). The Greeks then set sail, but land by mistake in Teuthrania, where they encounter the Mysians under Telephus. In this combat Telephus is wounded by Achilles. On leaving Teuthrania the fleet is scattered by a storm, and Achilles is cast on the island of Scyros, where he marries the daughter of Lycomedes. Telephus, on the advice of an oracle, comes to Argos, is cured of his wound by Achilles, and undertakes to serve as guide to the Greeks. The fleet is again assembled at Aulis, and this time we have the story of Iphigenia—ending, however, not with her death, but as in the version of the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. On the way to Troy Philoctetes is wounded by the serpent, and left behind on the island of Lemnos. Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon on a question of precedence at the banquet. On the Greeks landing in the Troad there is a battle in which Protesilaus is killed by Hector: then Achilles puts the Trojans to flight and slays Cynus, son of Poseidon. Then follows the embassy mentioned in *Il.* 3. 205 ff.: then an attack on the walls of Troy (*τειχομαχία*): after which the Greeks ravage the Troad and take the smaller towns. Achilles desires to see Helen, and the meeting is brought about by Aphrodite and Thetis. He restrains the Greeks from returning home, and performs various exploits mentioned or implied in the *Iliad*, ending with the taking of Thebe and the division of spoil in which he obtains Briseis as his prize. Next comes the death of Palamedes, and the resolve of Zeus to aid the Trojans by withdrawing Achilles from the Greek side. Finally there is a catalogue of the Trojan allies.

The number of fragments given in Kinkel's edition is twenty-two (besides three doubtful references). About half of them are quotations, amounting in all to more than forty lines. The

fragments add something to our knowledge of the details of the poem, and they serve (with the important exception of the passage of Herodotus mentioned above) to confirm the outline given by Proclus. Thus the opening lines (fr. 1 Kinkel) describe the 'counsel of Zeus' for the relief of the too populous earth (*ἦν ὅτε μύρια φῦλα κ.τ.λ.*). Two fragments (3 and 4) in Athenaeus probably describe Helen arraying herself for the judgment of Paris. Another in the same author (fr. 6) relates how Nemesis, the mother of Helen, was pursued by Zeus, and changed herself into many and various shapes to avoid him.

Several fragments (5, 7, 9, 14) belong to the episode of the Dioscuri: from one of them we learn that Lynceus was endowed with superhuman powers of sight, so that he could see from Taygetus over the whole Peloponnesus, and through the trunk of the oak in which the Dioscuri were hiding. Fr. 11 refers to the son born to Achilles in Scyros, and tells us that the name 'Pyrrhus,' which does not occur in Homer, was given by Lycomedes, the name 'Neoptolemus' by Phoenix. In fr. 16 we have the account given by the *Cypria* to explain how it happened that Chryseis, being a native of Chryse, was taken by Achilles in the sack of Thebe (*Il.* 1. 369). Regarding the death of Palamedes fr. 18 related that he was drowned while fishing, by Diomedes and Ulysses. There are also references in the fragments to the spear given by the gods to Peleus (fr. 2), the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon (fr. 13), the slaying of Protesilaus (fr. 14). There is also a notice (fr. 17) of a curious piece of mythology which does not appear at all in the argument of Proclus, viz. the story of Anius of Delos and his three daughters, called Οἰνώ, Σπερμώ, and Ἑλαΐς. These names were given to them on account of their magical power of producing an infinite quantity of wine, seed (i.e. corn), and oil; so that once when the Greek army was threatened with famine, Agamemnon (on the advice of Palamedes) sent for them, and they came accordingly to Rhoeteum and fed the Greek army.

The 'purpose of Zeus to relieve the Trojans,' with which Proclus ends his abstract of the *Cypria*, was obviously intended to lead up to the opening lines of the *Iliad*, and in particular to the famous words in the fifth line—*Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή*. If so, the whole poem must have been composed as an introduc-

tion to the *Iliad*, like the *Ante-homerica* of the later epic poets. It may be doubted, however, whether this extreme subservience to Homer can be attributed to the original poet. He begins his work, as we have seen, with a 'purpose of Zeus' to bring about the war—

ὄφρα κενώσκειεν θανάτῳ βάρος, οἱ δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ
ἥρωες κτείνονται, Διὸς δ' ἐτελέετο βουλή.

Here there is a no less evident echo of the words of the *Iliad*, but with the effect of putting a different meaning upon them. The question therefore arises—is it likely that the author of the *Cypria* would *twice* make use of the notion of a purpose of Zeus, in both cases clearly pointing to the βουλή Διὸς of the *Iliad*, but involving two entirely different interpretations of that phrase? If not, we must suppose that the βουλή Διὸς placed at the end of the *Cypria* by Proclus does not belong to the original poem, but was introduced (like the expedition to Sidon) for the sake of agreement with Homer.

Of the plan and structure of the *Cypria* we learn something from the *Poetics* of Aristotle, where it is given as an example of the poems that have 'one hero, one time, and one action, consisting of many parts' (περὶ ἓνα καὶ περὶ ἓνα χρόνον καὶ μίαν πράξιν πολυμερῆ). The hero is evidently Paris; the main action is the carrying away of Helen (Ἑλένης ἀρπαγή). The 'one time' is more difficult to understand, in a poem which begins with the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and comes down to a late period in the Trojan war. Possibly the time was shortened by the device of introducing the earlier part of the story in the form of an episode (as in the *Odyssey*), but of this there is no trace in our authorities. A further element of unity, however is furnished by the agency of Aphrodite, which has very much the same prevailing influence over the course of events in the *Cypria* that the agency of Athene has in the *Odyssey*. This may be seen even in minor incidents, such as the visit of Achilles to Helen, and in the prominence given to Aeneas. The hero, accordingly, is the favourite of Aphrodite, just as the hero of the *Odyssey* is the favourite of Athene. We may gather, therefore, that the poem was characterised by a distinct *ethos*, or vein of moral feeling. On the other hand, it

is proved by the testimony of Aristotle that the *Cypria* had much less unity of plan than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It was not indeed one of the poems in which all the adventures of a hero are strung together, as in the later *Theseids* and *Heracleids* of which Aristotle speaks in another place (*Poet.* c. 8). But the several parts of the action had an independent interest and artistic value, such as we do not find in the Homeric poems: they were not so completely subordinated to the main action as to be lost in it. In support of this criticism Aristotle points to the fact (noticed in the previous article, see vol. iv. p. 317) that the story of the *Cypria* yielded a great many subjects for tragedies, whereas the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not lend themselves readily to this mode of treatment. Other reasons may have contributed to this result; it may be urged, for instance, that the battles and debates of Homer were beyond the resources of Greek stage machinery, and that most of the adventures of Ulysses are without interest of a tragic kind. But this need not affect the conclusion which Aristotle wishes to enforce, viz. the difference, in respect of unity of structure, between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems. On such a matter his judgment can hardly be disputed. Moreover, it is confirmed by the argument of Proclus, and the fragments. The events which we there find in outline cover a space of several years, and are enacted in many places—the scene changing from Thessaly to Mt. Ida and Troy, then to Sparta, and back to Troy; then to Messenia, then over Greece and so to the meeting-place at Aulis; then to Mysia, Scyros, Argos, Aulis again, and so once more to the Troad. As regards the external unities of space and time, it is clear that the *Cypria* was formed on a different model from either of the Homeric poems.

Turning from the plan and structure of the *Cypria* to consider the details, we find in the first place, that there is clear evidence that the poem was composed with direct reference to the *Iliad*, to which it was to serve as an introduction. Thus the account of the *Βουλὴ Διὸς* at the outset (fr. 1), as has been observed, is evidently founded upon the Homeric *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή* (*Il.* 1. 5), to which it gives a meaning which was certainly not intended by the poet. The story that when Thebe was taken by the Greeks Chryseis had come thither for a sacrifice to

Artemis (fr. 16) is clearly a device to reconcile an apparent contradiction in the first book of the *Iliad*. So the taking of Lyrnessus and Pedasus (fr. 15) is suggested by *Il.* 2. 690., 20. 92; the giving of a spear to Peleus at his marriage (fr. 2) by *Il.* 16. 140; the embassy to Troy by *Il.* 3. 205; the portents seen at Aulis by *Il.* 2. 301 ff. We might add the slaying of Protesilaus (fr. 14), the landing of Achilles in Scyros, and birth of Neoptolemus (fr. 11), and the incident of Philoctetes; but in these cases it is possible that the story was part of a legend which survived independently of Homer. The catalogue of the Trojan allies, however, must have been intended to supplement the list given in *Il.* 2. 816 ff., which is so much briefer than the catalogue of the Greek army. Such an enlarged roll would be the natural fruit of increased acquaintance with the non-Hellenic races of Asia Minor.

On the other hand, it is no less apparent that a large proportion of the incidents of the *Cypria* belong to groups of legend unknown to Homer.

1. The train of events with which the poem opens—the purpose of depopulating the earth, the Apple of Discord, &c.—seems to be a post-Homeric creation. The only incident in the series to which there is an allusion in Homer is the Judgment of Paris, of whom it is said in *Il.* 24. 29, 30—

ὅς νείκεσσε θεὰς δτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο,
τὴν δ' ἦνυσ' ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.

Aristarchus obelised the passage on the ground (among others) that *νείκεσσε* is inappropriate, since it does not mean 'decided against,' but 'scolded,' 'flouted.' This however would rather show that the lines belong to a different version of the incident; and the same thing is suggested by *δτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο*, and the ambiguous phrase *πόρε μαχλοσύνην*. We must imagine Paris visited in his shepherd's hut by the three goddesses, spurning the two first and welcoming Aphrodite. This, we may reasonably conjecture, was the local form of the legend. It is parallel in some respects to the legend of Anchises (given in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite), and to other stories, told especially in Asia Minor, of 'gods coming down in the likeness of men.' It is evident that the ordinary

version of the Judgment of Paris is less simple, and might be created by the wish to fit it into the main narrative of the Trojan War. It should be added that the 24th book of the *Iliad* is probably later than the rest, and that in any case there is no hint in Homer that the action of Paris towards the goddesses had any connection with his expedition to Sparta. Everything, in short, tends to show that the story was recast in post-Homeric times, with the view of enhancing the importance of Aphrodite in the Trojan story.

2. The episode of the Dioscuri appears to be a piece of local Spartan or perhaps Messenian legend. The Messenian Twin Brethren, Idas and Lynceus, are unknown to Homer. The apotheosis of the Dioscuri is inconsistent with the language of the *Iliad* (3. 243 τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φουσίζοος αἰα), and moreover belongs to a distinctly post-Homeric order of ideas.

3. The landing in Mysia, with the story of Telephus, has all the appearance of a graft upon the original story, probably derived from local Mysian tradition. The awkward expedient of a second muster of the fleet at Aulis was evidently made necessary by this interpolation. The miraculous healing of Telephus by Achilles is not in the manner of Homer, and the representation of him as guiding the fleet to the Troad is at variance with the *Iliad*, which assigns this service to Calchas.

4. The story of Iphigenia is non-Homeric. The daughters of Agamemnon, according to Homer (*Il.* 9. 145), are—

Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα.

Some later authorities supposed Iphigenia to be another name for Iphianassa, but the author of the *Cypria*, as we learn from the scholiast on Sophocles (*El.* 157), distinguished them, thus making four in all.¹ This may be regarded as an attempt to reconcile the account of Homer with the legend of the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

The version given in the *Cypria* (if we may trust the argument of Proclus) was that of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, according to which Iphigenia was not put to death,

¹ This is the meaning of the words
 ἢ ὥς δ' τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας τέσσαρ' ἀφ' ἑσθ' ἰφίγενειαν καὶ ἰφιάνασσαν, i.e.
 'counting Iphigenia and Iphianassa.'

With this punctuation it is unnecessary to emend as Elmsley proposed (reading δ' as διαφόρους, instead of the numeral τέσσαρας).

but was carried off by Artemis to be the priestess of her Taurian altar, and as such to be immortal. This form of the story is necessarily later than the Greek settlements on the northern coasts of the Euxine; possibly, however, it was not in the original text of the poem.

5. Cynus, the 'Swan-hero,' son of Poseidon, is a non-Homeric figure. In later accounts he is invulnerable, and can only be despatched by being forced to leap into the sea. According to another version he is changed into a swan, like the *Schwan-ritter* of German legend. As the argument of Proclus merely says that he was killed by Achilles, we cannot tell how much of this marvellous character belongs to him in the *Cypria*. In any case he is a being of a fantastic kind, such as we might meet with in the adventures of Ulysses, but certainly not among the warriors who fought in the battles of the *Iliad*.

6. Palamedes is an important addition to the Homeric group of *dramatis personae*. In the *Cypria* he detects the feigned madness of Ulysses (Procl.), and is drowned while fishing by Ulysses and Diomedes (fr. 18). In later writers he appears as a hero of a new type, one of those who have benefited mankind by their inventions; and his fate thus acquires something of the interest of a martyrdom. As the enemy of Ulysses he represents the higher kind of intelligence, in contrast to mere selfish cunning; he is *callertior isto, sed sibi inutilior*, in the words which Ovid puts into the mouth of Ajax (*Metam.* 13. 37). It is impossible to say how far this view of the character of Palamedes was brought out in the ancient epic poem. The story of his death certainly assumed a much more highly-wrought and pathetic form, familiar to us from the reference to him in Virgil (*Æn.* 2. 81 ff.)—

quem falsa sub proditione Pelasgi
Insontem, infando indicio, quia bella vetabat,
Demisere neci; nunc cassum lumine lugent.

But the germ of all this, the contrast between the wisdom of Palamedes and the wisdom of Ulysses, with the consequent lowering of the character of Ulysses, is fairly to be traced to the *Cypria*. We must feel at least that the murder of Palamedes by Ulysses and Diomedes would be as impossible in Homer as it is in harmony with some later representations.

7. The prophecies in the *Cypria* deserve some notice. When Paris builds ships for his expedition, the consequences are foretold by Helenus. Again, before he sails he is warned by Cassandra, whose gift of prophecy is unknown to Homer. Telephus comes to Argos to be cured *κατὰ μαντείας*. Finally, as Welcker pointed out, the prophecy of Nereus in Horace (*Od.* 1. 15) probably comes from the *Cypria*. The words—

Ingrato celeres obruit otio
Ventos

agree with the 'fair wind and smooth sea' of the quotation in Herodotus (2. 117). The passage from which this quotation came is omitted (as we have seen) in the argument of Proclus; hence we need not be surprised if the prophecy of Nereus is also unnoticed.

8. The statement that Helen was the daughter of Nemesis is peculiar to the *Cypria*. It may be connected, as Welcker thought, with the local worship of Nemesis in Attica. It is to be observed, however, that the author of the *Cypria* is fond of treating personifications of this kind as agents: compare the consultation of Themis, and the sending of Discord with the apple. Such figures occur in Homer, but are much more shadowy and impalpable. The notion of a 'purpose of Zeus' as the ground-work of the whole action shows the same tendency to put moral abstractions in the place of the simpler Homeric agencies.

The Protean changes of Nemesis when pursued by Zeus belong to a category already noticed as characteristic of the *Cypria*. Other examples are, the Apple of Discord, the healing of Telephus, the marvellous sight of Lynceus, the supernatural powers of the daughters of Anius. The notion of *magical* efficacy residing in certain persons or objects is one which in Homer is confined to the 'outer geography' of the *Odyssey*.

The attempt which has now been made to ascertain the relation between the *Cypria* and the Homeric poems has turned almost entirely upon points of agreement and difference between the *Cypria* and the *Iliad*. This however is only what was to be expected, since the *Cypria* and the *Odyssey* lie too far apart in respect of matter to furnish many points of comparison. Subject to this reservation the result seems to be to show, with cumulative and irresistible force, that between the

time of Homer and the time of the *Cypria* great additions had been made to the body of legends and traditions available for the purposes of epic poetry ; that that increase was due, in a large measure at least, to the opening up of new local sources of legend ; that concurrently with it a marked change had come over the tone and spirit of the stories ; and finally, that all this change and development had taken place in spite of the fact that the author of the *Cypria* wrote under the direct influence of Homer, and with the view of furnishing an introduction to the events of the *Iliad*.

THE *ÆTHIOPIS* OF ARCTINUS.

As the *Iliad* was introduced by the *Cypria*, so it was continued in the *Æthiopis* of Arctinus of Miletus, a poem in five books, of which Proclus gives the following argument :—

The Amazon queen Penthesilea, daughter of Ares, comes as an ally of Troy. After performing great deeds she is killed by Achilles, and duly buried by the Trojans. There was a rumour that Achilles in the moment of victory had been seized by a passion for the fallen Amazon, and on this ground he is assailed in the Greek assembly by Thersites. He kills Thersites, and the deed provokes a quarrel in the army ; thereupon Achilles sails to Lesbos, and having duly sacrificed to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, is purified from the homicide by Ulysses. Then Memnon, son of Eos, arrives to aid the Trojans, with a panoply made by Hephaestus, and Thetis reveals to her son what the fortune of this new ally will be. Memnon slays Antilochus, and is slain by Achilles ; thereupon Eos obtains for him the gift of immortality. In the rout of the Trojans which ensues, Achilles enters the city after them, and is killed in the Scaean gate by Paris and Apollo. His body is brought back after a stubborn fight by Ajax, who carries it to the ships, whilst Ulysses keeps off the Trojans. Then follows the burial of Antilochus, and Thetis, with the Muses and the Nereids, performs a lamentation for her son. When he has been placed on the funeral pyre she carries him off to the island Leuce. The Greeks having raised the sepulchral mound hold funeral games, and a quarrel arises between Ajax and Ulysses for the succession to the arms of Achilles.

The tablet known as the *Tabula Veronensis*¹ (now in the Louvre) gives the following brief summary of the *Aethiopis*:—
 Πενθεσίληα Ἀμαζῶν παραγίνεται. Ἀχιλλεὺς Πενθεσίληαν ἀποκτείνει. Μένων Ἀντίλοχον ἀποκτείνει. Ἀχιλλεὺς Μένωνα ἀποκτείνει. ἐν ταῖς Σκαίαις πύλαις Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπὸ Πάριδος ἀναιρεῖται. It seems very probable that these five sentences answer to the five books into which we know that the poem was divided. If so, the argument may be distributed somewhat as follows:—

I. Arrival of Penthesilea—her ἀριστεία.

II. Slaying of Penthesilea—interval of truce, occupied on the Trojan side by her burial, on the Greek side by the Thersites-scene and the withdrawal of Achilles.

III. Arrival and ἀριστεία of Memnon—he slays Antilochus.

IV. Achilles returns to the field, slays Memnon, and puts the Trojans to flight.

V. Death of Achilles in the gate—battle for the recovery of his body—θρῆνος and apotheosis of Achilles—funeral games and contest for his arms.

From the statement of the scholiast on Pindar (*Isth.* 3. 53), that according to the *Aethiopis* Ajax killed himself about dawn, it would appear that the story was brought down a little further than Proclus gives it. The reason for the omission would be that the contest for the arms and death of Ajax fell within the story of the *Little Iliad*.²

The Townley scholia on the *Iliad* contain the statement, that in the place of the line which ends the poem in all MSS.,

ὥς οἳ γ' ἀμφίλεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο

some copies had the two lines,

ὥς οἳ γ' ἀμφίλεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζῶν
 Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνιοιο.

These lines are evidently meant to introduce the story of the *Aethiopis*, and were believed by Welcker to be the opening words of the poem itself (*Ep. Cycl.* 1². p. 199). Others, as

¹ Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* ii. p. 524; Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, Tab. iii. D'.

signed by Kinkel to the *Aethiopis* (fr. 3 in his edition), seems to me to belong

² The quotation of eight lines as to the *Ἰλίου πέρσις*; see p. 28.

Bernhardy, have thought that they were framed for the purpose of connecting the two poems in a collection or compilation, such as the Epic Cycle. The latter view is probably nearer the truth. There is a very similar passage of four lines at the end of the *Theogony* of Hesiod :—

αὔται μὲν θνητοῖσι παρ' ἀνδράσιν εὐνηθεῖσαι
 ἀθάνατοι γέλαντο θεοῖς ἐπιέλκελα τέκνα'
 νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φύλον αἰέσατε, ἡδυνέπειαι
 Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

These lines are in the form of a transition to the lost Hesiodic *Κατάλογος Γυναικῶν*, and accordingly they have been thought by some commentators to be in fact the first four lines of that poem. Two MSS., however, omit them altogether, and several others omit the last two of the four, thus leaving the clause *αὔται μὲν κ.τ.λ.* without an apodosis. Comparing these facts with the case of the two lines at the end of the *Iliad*, we see that the circumstances are almost exactly parallel. The single line which stands in our copies is incomplete. Like all the sentences in Homer that begin with *ὥς οἷ γε*, and the like, it is the first half of a formula of transition. The Townley scholia have preserved the original form of the couplet. The difference between the two cases is that no MSS. of the *Iliad* (so far as our *apparatus criticus* extends) omit the formula altogether. It only remains, then, to consider the probable source and date of transitions of this kind between two different poems. The opinion that the lines in the *Theogony* were the beginning of another Hesiodic poem is rejected by Marckscheffel (*Hesiodi &c. fragmenta*, p. 100). He is doubtless right, and in any case the two lines of the Townley scholia cannot have been the original opening of the *Aethiopis*. Apart from the silence of the scholia, and the difficulty of understanding why the lines should ever have appeared in manuscripts of the *Iliad*, it is impossible to suppose that the *Aethiopis* began with words which would be meaningless unless the hearer remembered the end of the *Iliad*. This would be something quite different from the general knowledge of and subordination to Homer which we trace in the 'Cyclic' poets. Both in the *Iliad* and in the *Theogony* the lines in dispute have the appearance of a sort of *catchword* added to prepare the reader for the next poem, as

in printed books the heading of a chapter used to be placed at the foot of the preceding page. Such catchwords imply of course that the poems were read in a recognised order. The habit of inserting them may have begun in the Alexandrine age, when the chief works in each branch of literature were collected and arranged in a 'canon' or accepted list. After the formula had been confused with the text of the author, it was an easy further step to leave out the latter part of it, as being wholly irrelevant to the subject of the poem.

In passing from the *Cypria* to the *Aethiopis* we are struck at once with the greater simplicity and unity of the poem. The action falls within nearly the same limits of space and time as that of the *Iliad*. There are two days of battle, separated by an interval which need not be supposed to be a long one. The second battle is quickly followed by the funeral games, with which the concluding events are immediately connected. The hero of the poem is Achilles; the main event is his death, and to this the rest of the action, as far as we can judge, is kept in due subordination.

While the plan of the *Aethiopis* may claim to be of the Homeric type, the proportion of incidents founded upon references in Homer is comparatively small. The death of Achilles takes place as foreshadowed in the prophecy of Hector (*Il.* 22. 359, 360):—

ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἔσθλ' ἔοντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαίῃσι πύλῃσι.

This, however, is a circumstance which may well have been part of the ancient myth, anterior to the *Iliad* itself. Antilochus is said in the *Odyssey* (4. 187), to have been slain by the 'son of Eos,' but there is nothing in Homer to connect Memnon with the Ethiopians. The Amazons, again, are mentioned in the *Iliad*, but (like the Ethiopians of the *Odyssey*) they belong to a distant and fanciful region. The funeral games held in honour of Achilles, and the lament for him performed by Thetis and the attendant Muses and Nereids, are described in the last book

of the *Odyssey* (24. 36-97). The burning of the body, mentioned in the same passage of the *Odyssey* (24. 71-79), was replaced in the *Aethiopis* by a species of apotheosis in harmony, with later religious and national feeling.¹

These are perhaps the only cases in which Arctinus can be thought to have directly borrowed the matter of the *Aethiopis* from Homer. Nevertheless the whole course of the events on which the poem is founded is closely parallel to the story of the *Iliad*. The hero is the same, and he again quarrels with the Greeks and leaves them for a time. Thetis has the same part as in the *Iliad*—that of consoling her son and warning him of the future. Antilochus apparently takes the place of Patroclus as the friend of Achilles. Like Patroclus, he is the warrior whose fate comes next to that of Achilles in tragic interest, whose death at the hands of the Trojan champion is immediately avenged by Achilles himself. Achilles, again, when he has pursued the Trojans into the city, is killed by Apollo and Paris; as Patroclus, drawn too far in a like victorious course, was killed by Apollo and Hector. The contest which follows for the recovery of the body of Achilles is a repetition of the contest in the seventeenth book over Patroclus. Compare especially the passage (*Il.* 17. 715 ff.) where Menelaus and Meriones raise the body aloft, while the two Ajaxes keep the Trojans at bay, with the similar parts taken in the *Aethiopis* by Ajax and Ulysses respectively. The armour of Achilles has its counterpart in the armour of Memnon, which is equally the work of Hephaestus. Achilles gives up the body of Penthesilea, as he gave up Hector to Priam. There is once more a scene with Thersites, and the battles of the poem are wound up by a *θρήνος*, a funeral, and funeral games.

In these points we have to recognise not so much borrowing as *imitation*, that is to say, a close adherence to the *motifs* and artistic forms of the *Iliad*. It has been already pointed out that the plan of the *Aethiopis* is essentially Homeric in type, and this observation may now be extended to the characters and incidents. The ancient tradition that Arctinus was a

¹ It will be remembered here that the twenty-fourth book of the *Odyssey* is very commonly thought to be later than the bulk of the poem. But the

discrepancy noticed in the text (with regard to the body of Achilles) seems to show that it is at least older than the *Aethiopis*.

disciple of Homer (*Ὁμήρου μαθητής*, Suid.), is fully borne out by what we know thus far of his work.

It may be objected here that the correspondences now insisted upon between the *Aethiopis* and the *Iliad* go to show that the two works belong to the same age or school, but not that the *Iliad* is the original of which the other is an imitation. This defect may be supplied by an examination of the various post-Homeric elements in the *Aethiopis*:—

1. As has been already noticed, the episode of the Amazons is unknown to Homer.¹

2. The episode of Memnon and the Ethiopians is also substantially post-Homeric, though the *Odyssey* speaks of Nestor as weeping for his son Antilochus (*Od.* 4. 187)—

δν ῥ' Ἡοῦς ἔκτεινε φαιεινῆς ἀγλαὸς υἱός.

But the Ethiopians of the *Odyssey* are far too remote from the known world of Homer to have taken part in the Trojan War. Both the Amazons and the Ethiopians are nations of a fabulous type that we do not meet with in the *Iliad* at all. Their appearance in the *Aethiopis* is evidently due to an inclination towards the romantic and marvellous, of which several examples have been already noticed in the *Cypria*.

3. The carrying away of Achilles to the island of Leuce is an incident which reminds us of the death of Sarpedon in the *Iliad* (16. 450, 667), but the gift of immortality is new. It is connected with the custom of hero-worship, the absence of which is so distinctive a mark of the Homeric age. The choice of Leuce as the abode of Achilles is also significant. It was an island in the Euxine opposite the mouth of the Danube, and in historical times we find the worship of Achilles widely spread on the neighbouring coasts. Thus Alcaeus addresses him as presiding hero of Scythia,² and Herodotus (4. 55) describes the strip of land called Ἀχιλλῆϊος δρόμος near the mouth of the Borysthenes. This diffusion of Greek traditions and Greek religious ideas must have been mainly brought about by the numerous colonies of Miletus, which

¹ Strabo (xii. 24, p. 552) speaks as if it were an established fact that the Amazons took no part in the Trojan war. He was probably unacquainted

with the poems of Arctinus: see the remarks on p. 36.

² Ἀχιλλεῦ δ τὰς Σκυθικὰς νέμεις (Alc. fr. 49).

occupied the coasts of the Euxine in the early prosperous times of Ionia; it is therefore no accidental coincidence that a poet of Miletus should be the earliest witness of the fact. It has been doubted, indeed, whether the Leuce of the poet is the real island afterwards so called. According to the received chronology the period of Milesian colonisation is rather later than Arctinus. The original Leuce may have been purely mythical, the 'island of Light,' like the Elysian plain in the *Odyssey*. The name would naturally be attached in course of time to a real place, especially a place in the centre of a region over which the worship of the new hero extended. If we accept this view, which however is only necessary on the assumption that Arctinus is of the eighth century B.C., and therefore anterior to the Milesian settlements, the evidence of the *Aethiopis* is transferred to Miletus itself. The mention of Leuce will then serve at least to connect the *Aethiopis* with the time when the Ionian trading cities, of which Miletus was chief, had begun to adopt the new religious practices that grew up, after the Homeric age, in honour of the national heroes.

4. The immortality granted to Memnon is a further exemplification of the new ideas. It is true that two similar instances are found in our text of the *Odyssey*, viz., the immortality of Menelaus in the Elysian plain (*Od.* 4. 563), and the apotheosis of Heracles (*Od.* 11. 601). The latter however is almost certainly spurious, since it is inconsistent with all that is said of Heracles elsewhere in Homer. The passage about Menelaus may also be an interpolation; in any case it stands alone, and the *Niad* (as we see especially from the case of Sarpedon) shows no trace of the notion.

5. Another incident of a post-Homeric kind is the purification of Achilles from the guilt of homicide, after sacrifice to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. There are references in Homer to compensation paid to the relatives of the slain man, but never to any purification by means of ritual, nor is Apollo ever represented as deliverer from guilt (*καθάρσιος*), which afterwards became one of his most prominent characters. The whole idea of *pollution* as a consequence of wrong-doing is foreign to Homer.

It seems to follow from these considerations that the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus, like the *Cypria*, was a work of considerably later

date than the *Iliad*. As to its relation to the *Odyssey* the evidence is (in the nature of the case) too scanty to justify a definite conclusion; and while it is apparent that the *Aethiopis* was materially different from the *Cypria* in point of artistic structure, and probably in style and spirit, we cannot but see on the one hand that it was influenced in the same degree by the example and authority of Homer, on the other hand that it showed equally decisive traces of change and progress, both in external circumstances and in moral and religious ideas.

THE LITTLE ILIAD.

The abstract of the *Little Iliad* given by Proclus represents it as a poem in four books, which related the events of the Trojan War from the award of the arms of Achilles to the bringing of the Wooden Horse into the city. The original poem, as was shown in the former article (vol. iv. p. 318), brought the story down to the departure of the Greeks, and thus came into competition with the *Ἰλίου πέποις* (*Sack of Troy*) of Arctinus. Proclus accordingly passes over the latter part of the *Little Iliad*—either because it was not taken into the Epic Cycle, or (on Welcker's view) because his object was to give the series of events rather than the contents of the different poems. The want is supplied in great measure by the statement of Aristotle (already quoted) about the tragedies taken from the *Little Iliad*, and still more by the passage in Pausanias (x. 25—27) describing the celebrated paintings by Polygnotus in the *lesche* at Delphi. These paintings represented scenes from the capture of Troy, and we are expressly told by Pausanias that in them Polygnotus followed the account of the *Little Iliad*. From this source we learn more of the details of the poem than is known of any other part of the Epic Cycle.

The *Little Iliad* was generally ascribed to Lesches of Mitylene (or Pyrrha), but by some to Thestorides of Phocaea, by others (among whom was the historian Hellanicus of Lesbos) to Cinaethon of Sparta, by others to Diodorus of Erythrae.¹ There was

¹ C. Robert (*Bild und Lied*, p. 226) points out that the authority of Hellanicus tells strongly against Lesches. Had there been an old tradition of the

also a story (like the one told of Stasinus and the *Cypria*) that Homer was himself the author, and gave it to Thestorides of Phocaea in return for lodging and maintenance (*Ps. Hdt. Vit. Hom.*, § 15 ff.).

Of the ten tragedies said by Aristotle to be founded upon episodes of the *Little Iliad*, the first six cover the same ground as Proclus' abstract of the poem. The order of the titles, too, as they stand in the Aristotelian list agrees exactly with the order of events as given by Proclus. The account of Proclus therefore is verified by the high authority of Aristotle, down to the point at which Proclus—or the compiler of the Epic Cycle—deserted the *Little Iliad* for the *Niupersis* of Arctinus. In the earlier part of the poem, accordingly, the incidents were as follows:—

(1) The *Judgment of the Arms* (κρίσις ὅπλων). The arms, by the influence of Athene, are adjudged to Ulysses; the madness and suicide of Ajax follow.

(2) The *Philoctetes*. Ulysses having taken Helenus prisoner, and obtained from him an oracle about the capture of Troy, Philoctetes is brought from Lemnos by Diomedes, is healed by Machaon, and kills Paris. The dead body of Paris is treated with indignity by Menelaus, then given up to the Trojans and buried. Deiphobus becomes the husband of Helen.

(3) The *Neoptolemus*. Ulysses brings Neoptolemus from Scyros and gives him the arms of Achilles. The shade of Achilles appears to him.

(4) The *Eurypylus*. Eurypylus, the son of Telephus, now comes as a fresh ally of the Trojans. After doing great deeds he is slain by Neoptolemus. The Trojans are now closely besieged, and the Wooden Horse is made by Epeius, under the guidance of Athene.

(5) The *πρωχλα*. Ulysses maltreats himself, and enters Troy in beggar's disguise. He is recognised by Helen, with whom he confers regarding the capture of the city, and fights his way back to the camp.

(6) The *Λάκαινα*. The Palladium of Troy is carried off by Ulysses and Diomedes.¹ The Greeks then man the Wooden

Lesbian origin of the *Little Iliad*, Helanicius as a Lesbian would probably have given it his support. It is worth notice that the poem is ascribed to

authors belonging to all the great divisions of the Hellenic race.

¹ We have no express statement as to the subject of the *Λάκαινα*, but there

Horse with the chief warriors and make their feigned retreat; the Wooden Horse is taken into the city, and great rejoicings are held by the Trojans over their fancied deliverance.

The remaining plays mentioned by Aristotle are :—

(7) The *Sack of Troy* (Ἰλίου πέρσις).

(8) The *Departure of the Greeks* (ἀπόπλους), which is also the last incident in the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus.

(9) The *Sinon*—doubtless founded on the same story as is given in the argument of the *Iliupersis*, and with full detail in the *Aeneid*.

(10) The *Troades*, in all probability the extant play of the name, which turns upon events that immediately followed the capture.

It is worthy of notice that the two last plays are out of their chronological order, since they turn upon subordinate incidents belonging to the subject of the seventh, the *Sack of Troy*. This is not the only indication that they stand on a different footing from the rest—that they are of the nature of an after-thought. Aristotle begins by saying that there were 'more than eight' plays taken from the *Little Iliad*. We may gather that he had eight in his mind that were clearly taken from the poem, besides others that had been more or less altered in the process of fitting them for the stage.

About twenty lines of the *Little Iliad* survive, besides numerous references. The opening lines were—

Ἴλιον αἰεὶδω καὶ Δαρδανίην ἑὺπῶλον,
ἥς πέρι πολλὰ πάθον Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἄργος.

It was therefore an *Iliad* in the proper sense of the term. The subject was the fall of Troy, and the various episodes were necessary steps towards that end.

The next in the series of quotations (fr. 2) has the interest of being referred to by the poet Aristophanes, in a passage of the *Knights* (1056). It comes from the first part of the poem, the *Judgment of the Arms*. According to the *Little Iliad* the Greeks, on the advice of Nestor, sent spies to listen under the walls of Troy for some saying that would enable them to decide

is no room for doubt. The play is evidently named from the chorus, which consisted of the Spartan maidens in the service of Helen.

the quarrel. The spies heard the Trojan maidens disputing on the question at issue. One said that Ajax was by far the bravest—

Αἶας μὲν γὰρ ἄειρε καὶ ἔκφερε δηϊοτῆτος
ἦρω Πηλεΐδην, οὐδ' ἤθελε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

To which another answered, by the inspiration of Athene—

πῶς ἐπεφωνήσω ; πῶς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ξειπες ;
καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιθείη·
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν μαχέσαιο.

These words were reported to the Greek assembly, and the decision given accordingly in favour of Ulysses. The last line and a half are actually quoted in the text of Aristophanes; the rest comes from the scholiast on the passage. The *Little Iliad* is also quoted (fr. 3) for the statement that owing to the anger of Agamemnon the body of Ajax was placed in the coffin without being duly burned.

Two lines (fr. 4) relate how Achilles was driven by a storm to the island of Scyros. This is evidently to introduce the bringing of Neoptolemus. The words describing the spear of Achilles (fr. 5) may belong to the same part of the story.

Four lines (fr. 6) are quoted from the history of a famous golden vine, which the author of the *Little Iliad*—differing somewhat from Homer—represented as having been given by Zeus to Laomedon by way of compensation for the loss of his son Ganymede:

ἄμπελον, ἣν Κρονίδης ἔπορὲν οἱ παῖδός ἄποινα,
χρυσεῖην φύλλοισιν ἀγανοῖσι κομόωσαν
βότρυσί θ' οὗς Ἥφαιστος ἐπασκῆσας Διὶ πατρὶ
δῶχ', ὃ δὲ Λαομέδοντι πόρεν Γανυμήδεος ἀντί.

These four lines probably come from the episode of Eurypylos. The vine appears to be referred to in the *Odyssey* (11. 521 ff.), where Ulysses relates how Eurypylos son of Telephus fell, 'and many Ceteians were slain around him, all because of a woman's gift' (γυναιῶν εἶνεκα δῶρων). The scholiasts on this passage tell us, on the authority of the ancient historian Acusilaus, that Priam sent a golden vine to Astyoche the mother of Eurypylos, and thus persuaded her to send her

son to the aid of the Trojans. This explanation is borne out by *Od.* 15. 247, where the same thing is said of Amphiaraus,—

ἀλλ' ὀλετ' ἐν Θήβησι γυναῖων εἵνεκα δώρων,

that is to say, he was forced to take part in the war of Thebes, in which he fell, because of the necklace given to his wife Eriphyle. If then the golden vine given to Astyoche was the same as that which Laomedon received from Zeus, it becomes easy to understand how the four lines in question came into the episode of Eurypylus. The poet of the *Little Iliad* had to relate the story of Priam sending the ornament as a bribe to Astyoche, and was naturally led to give its history in a short digression (after the manner of the *σκήπτρου παράδοσις* of *Il.* 2. 101–108). On this view we can almost complete the fragment. The next line would be something like—

αὐτὰρ Λαομέδων Πριάμφῳ λίπε . . .

and the apodosis (which is required by the grammatical form of the passage) must have said, 'this vine, then, Priam now gave to Astyoche, mother of Eurypylus.' The poetical value of a parenthesis of this kind is evident. It must have heightened the pathetic effect of the story to represent Priam, in the extremity of his need, giving away one of the great heirlooms of the royal house to buy the alliance of the Mysian king.

Among the deeds of Eurypylus was the slaying of Machaon (fr. 7). Other details to be added to this part of the narrative are, the wounding of Ulysses by Thoas (fr. 8), and the name Anticlus in the list of the warriors who were in the Wooden Horse (fr. 10). The scholars who sought to determine the exact date of the capture were aided by the mention of a full moon (fr. 11)—

νύξ μὲν ἦν μέσση, λαμπρὴ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελήνη.

The line comes from the description of Sinon giving the preconcerted signal to the Greek army.

The remaining fragments (12–19) relate to the final battle and the division of the spoil. The picturesque incident of Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen, referred to by Aristophanes (*Lysistr.* 155), came from this part of the *Little Iliad* (fr. 16). A quotation of five lines (fr. 18) relates

that Neoptolemus obtained Andromache as his prize, and threw the young Astyanax from the wall of Troy. Pausanias adds that Aeneas also was given to Neoptolemus, and that the death of Astyanax was the act of Neoptolemus alone, not authorised by the decree of the army. Other incidents of more or less interest are derived from the chapters of Pausanias already mentioned (x. 25-27). From this source we learn that according to the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15), King Priam was not killed by Neoptolemus as he clung to the altar of his palace (as in Virgil), but at the door. Helicaon, son of Antenor, when wounded in the night battle was recognised by Ulysses, and his life saved (fr. 13). Aethra, the mother of Theseus, who was one of the attendants of Helen, made her way to the Greek camp, and was recognised by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas; into whose hands Agamemnon, having first obtained the consent of Helen, delivered her free from her long bondage (fr. 17). Ajax, son of Oileus, was represented as taking an oath to purge himself of the sacrilege which he had committed in tearing Cassandra from the altar of Athene so that the image of the goddess was dragged after her (Paus. x. 26, 1). Besides these there are various details, such as form the staple of the minor Homeric battles. Meges is wounded by Admetus, Lycomedes by Agenor (fr. 12); Admetus is slain by Philoctetes, Coroebus by Diomedes, Axion by Eurypylus (fr. 15); Astynous is struck down by Neoptolemus (fr. 14), and Eioneus and Agenor also fall to him (fr. 15). In the *Little Iliad* the wife of Aeneas is named Eurydice (as also in the *Cypria*)—not Creusa.

Such, then, were the multifarious events and personages of which the story of the *Little Iliad* was composed. For the plan of the poem and the degree of artistic unity which it possessed we must recur to the piece of Aristotelian criticism already quoted in reference to the *Cypria*. The *Little Iliad*, like the *Cypria*, is said by Aristotle to be about one person (*περὶ ἑνα*), one time, and one action consisting of many parts (*περὶ μὲν πρᾶξιν πολλὰς*). The 'one action' is evidently the taking of Troy. The 'parts' of which it consists are the subordinate events, such as the arrival of Neoptolemus, the healing and return of Philoctetes, the theft of the Palladium. Each of these parts is necessary to the main action, but is also a story with an

interest of its own, capable of furnishing the subject of an independent work; whereas in Homer the different episodes have not this independent character; their interest lies in their relation to the whole, and is lost when they are detached from it. The 'one hero' of the *Little Iliad* is somewhat less obvious; but a review of the chief incidents leaves no doubt that Ulysses holds that place. The poem begins with his victory over Ajax, which means that he is now acknowledged by the Greeks as their greatest warrior; and he is the chief actor, or at least the chief adviser, in most of the other affairs. His character (as in Homer) is that of the champion of stratagem and adventure; and as such he is contrasted with warriors of the type of Achilles and Ajax. With a hero of this stamp we should naturally assume that the poem was of a comparatively light and cheerful cast; and this impression is amply confirmed by the details, so far as they are known. Such scenes as the debate of the Trojan maidens on the wall (in the *ὄπλων κρίσις*), or Menelaus letting fall his sword at the sight of Helen, have an unmistakable air of comedy. This will be brought out still further when we come to compare the *Little Iliad* with the treatment of the same narrative by Arctinus.

The *Little Iliad* is distinguished among the Cyclic poems by the large proportion of matter which may be regarded as directly derived from Homer. Thus, to take the first five episodes in Aristotle's list—

(1) The *Judgment of the Arms* is described in *Od.* 11. 543–562. It has been noticed above (in speaking of the *Aethiopis*, p. 15) that the representation of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, while Ulysses covered the retreat, is apparently taken from the battle over Patroclus in the 17th book of the *Iliad*: compare especially vv. 717–719, where Ajax says, addressing Menelaus—

ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ Μηριόνης ὑποδύντε μάλ' ὦκα
νεκρὸν αἰείραντες φέρετ' ἐκ πόνου· αὐτὰρ ὅπισθεν
νῶϊ μαχησόμεθα Τρωσὶν τε καὶ Ἑκτορι δίφω.

The rescue of Achilles is also referred to in the *Odyssey* (5. 310). The fanciful story of the spies overhearing the words of the

Trojan maidens seems to be contrived to give a meaning to *Od.* 11. 547—

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,

a line of which other explanations were current (see p. 35).

(2) The bringing of *Philoctetes* from Lemnos is alluded to in *Il.* 2. 718, and his presence with the army is implied in *Od.* 8. 219.

(3) *Neoptolemus* is mentioned in *Il.* 19. 326, as in Scyros: his coming to Troy in *Od.* 11. 506 ff.

(4) His victory over *Eurypylus* in *Od.* 11. 506 ff.

(5) The *πτωχεία*, with the meeting between Ulysses and Helen, is sketched in *Od.* 4. 240–264.

Again, the capture of Troy by means of the Wooden Horse was told in the song of Demodocus, *Od.* 8. 492 ff. Anticlus as the name of one of the heroes in the Wooden Horse (fr. 10) occurs in the story told in *Od.* 4. 285. That Deiphobus became the husband of Helen seems to be implied in *Od.* 4. 276., 8. 517. The recognition of Helicaon son of Antenor by Ulysses (fr. 13) is suggested by *Il.* 3. 207 ff., where Antenor is said to have entertained Ulysses and Menelaus. It is an example of *ξενία*, like the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus. Coroebus coming as a suitor for the hand of Cassandra (fr. 16) seems to be a repetition of Othryoneus (*Il.* 13. 364)—

ὅς ῥα νέον πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰλήλουθεν,
ἦτεε δὲ Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην
Κασσάνδρην.

The death of Astyanax, as it is related in fr. 18—

παῖδα δ' ἔλῶν ἐκ κόλπου εὐπλοκάμοιο τιθήνης
ρίψει ποδὸς τεταγῶν ἀπὸ πύργου,

is suggested by the words of Andromache in *Il.* 24. 734—

ἦ τις Ἀχαιῶν
ρίψει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

The sacrilege of Ajax son of Oileus may have been suggested by *Od.* 4. 502, where his death is connected with the hatred of Athene: cp. the reference to the anger of Athene as the cause of the disasters of the return, *Od.* 3. 135.

Of the additions made by the *Little Iliad* to the Homeric narrative the following are of interest:—

(1) The Palladium of Troy is unknown to Homer. It has been already observed more than once that objects endowed with magical virtue are not Homeric. It would be especially unlike Homer to make the fate of a city depend upon anything of the kind.

(2) Sinon is not one of the Homeric *dramatis personae*, if we may argue from the silence of the *Odyssey*.

(3) Aethra, the mother of Theseus, was said to have been carried off by the Dioscuri in their invasion of Attica. Accordingly in the *Little Iliad* she is in bondage to Helen, and is set free by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas, as is related in the passage of Pausanias quoted above (fr. 17). The only apparent trace of this in Homer is in *Il.* 3. 144, where the two attendants of Helen are—

Αἰθρη Πιτθῆος θυγάτηρ, Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.

It is impossible however to suppose that the poet of the *Iliad* knew the story of Aethra. There is no trace in Homer of acquaintance with the group of legend to which the story belongs. The two sons of Theseus are not among the warriors of the *Iliad*, and the few references to Theseus himself are probably interpolations. Even supposing Theseus to be known to Homer, he belongs to an earlier generation than the heroes of the *Iliad*, and the chronological difficulty of bringing his mother into the story of Troy is manifest. Hence, as Aristarchus pointed out, we have to choose between two suppositions. Either the line is an interpolation, inserted to suit the story of Aethra; or it is genuine, and the coincidence of name is accidental. Considering the freedom with which Homer introduces unimportant proper names into his descriptions, the latter seems the more probable alternative. It might seem, indeed, that the whole story of Aethra was based on the line of Homer: but Aethra, as the name of the mother of Theseus, more probably belongs to the local tradition. Naturally the later poets who found the name in Homer took advantage of it in order to find a place for the Attic heroes in the main body of epic narrative. Thus the story, as told in the *Little Iliad* (and also, as we shall see, in the *Iliupersis* of

Arctinus), is an attempt to connect the Trojan war with the local Attic mythology,—a mythology which was singularly late in finding its way into literature.¹

Besides these we find only a few such matters as the slaying of Machaon by Eurypylus (fr. 7), the slaying of Priam (fr. 15), the division of the spoil in which Andromache and Aeneas fall to Neoptolemus (fr. 18), the name Eurydice for the wife of Aeneas (fr. 19), the incident of Menelaus and Helen (fr. 16), with the minor incidents of the night-battle.

In style and character the *Little Iliad* followed the *Odyssey* rather than the *Iliad*. The spirit of adventure which runs through it, especially in the earlier part, is clearly inspired by the picture of Ulysses in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, indeed (with the marked exception of the Doloneia), this side of his character is not brought out. He is wise and eloquent, but hardly adventurous. On the other hand it is the most prominent feature in the Doloneia (which is almost certainly later than the rest of the *Iliad*): and so doubtless in the *πρωχέα*, the theft of the Palladium, and other parts of the *Little Iliad*. On the whole it would seem that if we imagine the *Little Iliad* as a poem of no great length,—there were only four books according to Proclus,—consisting of episodes in the manner of the Doloneia, we shall not be far from the truth.

THE *ILIUPERSIS* OF ARCTINUS.

According to Proclus the *Iliupersis* or 'Sack of Ilium' in the Epic Cycle was a poem in two books, the work of Arctinus of Miletus. The contents were as follows:—

The Trojans surround the Wooden Horse, and hold anxious debate. Some are for throwing it from the height of the city-wall, or burning it up: others say that it must be consecrated as an offering to Athene, and this opinion at length prevails. They then give themselves up to rejoicing over their deliverance.

¹ In the bronze figure of the Trojan Horse on the Acropolis of Athens, the heroes represented as peeping out of it were Menestheus, Teucer (who ex-

presses the Athenian claim to Salamis), and the two sons of Theseus (Paus. i. 23, 10).

At this point two serpents appear, and kill Laocoon and one of his two sons. Alarmed by this portent, Aeneas and his followers withdraw to Mount Ida. Then Sinon lights the signal-fires, as agreed with the Greeks. They return from Tenedos, the warriors sally from the Wooden Horse, and the city is taken. Neoptolemus kills Priam in his house, on the altar of Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος. Menelaus takes Helen to the camp, killing her husband Deiphobus. Ajax son of Oileus, in attempting to drag Cassandra from the altar of Athene, drags away the image of the goddess; upon which the Greeks are ready to stone him, and he escapes by taking refuge himself at the altar. The Greeks burn the city, and determine the fate of the prisoners: Polyxena is sacrificed at the tomb of Achilles: Ulysses kills Astyanax, and Neoptolemus obtains Andromache as his prize: Demophon and Acamas find Aethra and take her with them. The fleet sets sail, and Athene prepares disaster for them on their return.

This argument represents the *Iliupersis* as taking up the story of the siege nearly at the point where the argument of the *Little Iliad* left it, viz. the bringing of the Wooden Horse into the city. But as the *Little Iliad* is known to have included the later events, down to the departure of the Greeks, so it is possible that the poem of Arctinus began at an earlier point than the account of Proclus would lead us to suppose. Unfortunately the references to the *Iliupersis* are extremely few; but they go far to show that it gave some account of the events between the death of Ajax and the making of the Wooden Horse.

The scholia on the *Iliad* (11. 515) tell us that according to some critics the two Homeric *ιατροί*, Machaon and Podaleirius, followed the two branches of the healing art,—Machaon dealing with wounds, Podaleirius with disease. In support of this they quote a remarkable fragment from Arctinus' *Sack of Ilium* (ἐν Ἰλίου πορθήσει), which runs as follows:

αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν ἔδωκε πατήρ . . Ἐννοσίγαιος
 ἀμφοτέροισι, ἕτερον δ' ἐτέρου κυδίου' ἔθηκε·
 τῷ μὲν κουφοτέρας χεῖρας πόρεν, ἔκ τε βέλεμνα
 σαρκὸς ἐλεῖν, τμηξαί τε καὶ ἔλκεα πάντ' ἀκέσασθαι·
 τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀκριβέα πάντα ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κέθηκεν

ἄσκοπά τε γνῶναι καὶ ἀναλθέα ἰήσασθαι·
 ὃς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος πρῶτος μάθε χωρομένοιοι
 ὄμματά τ' ἀστράπτοντα βαρυνόμενόν τε νόημα.

It has been generally supposed, from the reference to Ajax, that these lines come from the *Aethiopis*, the scholiast having confused the two poems of Arctinus. This however is not necessary. The two lines about Ajax have rather the appearance of a parenthesis, brought in to illustrate a later point of the story. If so, it is highly probable that the context of the passage is the healing of Philoctetes. The poet takes occasion to contrast the surgical skill of Machaon with the art of Podaleirius, and adds by way of example that it was Podaleirius who first perceived the symptoms of madness in the former case of Ajax (ὃς ῥα καὶ Αἴαντος . . .). This view perhaps derives some further support from the fact that in Quintus Smyrnaeus (who doubtless follows earlier accounts) Philoctetes is healed by Podaleirius; so that the drift of the passage of Arctinus may be to explain why he, rather than Machaon, should deal with so obscure a case. Quintus Smyrnaeus, again, ascribes the oracle about the bringing back of Philoctetes to the seer Calchas,—not Helenus, as in the *Little Iliad*. Further, the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles does not agree with the *Little Iliad*, in which Philoctetes is brought back by Diomedes, before Neoptolemus has come to Troy. We may reasonably suppose that Sophocles took his version of the story from the *Iliupersis* of Arctinus. All this points to the conclusion that the story of Philoctetes was given in the *Iliupersis*, and with details which differed materially from those of the *Little Iliad*. Again, if the recovery of Philoctetes, according to the *Iliupersis*, was an exploit of Neoptolemus, it is difficult to resist the further inference that the poem began with the coming of Neoptolemus from Scyros. On this view it would embrace his whole career as the real captor of Troy.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that according to Arctinus the Palladium which was carried off by the Greeks was only a copy of the real one. Hence it is inferred that the theft of the Palladium was related in the *Iliupersis* (see the note on p. 34). A few details may be added, more or less conjecturally, from other sources. Virgil is said to have followed Arctinus in the

description of the sack of Troy which fills the second book of the *Aeneid*. We may assume that the part played by Aphrodite in the *Aeneid* was based upon the *Iliupersis*.

It appears, then, that the story of the *Iliupersis* is to be reconstructed somewhat as follows. Neoptolemus, who is the destined conqueror in the Trojan war, is brought from Scyros (perhaps accompanied by a contingent of the islanders, the *Scyria pibes* of Virgil, *Aen.* 2. 477). He succeeds to the arms of Achilles—takes the leading part in bringing Philoctetes from Lemnos—and kills the new Trojan champion, Eurypylus. Thus all the important steps towards the capture of Troy are due to him—the Palladium having been a deception. In the division of the spoil he receives the chief γέρας, the possession of Andromache. He is evidently, therefore, the hero of the poem. His character, as we should expect from the poet of the *Aethiopis*, is in many points a repetition of the character of Achilles. He is a triumphant Achilles—πατρός εὐτυχέστερος, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὁμοίως. He stands to his father, poetically speaking, as the Epigoni to the heroes of the *Thebaid*.

With the fortunes of Neoptolemus for the main interest of the *Iliupersis*, we find, as a kind of underplot, the story of the flight of Aeneas. The death of Laocoon is not, as in Virgil, a warning to those who would destroy the Wooden Horse, but a sign of the approaching fall of Troy. The escape of one of the two sons—a trait peculiar to this version—was doubtless meant to signify that one branch of the Trojan royal house—that represented by Aeneas—might still survive the fall of the city and the extinction of the family of Priam.¹ Thus the prophecy of Poseidon would be fulfilled (*Il.* 20. 397–8),

νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
καὶ παίδων παῖδες τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.

—a prophecy which has long been recognised as a piece of local or family legend, connecting the later inhabitants of the Troad with Aeneas. The divine agents in these events were probably Aphrodite (who is also associated with Aeneas in the *Cypria*), and Cybele, the Idaean Mother, to whose sacred mountain the fugitives betook themselves. A trace of this remains in the

¹ C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 193.

statement of Pausanias (x. 26, 1) that Creusa, the wife of Aeneas, was said to have been delivered from slavery by Aphrodite and the mother of the gods: and the same account is given in the words of Creusa, *Aen.* 2. 785—788:

Non ego Myrmidonum sedes Dolopumve superbas
Aspiciam, aut Graiis servitum matribus ibo,
Dardanis et divae Veneris nurus;
Sed me magna deum genitrix his detinet oris.

As Pausanias adds that according to Lesches (*i.e.* the *Little Iliad*) and the *Cypria* the wife of Aeneas was called Eurydice, we can hardly be wrong in assigning the story of Creusa to the *Niupersis*.¹ Thus it becomes a link of connexion between the Aeneas-legend and the local worship of Cybele, in which Creusa was doubtless a subordinate figure—taken into her service as Ganymede by Zeus, or Iphigenia by Artemis. Another indication of local influence may be seen in the assertion of Arctinus that the Palladium taken by Ulysses and Diomedes was a copy. The real Palladium was doubtless carried off by Aeneas, and remained in the possession of the royal house that claimed descent from him.

Although the *Niupersis* ended with the victory of the hero and the success of his cause, it had a distinctly tragic character. The Nemesis of good fortune makes itself felt. When the Greeks set sail Athene has withdrawn her favour, and has resolved to send disaster upon them in the course of their voyage (*φθορὰν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος μηχανᾶται*, Procl.). The misfortunes of the return were therefore indicated at the close of the poem. The thought that 'satiety breeds insolence' evidently coloured the representation of Arctinus, and gave the key-note to the treatment of the subject in later Greek literature.

The comparison of the *Niupersis* with Homer need not detain

¹ Pausanias never mentions Arctinus, and seems not to have known of either the *Aethiopsis* or the *Niupersis*. He refers to Arctinus' version of the death of Priam, and of Astyanax (x. 25, 9), simply as the account from which Lesches differed. Similarly, when Pau-

sanias (x. 27, 1) says that Coroebus was killed *ὡς ὁ πλείων λόγος* by Neoptolemus, but according to Lesches by Diomedes, the 'common account' doubtless is that of the *Niupersis*, of which Neoptolemus was the hero.

us long, as most of the points have been already noticed in connexion with the *Little Iliad*. As to the plan and structure there are no grounds for a positive opinion. If we are right in thinking that the story took in the whole career of Neoptolemus, it can hardly have had the almost Homeric unity which we found in the *Aethiopis*. On the other hand, the fact that the *Little Iliad* was taken by Proclus (or the compilers of the Epic Cycle) as the authority for the events down to the making of the Wooden Horse would indicate that in the *Iliupersis* the interest was more concentrated on the actual capture. Possibly the earlier part of the story was brought in (as in the *Odyssey*) in the form of a narrative put into the mouth of one of the characters.¹ The shortness of the poem points to the use of some such device.

The incidents of the *Iliupersis* which appear to be taken from Homer—the Wooden Horse, the death of Deiphobus, the sacrilege of Ajax, the death of Astyanax, the disasters of the return to Greece—were all to be found also in the *Little Iliad* (see p. 25). Of the new or post-Homeric matter some portions are common to the two poems, viz. the treachery of Sinon, the slaying of Priam by Neoptolemus, and the story of Aethra. On the other hand the most important addition to the Homeric account, the story of the flight of Aeneas and his followers,—of which the story of Laocoon is an integral part,—is peculiar to Arctinus. According to the *Little Iliad* Aeneas fell to the share of Neoptolemus, and was carried into slavery by him. The sacrifice of Polyxena, if we may argue from the silence of our authorities, was related in the *Iliupersis* only. It is one of the indications of the hero-worship of Achilles.

The points now enumerated will furnish data for comparing the *Iliupersis*, not only with Homer, but also with the *Aethiopis*, as a work of the same poet, and with the *Little Iliad*, as a different and (as is generally supposed) later treatment of the same subject.

In the *Iliupersis*, as in the *Aethiopis*, we have recognised the addition to the Trojan story of a considerable amount of legendary matter. Two main sources of new legend may be

¹ The digression about Podaleirius and Machaon (p. 28) would be part of such a narrative. The style of the lines seems to favour this hypothesis.

discerned. It was doubtless in the native traditions of Asia Minor that Arctinus found the figures of Penthesileia and Memnon, as well as the legend of Aeneas and the Trojan settlement on Mount Ida. In these matters we trace the influence upon the Greek colonists of the races with which they were brought into contact. And though this influence is perceptible in other 'cyclic' poems—*e.g.* in the story of Telephus in the *Cypria*, and Eurypylos in the *Little Iliad*—the most striking examples seem to be those which we find in the *Aethiopis* and the *Iliupersis*. Other post-Homeric elements in Arctinus receive light from the circumstances of the Ionian colonies, and from their religious ideas and practices, especially the practice of hero-worship. Under this head fall such things as the immortality of Memnon, of Achilles, of Creusa,—the purification of Achilles from the guilt of homicide,—his removal after death to Leuce, in the region of the Milesian settlements,—and the sacrifice of Polyxena at his tomb.

The comparison between the poems of Arctinus (especially the *Iliupersis*) and the *Little Iliad* turns chiefly on points already noticed. It may be worth while however to bring together the incidents which appear to have been treated somewhat differently by the two poets.

1. In the *Iliupersis* Neoptolemus kills Priam at the altar of Ζεύς Ἐρκείος : as also in Virgil (*Aen.* 2. 663),—

Natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras.

In the *Little Iliad* (fr. 15) Priam is dragged from the altar and killed at the door of the palace : the poet probably wishing to diminish the horror of the scene.

2. According to the *Iliupersis* Astyanax was killed by Ulysses (fr. 2) : according to the *Little Iliad* he was thrown from a tower by Neoptolemus, οὐ μὲν ὑπὸ δόγματός γε Ἑλλήνων (Paus. x. 25, 9). In the *Iliupersis*, then, it appears that the Greeks came to a solemn decision, carried out by Ulysses, and doubtless also advised by him, founded on the maxim νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει. The author of the *Little Iliad* altered the story, evidently in order to exonerate his hero.

3. According to the argument of the *Iliupersis* the sons of

Theseus found their grandmother Aethra in the division of the spoil: whereas in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 17) Aethra escaped from the city before or during the capture (*ἤνικα ἤλίσκετο Ἴλιον*), and found her way to the Greek camp. In this version we may recognise the invention of the later poet.

4. The stealing of the Palladium, which in the *Little Iliad* was an important exploit of Ulysses, was probably not related at length in the *Iliupersis*. All that we are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus is that according to Arctinus the true Palladium was in Troy to the time of the capture, kept in a secret place, and that there was a copy of it exposed to view, which the 'Achaeans' took.¹

5. In the *Little Iliad* (and in the *Cypria*) the wife of Aeneas was Eurydice: in the received account, doubtless going back to the *Iliupersis*, she is called Creusa. The name, as we have seen, is part of the local legend connected with Mount Ida and the worship of Aphrodite and Cybele.

6. It has been shown (p. 29) that there is some ground for thinking that the story of Philoctetes, as told in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, was derived ultimately from Arctinus. The substitution in the *Little Iliad* of Diomedes for Neoptolemus, of the oracle of Helenus (procured by Ulysses) for the advice of Calchas, and of Machaon for Podaleirius, is in accordance with the desire to exalt Ulysses, as well as the general fondness for changes in detail which we have noticed in the *Little Iliad*.

7. The incidents connected with the 'Judgment of the Arms' were told in two or three different versions, some part of which may be derived from Arctinus.

The representation in the *Little Iliad* of Ajax carrying the body of Achilles, and Ulysses protecting the retreat, seems to be taken from *Il.* 17. 715, ff., where however it is Ajax with his Locrian namesake who keeps Hector and the Trojans at bay. The scholiast adds the remark (probably made by Aristarchus) that if Homer had related the death of Achilles

¹ Arctinus certainly mentioned the true Palladium, probably in connexion with the flight of Aeneas; but the rest of the notice may possibly be due, as in some instances given by C. Robert

(*Bild und Lied*, p. 231), not to the poet himself, but to commentators who sought to harmonise his account with the *Little Iliad*.

he would not have made Ajax carry the body. Another account seems to have exchanged the parts played by the two heroes: for on *Od.* 5. 310, where Ulysses speaks of 'the day when the multitude of Trojans poured their spears on him, over the fallen Achilles,' the scholiast makes the comment, *ὅτι ὑπερεμάχησαν τοῦ σώματος Ἀχιλλέως Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Αἴας· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐβάστασεν, ὁ δ' Αἴας ὑπερήσπισεν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ*. In this version Ajax remains true to his Homeric character, and we naturally suspect that it must have been the original account of Arctinus in the *Aethiopis*, though in the argument of Proclus the *Aethiopis* is made to agree with the *Little Iliad*.¹

Regarding the 'judgment' itself, the scholiast on the *Odyssey* tells us that in the line (11. 547),

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,

the reference is to the Trojan prisoners, who being asked whether Ajax or Ulysses had done them most harm, decided the question in favour of Ulysses. This form of the story does not connect the 'judgment of the arms' in any especial manner with the combat over the body of Achilles, and altogether it is of a simpler and graver stamp than the version which comes to us from the *Little Iliad*. These considerations are perhaps not sufficient to justify us in attributing it to Arctinus, especially as we have no direct statement that the details of the *κρίσις δῶλων* were given in the *Aethiopis* (p. 12). In any case the construction which it put upon the words *παῖδες Τρώων δίκασαν* is more natural than that which makes them maidens overheard by Greek spies: and although the passage in the *Odyssey* may be an interpolation, it is probably of considerable antiquity. The version of the *Little Iliad* is very different in character; it is elaborate and fanciful, and at the same time wanting in epic dignity. Indeed it has very much the air of a burlesque of the older story.

The result of our examination is that the poems of Arctinus

¹ It is an objection to this inference that Aristarchus—if we may argue from the silence of the Venetian scholia—does not seem to have known of any post-Homeric account except that of the *Little Iliad*. Possibly the account of

the scholia on *Od.* 5. 310 is a mere misunderstanding of Aristarchus; the remark that Homer *would have* told the story in such and such a way being twisted into a positive statement that that was the true account.

were composed in the tragic style of the *Iliad*, combined with a vein of romance which belonged to the soil of Asia Minor: while the *Little Iliad* treated the same series of events in the lighter epic style, largely tempered by the romantic and adventurous element which is represented by the *Odyssey*, and within the *Iliad* by the 'Doloneia.' Thus the *Little Iliad* carried the Ulysses of the *Odyssey*, so to speak, back into the Trojan war: the *Aethiopis* and *Iliupersis* gave the chief place to Achilles and the heroes who were akin to him, Ajax and Neoptolemus. Finally, while Arctinus admitted much new matter, the growth of Ionian history, the author of the *Little Iliad* confined himself in general to the Homeric circle of myths, and sought rather for novelty in his manner of treatment and in the details of his narrative.

The *Aethiopis* and the *Iliupersis* are almost the only epics never attributed to Homer, and Miletus is almost the only important city which never claimed him. Perhaps the reason is simply that Arctinus was not sufficiently popular to give rise to a legend of the kind. His poems are not mentioned by any writer earlier than Dionysius of Halicarnassus; apparently they were unknown to Strabo (p. 16) and Pausanias (p. 31). Probably the name of Arctinus would not have survived at all if he had not been the earliest poet who related the escape of Aeneas from the destruction of Troy. Thus he became a witness to the Roman national legend, and the *Iliupersis* gained a species of immortality in the second book of the *Aeneid*.

THE *NOSTI*.

The poem called the *Νόστοι*, or 'Returns' of the heroes from Troy, was in five books, and was generally ascribed to Agias of Troezen.¹ The contents as given by Proclus were these:—

Athene having stirred up a quarrel between Agamemnon and

¹ Eustathius (p. 1796, 53) quotes 'the author of the *νόστοι*, a Colophonian,' for the statement that in the end Telemachus married Circe, and Telegonus Penelope. It has been thought that this refers to another poem on the

subject of the 'returns,' by a Colophonian poet. There is so much about Colophon, however, in the cyclic *Nosti* that it seems more natural to suppose that the author was thought by some authorities to be a Colophonian.

Menelaus on the subject of the voyage home, Agamemnon delays his departure in order to propitiate the goddess. Diomedes and Nestor are the first to start, and return safely: Menelaus follows them, but encounters a storm which drives him to Egypt with five only of his ships. Calchas with Leonteus and Polypoetes goes by land to Colophon, where he dies and is buried. As Agamemnon is preparing to start with his followers, the shade of Achilles appears and warns him of the future. The fate of the Locrian Ajax is then described. Neoptolemus, on the advice of Thetis, goes home by land through Thrace, meeting Ulysses in Maroneia; Phoenix dies on the way and is buried: Neoptolemus reaches the Molossian country, and is recognised by Peleus; the death of Agamemnon at the hands of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra is avenged by Orestes and Pylades, and Menelaus returns to Sparta.

According to Pausanias, (x. 28, 7) the *Nosti* contained a *véκνυα*, or descent into Hades, of which Proclus says nothing. Several of the references to the *Nosti* seem to belong to this part of the poem, especially a version of the story of Tantalus, quoted by Athenaeus (fr. 10), and three lines about Medea restoring Aeson (fr. 6); perhaps also the genealogical notices about Clymene (fr. 4), and Maera (fr. 6). Eustathius (p. 1796, 53), says that the author of the *Nosti* made Telemachus eventually marry Circe, and Telegonus, son of Circe, marry Penelope. This piece of eschatology lies beyond the period covered by the story of the poem, but may have come in incidentally, in the form of a prophecy, just as the final immortality of Menelaus is prophesied in the *Odyssey*.

The death of Calchas at Colophon was the subject of a story told by Hesiod, and also by the logographer Pherecydes (Strabo, xiv. p. 643). It had been foretold that he would die when he should meet with a mightier seer than himself, and such a seer was found in Mopsus, grandson of Tiresias, who presided over the oracle of the Clarian Apollo. It may be gathered that some form of this legend was adopted by the author of the *Nosti*.¹

¹ The MS. gives *Τειρεσίαν ἐνταῦθα τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσι*, where *Τειρεσίαν* must be a false reading for *Κάλχαντα*. The name *Τειρεσίαν* must have occurred

in the poem, and been put for Calchas in this place by mistake—perhaps by the grammarian who made the summary in Proclus.

The subject of the *Nosti*, according to the reference in Athenaeus (vii. p. 281b), is the 'return of the Atridae' (ὁ γοῦν τὴν τῶν Ἀτρείδων ποιήσας κάθοδον), and this phrase is evidently a correct description of the main argument. The poem opened with the separation of Agamemnon and Menelaus, and ended with the return of Menelaus, just as his brother's murder had been avenged by Orestes. Thus it contained two chief threads of narrative—the diverse fortunes of the two Atridae—which are brought together at the close. In subordination to these there are two land journeys in opposite directions: Calchas going to Colophon, and Neoptolemus by Thrace to Epirus. Room is found also for the fate of Ajax the Locrian, who accompanies Agamemnon, and the uneventful return of Nestor and Diomedes. The arrangement of these episodes is worth notice; it follows the Homeric rule of filling up pauses or intervals of time by a subordinate piece of narrative, and so avoiding any sensible break in the action of the poem. Thus the pause made by the quarrel of Agamemnon and Menelaus is taken advantage of to introduce the return of Nestor and Diomedes, just as the pause after the quarrel at the beginning of the *Iliad* is filled by the episode of the return of Chryseis. Again, the sailing of Menelaus to Egypt is immediately followed by the journey of Calchas, and the sailing of Agamemnon by the journey of Neoptolemus, because without such a change of scene a long voyage would have the effect of a blank space in the picture. So (*e.g.*) in the third book of the *Iliad*, when heralds are sent from the armies into Troy (l. 116), the scene changes to the walls, and the time during which they are on the way is filled by the *τεῖχοςκοπία* (ll. 121-244). By these contrivances, then, the *Nosti* doubtless attained a degree of unity not much inferior to that of the Homeric poems. The crisis is evidently the murder of Agamemnon, which is speedily followed by the vengeance of Orestes.

The moving force in the poem seems to have been the anger of Athene; as her favour and the anger of Poseidon are the moving forces in the action of the *Odyssey*. This is indicated, as we have seen, in the closing scenes of the *Iliupersis*; the general tone and character of the *Nosti* was evidently in keeping with this *motif*. The main events were essentially disastrous, and the playful and fanciful elements associated with the figure

of Ulysses were wanting. Thus we may regard the *Nosti* as a tragic *Odyssey*—an *Odyssey* which marks the transition from Homer to the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.

Of the incidents of the *Nosti* a large proportion appear to be taken directly from Homer. Such are:—The quarrel caused by the anger of Athene between Agamemnon and Menelaus (*Od.* 3. 135 ff.); the return of Diomedes and Nestor (*Od.* 3. 166, 182); the voyage of Menelaus and his arrival in Egypt with five ships (*Od.* 3. 299, ἀτὰρ τὰς πέντε νέας... Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπέλασσε); the fate of the Locrian Ajax (*Od.* 4. 499 ff.); the story of Agamemnon and Orestes. In one or two cases we can trace the growth of new detail from Homeric suggestions:—

(1) Megapenthes is said in the *Odyssey* (4. 12) to be the son of Menelaus by a slave (ἐκ δούλης); in the *Nosti* (fr. 2) the name of the slave was given.

(2) The meeting of Neoptolemus with Ulysses in Maroneia is suggested by *Od.* 9. 39, 197 ff., where Ulysses is said to have been in that part of Thrace.

The chief additions to the Homeric account are the journeys of Calchas and Neoptolemus; the former of these is essentially post-Homeric in its character. The city of Colophon, like all the cities founded or occupied by the Ionian colonists, is quite unknown to Homer. The oracle of the Clarian Apollo belongs to the time when the Greek settlers in Asia Minor had adopted to some extent the religious ideas and practices of the native tribes: as a local oracle too, it is an institution of a post-Homeric kind. Its seer, Mopsus, claimed descent from Teiresias,—just as the kings of the Ionian cities are found to claim descent from Homeric heroes, such as Agamemnon and Nestor. In this part of the *Nosti*, therefore, we trace the same relation to the history of Colophon which we found to subsist between the *Aethiopis* and the history of Miletus, and again between the *Iliupersis* and the later settlements in the Troad.

In the story of Neoptolemus we may recognise a post-Homeric element in the ethnical name of the Μολοσσοί, which implies some extension of geographical knowledge. It is the first indication of the claim of the kings of Epirus to the honour of descent from Achilles.

Of the remaining names the most important is that of Medea, whose magical powers were set forth (fr. 6). The notices in Pausanias (fr. 4, 5) and Apollodorus (fr. 1) refer to genealogical details which it is not easy to connect with the story of the poem. The mention of the mother of Megapenthes (fr. 2) is a fact of the same kind. It may be inferred that the author of the *Nosti* was one of the poets who made it their business to furnish the genealogies connecting the Homeric heroes with each other, and with the leading families of later times.

The prophetic warning given by the shade of Achilles is an incident of a post-Homeric type; we may compare the appearance of Achilles to Neoptolemus in the *Little Iliad*. The immortality of Telemachus and Telegonus follows the precedent of Achilles and Memnon in the *Aethiopis*, the Dioscuri and Iphigenia in the *Cypria*.

THE *TELEGONIA* OF EUGAMMON.

The *Telegonia* was a poem in two books only, by Eugammon of Cyrene, the last of the 'cyclic' poets. It was evidently composed as a sequel to the *Odyssey*, and conclusion of the heroic story. The argument in Proclus is as follows:—

After the burial of the suitors Ulysses goes to Elis, where he is entertained by Polyxenus. The stories of Trophonius, Agamede and Augeas are related. After returning to Ithaca to perform certain sacrifices, Ulysses goes to the country of the Thesprotians, marries their queen Callidice, and leads them in a war against the Brygi, in which Ares, Athene, and Apollo take part. On the death of Callidice, Polypoetes, son of Ulysses, becomes king, and Ulysses returns to Ithaca; then Telegonus son of Ulysses by Circe, who has been seeking for his father, makes a descent upon Ithaca. Ulysses comes to repel the attack and is killed by his own son. Telegonus finds too late what he has done, and takes his father's body, with Telemachus and Penelope, to his mother, who makes them immortal. Finally, Telemachus marries Circe, and Telegonus Penelope.

It is evident that this story was framed partly to satisfy curiosity as to the fate of the chief characters of the *Odyssey*, and partly to find a place for the genealogies of various families

that claimed descent from Ulysses. The Thesprotian episode is clearly due to the latter of these motives.

The story of the cave of Trophonius is given by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Nub.* 500). It is a variant of the Rhampsinitus story. The incident of the death of Ulysses at the hands of his son is equally familiar from the story of Sohrab and Rustum. In these stories we have fresh instances of the kind of attraction by which a dominant group of legend, such as the *Troica*, draws in materials from other circles of popular mythology.

There is some uncertainty as to the manner in which the personages are disposed at the end of the poem. According to Eustathius (p. 1796, 47) the *Telegonia* made Telegonus the son of Calypso,—thus contradicting the *Nosti* (see the note on p. 36). The argument of Proclus only mentions Circe; but this may be in deference to the authority of the *Nosti*. In any case the general character of the closing scene is evident: and we cannot but regret that the curtain should be made to fall in this strange and burlesque fashion on the stage so long filled by Homeric gods and men.

D. B. MONRO.

RESEARCHES AMONG THE CYCLADES.

ABOUT a year ago I paid a hurried visit to the Cyclades, with the purpose of ascertaining how far they would repay a more lengthened sojourn; and having satisfied myself that no part of Greece offered a better field for examination than the islands of the Aegæan sea, this last winter I undertook to visit the Cyclades one by one—no trifling matter when we consider that there are twenty-two of them, and only two of them have anything like hotel accommodation.

The objects of interest there to be studied may be conveniently classed under four distinct heads, and every one of these interests is essentially due to the position of the islands, as the stepping-stones used in all ages before the invention of steam between Europe and Asia.

Firstly, comes that interest in connection with a prehistoric empire in the Aegæan Sea, the existence of which was unknown ten years ago, and has yet been but slightly investigated by the French School at Athens, in the island of Santorin and the adjacent Therasia. Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Hissarlik bear also on the same subject, but the prehistoric inhabitants of Troy and the prehistoric inhabitants of the Cyclades had wide differences between them.

In every island of the Aegæan Sea, on almost every barren rock I might say, are found abundant traces of a vast prehistoric empire; and if the race was not far advanced in the arts of civilisation, it must at all events have had great numerical force; and when I say that there are now twenty-two inhabited Cyclades some of them having a population of only a few hundreds, I may as well add that in those prehistoric times, there must have been at least fifty thickly inhabited islands,

most of which are now visited only in summer by herdsmen with their flocks.

The second interest in connection with the Cyclades of course arises from their history and associations with the great days of Greece, and without going into details about the better known centres of attraction such as Delos, Naxos, Paros, Melos (all of which islands are by no means exhausted subjects, but still we know more about them than the others), I will make a few remarks on what I saw on a remote island like Amorgos. On this island there are the extensive remains of three powerful cities, and of these Arkesini is the most interesting, and during an excursion of two days to this point of the island, I saw much that stimulated me to return at some future period. The town itself is built on a rock overhanging the sea. There are the remains of ancient steps down to the beach; the walls are very extensive and the ruins are continually producing all sorts of treasures to the old farmer who owns the place. Ancient tools, vases, and statuettes are turned over every time he ploughs, and from him I obtained an interesting little collection of jar handles, stamped and inscribed. Most of them bore the well-known stamps of Rhodes and Cnidos, but some had on them the stamps of Amorgos and Paros, which I believe are an addition to the series, also a clay plummet, inscribed with the owner's name, marble polishers, &c. The old man's son, a priest at the capital, has an excellent collection of inscriptions, coins, memorial tablets, etc., all of which his father has dug up whilst working at Arkesini. At the village of Brutzi just above are some curious archaic inscriptions on a cliff, with those half Phoenician half Greek letters, common to the islands. One of these is cited in Roehl's *Inscr. Graecae Antiquissimae*, No. 391, pp. 109, 183.

Next morning we walked to a well-preserved Hellenic tower which commands a fertile valley, and which Ross has described in his book, but owing to some recent digging a large extension of fortifications has been opened out in connection with the tower. This tower and one on Andros are the best specimens we have of Hellenic military art, and well merit a closer study. Close to the tower I found a long inscription on the wall of a church, which I copied, describing an agreement between certain husbandmen and the priests of a temple of Zeus Temenites, for

the letting of certain sacred land. On our way back we passed by another rock inscription upon the hill side, OP for ὄρος and a monogram of which B for Boreas was a prominent feature, doubtless the northern boundary of the State of Arkesini. My other expeditions to the other towns of Amorgos were of equal interest, and offered great archaeological attractions.

To give another instance of the archaeological wealth of the islands, I will mention Keos. Here there are the remains of four large cities, one of which, Karthaia, offered rich prizes to Brönsted fifty years ago. Since then nothing has been done except quite recently to prop up the well known colossal lion which was slipping down, and in doing so the discovery was made that the lion had originally been placed at the end of a stadium (112 by 14 strides), the seats of which can still be distinguished. This was apparently a winter stadium facing south. There is another one just across the ravine facing north where the inhabitants of Ioulis amused themselves in the summer. Besides the towns, Keos is covered with ruins of villages, temples, towers, &c. and then there are the milto mines from which the Athenians made their red paint with which we are all so familiar. Keos was in fact the Syra of ancient Greece, the centre of commerce between Europe and Asia, and of necessity would well repay a little excavation. At the town of Poiessa I discovered an inscription which forbade the cutting down of trees on the lands belonging to a temple. A similar inscription from Greece, but without the word δένδρα has been taken to mean a prohibition against cutting the wood of the temple; this however clearly points to trees on the sacred property.

Passing over the Roman period, during which we have little of interest in the Cyclades, saving that the islands formed a favourite place of banishment, we come to our third interest, namely, the period of the Crusades and the Latin power in the East, when most of those fortress towns were built, one or two of which exist on every island under the indefinite name of palaiocastro. Our resources for studying the long history of the Latin Dukes of the Aegæan Sea is certainly meagre and jesuitical for the most part, but lately M. Sathas has unearthed many interesting facts concerning this period in the Venetian archives.

Fourthly, I will briefly allude to what is perhaps the principal interest to be gained from a sojourn among the Cyclades, namely,

the excellent field that they offer for a study of the modern Greek in his most primitive form. The facts which have conduced to this are obvious. The islands were never extensively overrun by barbarous tribes, and the inhabitants consequently have purer blood in their veins than most of the inhabitants of the main land. This is especially noticeable in the island of Andros, the most northern and the most accessible of all the group from the mainland by way of Eubœia. The northern portion of this island is exclusively Albanian, in speech, manners, and customs. The Greeks in the South are highly influenced by this intermixture, which has in a measure destroyed the identity of the continental Greek, but here the Albanian wave has ended, there is not a trace of it in any other of the Cyclades.

Again the Italian influence is supposed to have had the same effect during the Latin rule in the islands, but it soon becomes apparent to the traveller, that this influence extends very little beyond the larger towns on the sea coast. The Italian rule seems to have been at once weak and unpopular, the westerns succeeded in imbuing the Greeks with but few of their customs, religious feeling ran too high for that. At Naxos for example, at the seat of government in the Chora or chief town, most of the best families are of Italian origin, and still maintain their religion, but the Greek families treat them with suspicion and dislike. The sailors speak a *patois* with almost more Italian words in it than Greek, yet up in the mountains of Naxos, a few hours' distance from the chief town, the villages are inhabited by Greeks of the most undoubted pedigree. It is the same at Santorin, where the Italian influence was perhaps even more pronounced. If you leave the town and go into the villages, you find customs existing, the very nature of which stamp them with antiquity.

Again during the Turkish times, the islands were but little interfered with, and to small islands such as Ios, Sikinos, Pholegandros, which appear to have been uninhabited or nearly so during the Latin rule, refugees came and settled about this time, from all parts of the Turkish dominions, Crete, the Peloponnese, Asia Minor, and they built walled villages up on the hills to protect themselves from pirates, and there they have maintained their customs undisturbed ever since. From these facts it will be obvious that the islands of the Aegæan

Sea, especially the smaller ones, offer unusual facilities for the study of the manners and customs of the Greeks as they are. Here many characteristics exist which are obsolete on the mainland, and not a few of those customs which exist on the mainland and have been put down as Greek are distinctly barbaric. The test of an interest in a Greek custom as far as I see is not so much its quaintness as it is the pedigree of the custom. The value of one derived from Slavic origin is not much for the study of Hellenism. As an example I will merely state that it interested me far more to hear that the inhabitants of Southern Andros take their sickly children to get cured at the church of Hagios Artemidos, and there change their clothes and put on fresh ones blessed by the priest, than to learn that the inhabitants of northern Andros still exhume the body of a man who is supposed to haunt the place at nights, burn his body and scatter the ashes to the winds. The one custom is traceable to the ancient worship of Artemis, the protectress of children, Artemis *παιδοτρόφος* as her epithet was,—even the name of Artemis is retained in the Christian ritual,—whilst the other custom is distinctly of barbaric origin. Whilst on this subject I cannot pass over a fact which has had but little attention paid to it as yet, namely, the separate value of each island as a connecting link between the old world and the new as regards phraseology. Each one can supply numbers of words which appear in no modern glossary, but which are distinctly classical. There exist tolerably perfect glossaries of words from Syra, Andros, Lesbos, and Santorin, but it is in the remoter islands that the philologist will find a rich harvest.

By way of example I will just state the existence at Anaphi, of the word somewhat rare even in classical times *κατάλυμα* for an inn or halting place; it is here applied to the houses by the shore as opposed to those of the town on the hill above. At Santorin a peasant will say *κοττόβολλο*, for anything sudden, compare the old word *κοττός*, a dice, and *βάλλω*; whilst at Amorgos the peasants still trim their vines with a *δίελα*, an obvious contraction of the two-pronged hoe *δίκελλα* which Sophocles mentions, and which I saw nowhere else in the Cyclades, though I believe Mr. Newton saw it in use at Mitylene.

I will now return to the first object of interest to which I

alluded, and say a few words more in detail about the prehistoric remains which I found at Antiparos, some specimens of which have been engraved to accompany this paper.

It is first of all necessary to state why I chose Antiparos as a basis for investigation on this point: firstly, because during historic times we have hardly any reference to the existence of a population here, in fact the only account that I can find of Antiparos under its old name of Oliaros, is in the late author Stephanos Byzantinos, who tells us, "Oliaros, one of the Cyclades, about which Heraclides of Pontus, in his description of the islands says, 'Oliaros, a Sidonian colony, is distant from Paros nine (?) stadia.'" This notice gives us a possible solution of the vexed question as to who these inhabitants were; they may have been early Phoenicians. The existence of calamine in this island may have been known to them, and have attracted large numbers. Only a few years ago calamine mines have been opened here; whether calamine and its properties were known to the Phoenicians it is impossible now to say. I could find no trace of any ancient works here, but they may have taken their mineral from near the surface and have left no trace of holes. Beyond a Venetian fortress and the present wretched village, the inhabitants of which are chiefly descended from reclaimed pirates, and a few houses near the above-mentioned mines, there are no traces of habitations on the islands at all; certainly nothing of Hellenic work.

Secondly, I was induced to dig at Antiparos, because I was shown extensive graveyards there. Of these, I visited no less than four on the island itself, and heard from natives of the existence of others in parts of the island I did not visit. A rock in the sea between Antiparos and the adjacent uninhabited island of Despotico is covered with graves, and another islet is called Cemeteri from the graves on it. The islands of Despotico and Antiparos were once joined by a tongue of land, which was washed away by the encroachment of the sea on the northern side, and in the shallow water of the bay, between the islands, I was pointed out traces of ancient dwellings, and with the help of the telescope, that is to say a can with a glass bottom, which the sponge fishermen use here to see the bottom of the sea, I was able to discern a well, filled up with sand, an oven, and a small square house. It would be interesting to compare these

with the prehistoric houses found at Therasia and Santorin by the French school at Athens and with that on Salamis. Unfortunately the ruins were too much covered with sea-weed for me, with the rude appliances at hand, to form any opinion or take any measurements. A clever fisherman who knows every inch of the bay, told me that pottery, similar to that I found in the graves, was very plentiful at the bottom of the sea near the houses.

It is on the slope of the mountain, about a mile above the spot where the houses were, that an extensive grave-yard exists, it is not unlikely that the submerged houses form the town of which this was the necropolis.

Lastly, I was further induced by the fact that the adjacent island of Paros was a great centre for settlements in all ages from various nations and languages, owing to the marble quarries, but Antiparos had the advantage over Paros for excavating, owing to the non-existence of historic remains, so that we could start with a fair supposition that the extensive graveyards belonged to a period prior to history.

During my stay at Antiparos I was assisted in everything by the kindness of my friends the Messrs. Swan, who conducted the calamine mines on the island, and with the aid of their workmen I opened some forty graves in two of the graveyards. One of these cemeteries, namely, the one over the submerged houses already referred to, was greatly inferior to the other, in the character of the graves themselves, and in the nature of the finds therein, though they all belonged to the same class of workmanship.

Firstly, we will speak of the graves themselves. Most of those in the poorer graveyard were very irregular in design, some oblong, some triangular, some square; they generally had three slabs to form the sides, the fourth being built up with stones and rubbish. There was always a slab on the top and sometimes at the bottom of the grave. They were on an average three feet long, two feet wide, and seldom more than two feet deep. In every grave on this western side we found bones chiefly heaped together in confusion, so much so that it seems impossible that the bodies can have been buried even in a sitting posture, and most graves contained the bones of more bodies than one. In one very small grave, so small that to get the

remains of two people in they must have cut up the limbs, we found two skulls so tightly wedged together between the side slabs, that they could not be removed without smashing them ; from this we may possibly infer, that the flesh had been removed in some way before interment, differing essentially from what Dr. Schliemann found at Hissarlik, where, as he says, "all prehistoric peoples who succeeded each other in the course of ages on the hills of Hissarlik used cremation of the dead." This at once argues a great difference between the prehistoric inhabitants of Hissarlik and Antiparos. In the graves in the cemetery to the south-east of the island, I found only one body in each, they were considerably larger and better built ; some of them had graves beneath, and in every case a slab or pillow on which the head was rested. One graveyard was essentially inferior to the other in point of wealth and advance in art, yet the nature of the finds in each was the same.

I will firstly discuss the marble finds in these graves. In the poorer graves I found the rudest representations of the human form in marble, those which somewhat resemble a violin (Figs. 1, 2), both of which were in one grave and were probably meant to



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

represent man and wife. In one grave here I also found some flat round bits of marble which I threw away as mere pebbles at the time, but after consideration makes me inclined to believe that they were intended for the same purpose.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.



FIG. 7.

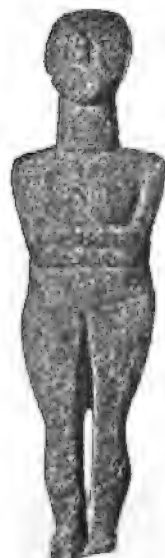


FIG. 8.

Secondly, as to the cemetery to the south-east; the representations of the human form which I found here were certainly better and show considerable advance in artistic skill; they have apparently been made by rubbing the marble with stone, so as to leave the nose and eyes.

There is always special attention paid in the female figures to the vulva triangle, doubtless pointing to a worship of procreative power, and in one figure found here the idea of the sitting posture is cleverly given, and there is a successful attempt to give the roundness of the calves and limbs (Fig. 8). Two similar figures I got from Paros, perhaps indicating a further advance, the one with pointed legs I take to be a man by comparing him with a similar figure in the British Museum (Figs. 6, 7). From Amorgos I got a still more advanced specimen of these quaint figures, being a group of which only the trunk of a woman's body is left, with the arm of another person round her back, probably a further representation of man and wife (Fig. 9). In the museum at Athens, there



FIG. 9.

exists one of these figures of wonderfully advanced execution; it represents a man sitting in a chair playing a lyre, and is really a work of fair execution, but they have always the same curious pointed shape of the head, and unnaturally long

neck, and it is puzzling to divine why, when they could round and finish off other parts of the body, the head was invariably pointed like the blade of a stone implement.¹ In some graves I found marble legs all alone, in another a headless silver figure, covered with so heavy an oxide that the form was almost destroyed; they probably must have had some religious purport, *ex voto* or otherwise, and from the excess of female figures over male, it is presumable that the people were worshippers, though not exclusively, of some female deity.

Besides the figures there were a good many other marble things in the graves; large marble bowls, with vertical holes for suspension, are frequently found in similar graves in the Cyclades, and are called *λυχνάρια* by the natives. One that I found in a grave at Antiparos, had a collection of shells from the sea shore at the bottom of it, evidently put in at the time of burial as an offering to the dead.

I found also several marble plates well rounded, and with an idea of ornamentation in the rim round the edge, another dish with bits of marble left on the edge for ornamentation, and a neatly made phial with a lip to pour out of. Marble of course is a speciality of the Cyclades, and especially so of the neighbouring island of Paros, and doubtless was an object of commerce to these very people, so we need not be surprised at the skill displayed in working it.

We will next discuss the obsidian implements which I found. In the poorer graves in the first cemetery there was not a trace of volcanic glass implements, whilst in the richer ones, obsidian flakes or knives were very common, but here again I found no arrow heads, which occur in great quantities in other places where obsidian implements are found in Greece. Here in Antiparos the inhabitants had their obsidian close at hand, for a hill about a mile from the south-eastern graveyard is covered with it. I take it that the graves must date from the very first introduction of the knowledge of making these instruments, as there were none in the poorer graves, and flakes only in the richer ones.

Obsidian, of course, is found in abundance in other parts of

¹ This, if comparison goes for anything, points strongly to a Phœnician origin. Cf. bronze figures found at

Beyrouth with similar pointed heads, engraved in S. Merrill's *East of the Jordan*.

the world, and old graves on continental Greece produce many similar specimens. Obsidian cores come from Hungary, Mexico, Terra del Fuego, &c. Cerro de Navajos is an obsidian hill in Mexico, formerly the Sheffield of that country, where they made all their knives prior to the Spanish invasion. Quantities of obsidian implements are picked up now in the fields around there. When Cortes invaded Mexico he found the barbers of the Aztec capital shaving the natives with razors of precisely the same nature as the obsidian flakes I found at Antiparos.

The art of making them has perished but the theory is plain; any maker of gun flints could do it. The Indians still have a plan of working obsidian, by laying a bone wedge on the surface of a core, and tapping it till the stone cracks; their productions are exactly similar to the flakes I found in Antiparos, as I have certified by comparing them in the British Museum.

In the next place I found a considerable number of metal ornaments in the graves at Antiparos. I have in my possession a narrow twisted torque of silver with a large percentage of copper, rings of silver with the same oxide on as certain rings found in Etruria, which oxide cuts like horn, a band of bronze with about seventy-five per cent of copper in it, and covered with an incrustation of red oxide and green carbonate of copper, and that little silver figure I mentioned above, with a thick incrustation of chloride of silver, thus giving us silver, copper, and bronze in use at the time of these graves.

Lastly, we will treat of the pottery, which after all is the most important item, and demands our chief attention. Pottery such as I found at Antiparos is now for the first time associated with the marble figures and marble household utensils, thus giving us some little further insight into the advance the people who made these figures had made in domestic art. On none of this pottery is there any visible trace of writing or inscriptions, thereby suggesting that the people were not Phoenicians or Sidonians as the legend says, for most Phoenician remains have traces of inscriptions on them.

In the poorer graves we seldom found anything else but pottery: it is all of a rude character and frequently incised with rude patterns. The vase shaped like a sea urchin (Fig. 10) is covered with a sort of herring-bone pattern, and stands about a foot high.

This pattern is common on very early Hellenic glass, and is the same as we often see on ancient British vases. Most of the vases are very true, too much so to be hand-made, and consequently we may presume that many of them were turned on a potter's wheel. There is no trace however of a pattern from animal or vegetable life on these vases, all being herring or criss cross: this would place our pottery anterior to that of



FIG. 10.

Hissarlik, on which we see attempts at the representations of eyes, noses, and breasts.

The clay is very poor and very slightly baked; much of it is black inside, as if the pots had been dried in a closed place, so that the smoke has penetrated the clay. Then again, we have frequent specimens with bits of marble in the clay to prevent it contracting. As to shape, the specimens are very varied: there

were lids without their bottoms, and frequent vases with a rim for a lid which was missing; most of them had vertical or



FIG. 11.

horizontal holes through which a string had been passed for suspension (*vide* Figs. 10, 11, and 13).



FIG. 12.

Of course no importance can be attached to the following facts, but it is worthy of remark that in a cavern in Andalusia, a

fragment of a vase, now in the museum of St. Germain-en-Laye was found with vertical tubular holes for suspension exactly like some I found at Antiparos (Fig. 11). Similar ones have been found in Breton dolmens, and in the museum of Nordiske Oldsager there exists a vase found in a Danish barrow, covered with a lid, and having on each side corresponding perforations through which strings could be passed, exactly like one I found in the richest grave I opened in Antiparos. The holes for suspension Dr. Schliemann associates with his Trojan discoveries. As to the jug (Fig. 12) Dr. Schliemann thinks that



FIG. 13.

it resembles some he has recently found at Tiryns, only those at Tiryns are more elegant in form. Curiously enough this grave was the only one I opened in which I found no trace of bones. I thought that perhaps traces of cremated bones might be found in the earth which filled the vase, but there were found to be none, and the earth had evidently made its way into and filled the pot through a crack in the side.

A vase in the British Museum from Porth Dafarch in Anglesea has exactly the same pattern on it as one I have (Fig. 13), and bits of marble, or quartz probably, in the clay to prevent

contractions are very commonly found in ancient British vases. These points are merely speculations of course, and prove nothing, but still they are curious as prehistoric coincidences.

One further point with regard to this pottery I must mention which perplexed me considerably at the time. About two hundred yards from the poorer graveyard, I opened a small isolated grave, evidently that of a child; in it I found a lamp and a mug of much more recent date, probably at the most three centuries B.C. The grave was formed in exactly the same way as the others, and the only solution to the problem is this, that a child died on a boat which was storm-bound in the harbour, and was buried here, the materials and method for making the grave being taken from the neighbouring grave-yard. Even now barques are frequently storm-bound down there, and wait for weeks for a favourable wind to take them to their destination.

The notes appended to this paper by Dr. Garson show his opinion on one skull I brought home; if, as I hope shortly will be the case, more skulls can be obtained, some definite conclusion may be arrived at on this point.

Nothing can be decided without the aid of geology as to the dates of these graves, and with the aid of geology something might possibly be done, and it would turn on two points. Firstly as to the time of the submersion of the houses at Antiparos by the encroachment of the sea, which has evidently been brought about by the wearing through of the narrow slip of land between Antiparos and Despotico, and secondly, as to the date of the first great convulsion of nature, which changed Santorin from a lovely island called ἡ Καλλίστη, into a mass of pumice.

No tradition or allusion to this stupendous event is made by Herodotus or other writers, and Herodotus gives us the traditions of Santorin as far back as the 16th century, B.C. M. Fouqué, the French geologist, who went to Santorin to study the recent eruption, stated it as his opinion, that the first convulsion took place twenty centuries B.C. Tradition by its silence, and geology by its surmises, combine in placing this eruption before the 16th century, and the finds of the French School in Santorin and Therasia were of a date prior to this eruption, for the prehistoric villages were covered with the layer of pumice which resulted from that eruption, which in its magnitude must have equalled the recent calamity in the Sunda Straits.

Now, with the one exception of marble, my finds at Antiparos are inferior in artistic merit to both those of Santorin or Hissarlik, and hence doubtless anterior, for it can hardly be supposed that a knowledge of making superior pottery existed on one island and was unknown on another so close to it as Antiparos is to Santorin, especially as M. Fouqué proves that there existed considerable commercial intercourse between these islands.

By this vast population which inhabited the islands of the Aegæan Sea, we are carried back into the remotest antiquity, and a vast population it must have been, for every island is full of these graves. In our travels we found lots of the marble figures and bowls in the peasants' houses, which they had found whilst digging in their fields, but from observations I may state that the great centre of this population was Paros, for the eastern side of the island is a perfect necropolis, whereas the richest finds and the best designed figures have come from Amorgos, and the rudest ones I have seen are those I found at Antiparos. I am convinced that a further study of this subject under a more vigorous system of excavation than I was able to bestow on it, would result in many interesting facts becoming known about this primitive race of mankind.

J. THEODORE BENT.

NOTES ON AN ANCIENT GRECIAN SKULL OBTAINED BY
MR. THEODORE BENT FROM ANTIPAROS, ONE OF THE
CYCLADES.

By J. G. GARSON, M.D., *Royal College of Surgeons.*

The skull from the Greek tombs at Antiparos placed in my hands for examination by Mr. Bent is that of an adult male of middle age. In general appearance it is of rounded form, broad in proportion to its length, and particularly deep from above downwards at the posterior or occipital region. This gives it a peculiarly massive look, and is due to the rapidity with which the posterior part curves downwards towards the *foramen magnum* from the middle parietal region. The shortness of the cranium is as it were counterbalanced by the fulness of the cerebellar region. The cephalic index (the relation of breadth to the length, the latter being taken as 100), is 80·9, it is therefore brachycephalic. The basio-bregmatic height index (the relation of the height to the length) is 79·2. The breadth and height in proportion to the length are therefore very nearly the same. The alveolar index, which indicates the degree of projection of the lower part of

the face, is 87.1, which places it in the orthognathous group. The form of the nasal aperture is mesorhine, the index being 51.0. The orbits are fairly large and open, the orbital index on the relation of the height to the width of the orbit being 84.6, which shows them to be mesosema. The parietal tubera are well marked, the mesial frontal suture is persistent, and the glabella is fairly prominent.

Comparing this skull with the other Greek skulls in the College of Surgeons' Museum, we find it most nearly agree in general character with one obtained from an ancient tomb at Ruvo in Magna Grecia, which was found to be rich in Grecian relics. This latter however is considerably more dolichocephalic (its length-breadth index being 74.3), as are also the other Greek skulls in the Museum, with the exception of one from Nola, a Chalcedic colony.

For the sake of comparison, I place side by side with the measurements of this skull, those of what is usually considered a typical Grecian skull obtained from Cuma, an Eolic colony, from which it will be seen that the skull from Antiparos differs considerably.

	Skull from Antiparos.	Skull from Cuma.
Length (maximum)	178 mm.	188
Breadth (maximum)	144	139
Length-breadth index	80.9	73.9
Height	141	129
Height-length Index	79.2	68.6
Circumference (horizontal)	510	525
Basio-Nasal length	101	105
Basio-Alveolar	88	102
Alveolar Index	87.1	97.1
Nasal length	51	53
Nasal breadth	26	25
Nasal Index	51.0	47.2
Orbital width	39	37
Orbital height	33	35
Orbital Index	84.6	86.7

The small amount of material we possess of this once great and famous nation renders this addition very valuable. It is very desirable that more skulls, and if possible skeletons, or at least the long bones be obtained, so that their osteological characters may be more fully studied. I cannot too strongly impress on those interested in Grecian history and archaeology, the importance of obtaining and preserving the human remains as well as the works of art. At present the data from which to base conclusions as to the osteological characters of the ancient inhabitants of Greece are totally insufficient. Mutual co-operation between those interested in Grecian art on the one hand, and physical anthropology on the other, will be certain to extend our knowledge of this most interesting people who once inhabited the earth.

NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION FROM PRIENE

(VOL. IV. p. 237.)

I HAVE been favoured with a letter from M. Haussoullier, Professor of Greek Antiquities at Bordeaux, respecting the Prienian decree which I published in the last number of this *Journal* from the MS. copy of Mr. Murray. M. Haussoullier, whose valuable contributions to Greek epigraphy are well-known, especially to readers of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, tells me that he visited Prienè in 1879 and took an impression and copy of this same inscription. He has very kindly communicated to me the readings in which his impression differs from Mr. Murray's MS. The comparison proves the general accuracy of Mr. Murray's copy.

Line 9.—Murray τὸν χρόνον: Haussoullier τὸν χρόνον.

Line 19.—Murray ὅπως δαμῆ, from which I restored ὅπως δ[ε]μή: Haussoullier ὅπως δ'ά... only.

Line 21.—Murray μαθωνοντων ΔΙΑ—his first ω looked equally like α; and so I read it, suggesting μα[ν]θανόντων. But ω is right, for Haussoullier has ΩΝΟΝΤΩΝ only.

Line 22.—Murray κωνον, apparently corrected from κωνων. The latter is confirmed by Haussoullier, who has [κ]ωνων.

It will be observed that Mr. Murray seems in several cases to have succeeded in reading one or two more letters than appear in M. Haussoullier's impression. As Mr. Murray visited Kelibesch in 1870 and M. Haussoullier in 1879, it is very likely that the edges of the stone had sustained some damage during the nine years' interval. This should be borne in mind when we pass from the unimportant readings given above to the reading of line 2, which I reserve to the last as involving the name of a Prienian month.

In line 2 Mr. Murray has TAYN, and begins line 3 ΟΥΛΥΣΙΑΣ. I imagined TAYN | ΟΥ, of which I could make no sense, to be a false reading for ΠΑΝΗ | [Μ]ΟΥ, the known name of a Prienian month. The accuracy of Mr. Murray's copy is, however, confirmed in part by M. Haussoullier's impression, which reads in line 2 ΤΑΥΙ, but in line 3 ΥΣΙΑΣ only. It is certain, therefore, that our inscription gave the name of a month not mentioned in any other Prienian document. How is it to be restored? Probably I was right at first in suggesting *Taupeών* (Vol. IV. p. 238). If not *Taupeών* it might be *Taupeios*. The latter would make the genitive in ΟΥ agree with Mr. Murray's reading of line 3; while *Taupeών* is a well-known name of an Ionic month at Kyzikos (Böckh, *C. I.* 3658). In either case we must suppose Mr. Murray to have mis-read the P as N at the end of line 2.

The minute accuracy upon which the study of inscriptions depends can seldom be assured except through the repeated examination of a marble, if possible by different eyes. Thus letter by letter do we recover the relics of ancient Greek civilization.

E. L. HICKS.

ORNAMENTS AND ARMOUR FROM KERTCH IN THE NEW MUSEUM AT OXFORD.

PLATES XLVI., XLVII.

WHEN Mr. Newton, in 1874,¹ was writing about Greek art in the Kimmerian Bosphoros, he was obliged to refer his readers for a sight of the objects he was describing to the Ermitage at St. Petersburg, and to the two magnificent Russian publications² in which are reproduced some of the recent acquisitions of that museum. If any are desirous of learning what is the place in the history of Greek art which is filled by the discoveries in the Crimea, and of gaining a general view of the history and results of the excavations carried on in that region by the Russian government, it is needless to say that Mr. Newton's article will still meet their requirements; but for a view of some specimens of the objects therein referred to it is no longer necessary for an Englishman to travel to St. Petersburg, for there is now in the New Museum at Oxford a collection of gold and other ornaments, vases and weapons, which, though of course comparatively insignificant both as to numbers and the magnificence of individual articles, yet offers samples of most of the principal classes of objects discovered in the neighbourhood of the Crimea. The objects of which it consists were all found near Kertch, the ancient Pantikapaion, which has now for some time been famous as the chief centre of the Russian excavations; they were presented to the University of Oxford by Dr. C. W. Siemens. Drawings have been made of the most important specimens by Mr. Julian Drummond, and these we

¹ *Portfolio*, No. 58, 60. *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, ix.

² Gillé and Stephani, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*; Stephani, *Compte*

Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique. See also Ouvaroff, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*.

are now enabled, through the kindness of Sir H. W. Acland to reproduce.

The collection is formed from the spoil of five Greek graves. Both from the nature of the ornaments discovered, and also from the skeletons themselves, it has been ascertained that in one of these graves a warrior was buried, while the other four contained the remains of women. The graves were all inclosed within small tumuli, some of which occur arranged in rows, others solitary. The floors of the graves, which were protected by hewn slabs of limestone, twelve inches in thickness, were usually excavated about two feet below the level of the surrounding soil, a tumulus being piled up above them to some considerable height—eighteen and twenty-four feet in two recorded instances. The human remains were in each case inclosed in coffins of walnut wood, but these fell to dust on exposure, as also did the bones themselves; the only exception among them was one skull, that of the warrior, which was protected by his helmet. This is now duly preserved in the Oxford Museum, in a series of crania, opposite the case where his belongings are displayed. The bodies were in each case placed with their heads towards the east.

Besides the ornaments, arms, and other articles for use or display usually found in the tombs, there seems to have been in one case a further attempt to provide for the employment and comfort of the deceased. Outside the coffin in the fourth tumulus were a chair and a spindle, as well as two cups, all of wood. Of these, however, nothing is now to be seen, as they completely crumbled away on exposure to the air. The warrior buried in the first tumulus was provided with the services of his horse and his dog in the region of the dead. The skeletons of both these animals were discovered outside the grave, and lying by the horse's head was an iron bit, so completely corroded as to fall to pieces. It appears that this custom of burying animals, especially horses, with their master, was by no means unfrequent in the neighbourhood of Kimmerian Bosphoros, as similar remains have, in numerous cases, been discovered in the graves of that region.

Before describing in detail the various articles reproduced in our plates, it will perhaps be as well to give a short general list of the things found in each grave, and briefly to consider, where

necessary, those to which we shall not again have occasion to refer.

In the first tumulus was the grave of the warrior above mentioned. The tumulus itself was twenty-four feet in height; within it, and outside the grave, were the remains of the dog and the horse. The grave itself yielded the richest find of all this series; in it were all the articles reproduced on Pl. XLVI. Hence it will be seen that the warrior was provided with a helmet and other armour, that around him were arrows, a mirror, and a pair of earrings, and that his dress was covered with numerous small plates of gold. At Oxford there are also bits of woollen stuff and skins in which he was wrapped, a sponge, a heavy bronze ladle, a gold ring without any intaglio design, and a massive gold collar or torque, tapering from the middle towards the two ends, which are not joined together; thus it could, from its elasticity, easily be put on or taken off. This torque is a perfectly simple piece of gold, without any ornament whatever, like that represented in the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. iv. 6. It is recorded that there were also found in this grave the remains of two small marble and earthenware vases, of the kind formerly called 'lachrymatories,' two swords, one shorter than the other, and eight pieces of gold forming a necklace, but none of these are now in the collection.

The second tumulus, which was eighteen feet high, contained the grave of a woman. The coffin was painted red and white. Here were found the ring, necklace, and pair of clasps represented on Pl. XLVII. 11, 12, 13, and also three plain bowls, each with two handles, a variegated glass alabastron, a flat round platter without handles, raised upon a high foot, and three other vases. Two of these last are of the form called by Gerhard, 'askos';¹ they have the mouth at one side, and the handle running from it right across to the other side; both are painted with red figures. On one are a hare and a dog,² on the other two satyrs, each carrying a horn, and one an amphora. On the third vase, an aryballos, are two does and a tree. All these are now in Oxford.

¹ Or 'askion,' *Ann. Inst.* 1836.
Guhl and Koner, *Life of the Greeks and Romans*, Fig. 198; 32.

² Cf. *Compte Rendu*, 1876, p. 130; a vase of similar shape, with lion and hare.

The third and fifth tumuli, in both of which women were buried, seem not to have yielded very many articles. From the third came the necklace and armlets reproduced on Pl. XLVII. 9, 10; from the fifth, the ring, Pl. XLVII. 7.¹

The fourth tumulus, again containing a woman's grave, was much richer in its yield. Numerous gold plates had served to ornament the dress of its occupant (Pl. XLVII. 23), and a necklace, a pair of armlets, a pair of clasps, two rings, and an amulet of chalcedony (Pl. XLVII. 1, 4—8), were among her ornaments. In this grave were also found a small silver bowl with two handles, a sponge, a perforated bronze wine-strainer, described as an incense-vase, and a small copper-gilt mirror with a handle: these form part of the Oxford collection. Here too were the wooden chair, spindle, and cups above referred to.

Having thus given a general sketch of the nature and quantity of the objects discovered, it now remains for us to consider somewhat more in detail those more important ones among them which have been selected for reproduction in our two plates, taking them after the order of their numbers.

XLVI. 1 is a piece of armour discovered in the first tumulus: this, as well as 3, would be called scale armour by M. Stephani, though only the latter corresponds to the more ordinary type. No. 1 consists of bars of bronze, riveted together by bronze wire, and fastened upon a lining of tough hide, which is still in a wonderfully good state of preservation. In the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. ii. 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, are represented several fragments of scale armour, some of them almost exactly resembling this piece in construction. It is hard to see what part of the armour was formed either by this,² or by No. 3, for both have the hide turned over them at the edge in such a way as to indicate that they were more or less separate pieces. From the shape of the former piece, one may conjecture that it was one of the plated pteryges which are usually seen hanging from the waist of a thorax; the chief objection to this is that scale breastplates were not generally made after this customary pattern.

XLVI. 2 is a helmet of bronze. Unlike the merely ornamental head-pieces often found in tombs, this was evidently made for actual use. It is quite plain, and without decoration of any sort;

¹ It is uncertain whether this ring belongs to the fifth grave or the first.

² This is called a gauntlet in the description.

a flat ridge runs over the top of the crown. On the front of it, visible in our illustration, a plate of bronze had been riveted on to it by three nails. Opposite this is a corresponding space left free from the series of holes which surrounds the rest of the rim; in the centre of this space are two holes, one above the other. On each side of the helmet is a short slit. It is not clear what was the purpose of all these small holes; they may have been for the attachment of a lining.¹ Other protective metal plates can hardly have been fastened to them, as if so, some remains of these must have been found.

XLVI. 3 is a piece of scale-armour of the ordinary fish-scale type (λεπιδωτός). In the *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien*, Pl. xxvii. and also in the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. ii. 18, 19, are numerous examples of these scales; indeed, as many as 2,500 are recorded to have been found even at the time of the earlier publication,² whence it would appear that this kind of armour was much in use amongst the Greeks in the neighbourhood of the Crimea. Yet a special interest attaches to the Oxford example, for in it we find the scales still fastened by leather thongs to a lining of hide, thus showing exactly the construction of the coat of mail. This lining has in other cases perished, though in one instance it is recorded to have been found upon opening the tomb, and to have crumbled away on exposure. By some fortunate chance this piece of leather has survived, and with it the arrangement of the bronze scales. Here, as in the case of No. 1, it is hard to see the exact destination of this piece of armour; perhaps this may be a shoulder piece.³

XLVI. 4 is a bronze ornament in the form of a camel's head; it is about five inches long, and has a small staple for attachment at the back. It seems to have served the same purpose as the

¹ More probably they may have served for fastening a leather brim to the helmet. The cavalry of Northern Greece often wore a helmet somewhat in the form of a modern sun-helmet, such as Eucratides, King of Bactria, wears on his coins. Such a helmet, in metal, is at Rugby, in the possession of Mr. Bloxam; but it seems likely that the rim would usually be made, for lightness, of leather.

² 1854-55.

³ Mr. A. J. Evans suggests that No. 3 is the lid of a quiver. The hole at the lower corner would well suit a shoulder-piece, for these often had thongs attached to them and tied lower down. On the other hand, I have not found an example on monuments of a scale armour made with shoulder-pieces of the ordinary type.

object represented in the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, p. 126, and there described by M. Stephani as a harness ornament. The appearance of the camel in Greek art is so rare as to call for some remark. It is a somewhat singular coincidence, at least, that the earliest instance known occurs on a vase found in this region, and published in the *Compte Rendu* for 1875, Pl. v. 1. M. Stephani,¹ in commenting on this, enumerates the other instances in which the animal is found, and these form by no means a long list;² he generally traces either some reference to Bacchanalian triumphs, or to the local characteristics of hot regions. Hence the occurrence here, apparently as a purely decorative form, is very peculiar.

XLVI. 5, represents specimens of a series of arrow-heads; the one of simpler form, without a socket to cover the end of the shaft is of bone; only one of this material was found here. Of the other and more elaborate pattern twenty-five were found; these are of copper and are gilt, as also are the arrow-heads on Pl. xxvii., of the *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien*; ³ none of those, however, are so elaborate as these in design. When found, the shafts of these arrows could also be seen; they were made of reeds.

XLVI. 6 is one of a pair of gold earrings, of very peculiar construction and design. In the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. iii. 42, is an earring of very similar shape, there described by M. Stephani as 'ganz einfach.' Here, however, there is a further modification of this shape, which seems to have struck the artist as similar to that of a cock. He has accordingly increased this resemblance by adding a cock's head to it, the body being still ornamented by ordinary jewellery designs, such as a wreath, and a zig-zag produced by alternating granulated triangles; the place of the tail-feathers, too, is taken by the long pin curling round towards the head. Indeed, the resemblance to a cock seems merely to be felt and indicated by the introduction of the head, without being carried out into any further details.

XLVI. 7 gives specimens of eighty-four small gold plates in the

¹ *C.R.* Text 1875, pp. 95-100.

tury B.C.

² A camel mounted by a driver occurs as type of a coin of Phœnicia or Judæa (uncertain) of the fourth cen-

³ Those in the *Ant. Bosp. Cim.* are bronze with remains of gilding.

form of rabbits, which were found scattered over the breast, having evidently once served as the ornaments of a piece of clothing which has now disappeared. Such plates, often called bracteeae, (*πέταλα*), are well known to be among the most frequently discovered objects in the tombs of this region, whence we may assume that its inhabitants were fond of dresses decorated with them (*χρυσόπαστοι, διάχρυσοι ἐσθῆτες*). On the breast of this warrior were also found two hollow gold bosses, of which one is represented in I. 8.

XLVI. 9 is the handle of a mirror, whose plate, also found, though broken away at the part where it was attached to the handle, was of copper gilt; the decoration consists of spirals and vegetable forms. It seems somewhat surprising to find either a mirror or earrings in the tomb of a man, together with armour and weapons. They may have been objects endeared to him by association.

With this ends the list of objects found in the first tumulus; the rest of the graves, being those of women, contained mostly articles of female ornament: these will all be found on Plate XLVII.

No. 1 is one of a pair of armlets; such ornaments were often used by the Greeks, and these are too small for the neck, and too large for the wrist. They seem to have had no clasp, but to have kept in their place by their own elasticity; the ends of them terminate in rams' heads, a frequently recurring form. These heads, as well as the casing of the rings themselves, are made of thin plates of gold; the ring has a core of solid bronze; and over this the gold plate is laid in such a way that its join can be clearly traced all along the inner side. The rams' heads are merely hollow cases of gold fitted over the ends of this core. The bands of ornament which surround the ends of the ring just below the heads are interesting, as one may clearly see in them that method of fabrication which is supposed to have led to the predilection for spirals in goldsmiths' work. The spiral decorations here consist of fine gold wire, coiled into the requisite form and then soldered on to the ground. Some of these coils have become loose, and thus the manner of their application is evident.

XLVII. 2 and 3 are specimens of those small gold plates which we have already met in tumulus I. and which were used for the

decoration of the dress; only one was found like No. 2, with the representation of a full face, and holes pierced for attachment to the material of the dress. Similar full-faced heads¹ are often found on the plates of the Russian publications; sometimes they seem to be Gorgoneia, but more frequently they have no distinctive characteristics. They may often be regarded as amulets, especially when, as here, only one of them is found among numerous plates of different design.

No. 3, on the other hand, is one of forty-nine similar plates found scattered over the body. All are in the form of a lion, a rather favourite device;² and each has three holes in it for attachment. These holes are, however, not quite identically placed on all, so it is clear that all were not pierced at once, and that the holes are independent of the stamp by which the design was produced.

XLVII. 4 is a part of a gold necklace, which consists of alternate links of two different kinds, with a pendant from each. Half the links are in the form of rosettes, the other half in that of two crescents back to back; a hollow tube for threading runs at the back of each link. These rosettes and double crescents, doubtless because of the adaptability of their form to one another, are also seen combined in the decoration of a gold-mounted whet-stone³ discovered in this neighbourhood, and we find too links⁴ of a necklace in the form of two crescents back to back, with two tubes running at the back for the cords. The pendants consist of hollow gold; those from the rosettes are elaborately worked to resemble acorns, and are very much larger than the others.

XLVII. 5 is one of a pair of objects whose purpose can hardly be said to have been as yet clearly ascertained; it consists of bronze gilt, and its ends terminate in granulated pyramids. Many similar specimens have been found in the neighbourhood of Kertch; one much resembling this is represented on Plate xxxii. 14, of the *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien*. In that publication fourteen⁵ others are referred to, in various materials, gold, silver, and bronze gilt. A suggestion is there made that

¹ Ouvaroff, *op. cit.* Pl. vi. 5; *Antiquités du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. xii. 10; xxi. 18, 21, &c.

² *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. xxx. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* Pl. xxiv. 9.

³ *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. xx. 2; C.R. 1876, Pl. iii. 9.

⁵ In 1854-55. Several more have been found since.

these were used as agraffes, for fastening the chiton on the shoulder. Again, we find one represented in the *Compte Rendu* for 1876, Pl. iii. 32, and in commenting on this, M. Stephani observes that these objects are invariably found in pairs, and always on the breast, not on the shoulder, and that they are worn by men and women alike. This seems to be all we can learn about them, and their exact use must still be left in doubt; they probably served in some way as clasps to keep the dress in position; may they have been connected with the girdle, and held it in its place?

XLVII. 6 is a gold signet ring with what seems a portrait head, somewhat roughly cut in intaglio, in the metal itself, as in the case of the bronze ring represented in *Ouvaroff*, op. cit., Plate xvi. 17.¹

XLVII. 7 is a gold ring with a design cut in intaglio in the metal itself; this design is a youthful head, full-face, with horns and long hair; a chlamys over the shoulders is fastened by a brooch beneath the chin. Above the head is an uncertain object, which may be a bee or fly, possibly a bud. If we are desirous of finding the meaning of this device, the type is one which might well represent the young Dionysos or a River-god.

XLVII. 8 is a chalcedony, bored through its greater diameter; on it is cut in intaglio an oriental animal, winged and mitred; it has the body, head, and fore-paws of a lion, but its hinder legs end in bird-like talons. This gem was probably used as an amulet; it was found near the neck and breast of the woman's skeleton in the fourth tumulus. In the *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien*, Pl. xvi. 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 14, we find Babylonian or Assyrian devices, on cylinders and on gems attached to swivel-rings or chains; this may have had, as a substitute for a chain, a thread which has now disappeared, and so have been hung round the neck.

XLVII. 9 is a portion of a gold necklace, consisting of alternate larger and smaller squares, each divided by one horizontal, and three vertical depressions; the larger ones are also adorned with rosettes. Pendants hang from the links, one from each in this part of the necklace; the five rosette-squares nearest to the centre of the whole have two pendants each. The pendants

¹ Cf. also *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. xviii.

from these squares are ornamented only with plain ribs; those from the smaller ones have beaded ribs, and also, perhaps, a decoration of crossing lines between the ribs.¹ At one end is a clasp for fastening the necklace on, but how this worked is not now apparent.

XLVII. 10 is one of a pair of armlets or bracelets; these are of silver, with heads of thin gold plate at the ends. These heads are those of panthers or lions, of a very conventional oriental type. Below the heads is a plain band, encircled by a wreath at each end.

XLVII. 11 is a signet ring of gold with a sphinx crouching, cut in intaglio in the metal itself; in front and behind are buds, which serve to fill up the space of the field.

XLVII. 12 gives three views of a specimen of twenty-six rams' heads, in hollow gold, all pierced through the neck so as to be strung together to form a necklace; a granulated triangle is introduced as an ornament, possibly representing wool, above the forehead of each.

XLVII. 13 is one of a pair of hollow gold clasps, the fastenings of which are still to be seen. The two ends are covered with plain caps, but the ring is ornamented with flutings which run in the form of a spiral, starting in reverse directions, from the middle towards the ends. These clasps may have served to fasten the chiton together upon the shoulders.

Such are the objects selected as specimens of the collection now at Oxford; and in these are included all the pieces of jewellery or armour which are of any importance. In that collection those who have not seen the vast store of similar treasures now in St. Petersburg may find some specimens to illustrate the nature and workmanship of the contents of the tombs in southern Russia; and at the same time it is highly valuable as filling some gaps even in the rich series of the Hermitage.

There does not seem to be among the articles now in the Oxford Museum any one which possesses such distinctive characteristics of style or subject as would enable us to assign a definite date to itself, and to the other objects found with it. No grounds are apparent for making any distinction in this

¹ This is by no means so certain as it appears on the plate; the cross is not clear on any, and no trace of it is

visible on most. Perhaps it is merely accidental.

respect between the five graves; they seem all to belong to the same period, and their contents show much similarity both to one another and to numerous other objects found in the same region. This period is that of Alexander the Great, a time during which Pantikapaion, and other Greek colonies in this region, were at the summit of their prosperity, and to which are generally assigned the majority of the graves recently excavated in southern Russia. Nothing in them points to the style of an earlier period; nor, on the other hand, is there any trace of that deterioration in taste and workmanship which we might expect in products of later date.

The style of the articles in the Oxford collection does not differ from that of most of the others found in the same neighbourhood, and now in St. Petersburg. This has been already discussed by Mr. Newton,¹ but it will not be amiss here briefly to refer to a few of its chief characteristics. The art of the Greek Crimea was, in its origin at least, that of Athens. Many of the most magnificent objects discovered were probably imported from that city; but there they had been manufactured with a special view to this market, so that even in them some reaction of local taste and influence may be expected. Most of the smaller articles, such as those found in our five graves, may well have been the work of local goldsmiths. But these would copy Athenian models and work under Athenian influence, and hence the importance to us of the metal-work found in the Crimea, in the scarcity of other specimens which can be assigned to purely Hellenic art. Other influences must of course be allowed for: oriental types are of not infrequent occurrence, especially in the case of rings, cylinders, and gems which may have served as amulets; but instances in articles of a purely ornamental nature, such as the armlets, XLVII. 10, are sometimes to be found. Nor can the barbarism of the neighbouring Scythians have been without all influence, though it does not frequently obtrude itself. Many of the articles may have been made for the use of these barbarians, and even the Greek colonists probably did not keep themselves untainted from the taste of those among whom they dwelt. But even after allowing for all these foreign influences, enough of purely Hellenic art is left to be of the utmost value to us, since by it we may see how

¹ *Art. cil.*

the refined taste of the Greeks could adapt itself to the delicacies of goldsmith's work no less than to the grandeur of a colossal statue. Before the Russian excavations, the knowledge of Greek metal-work was most scanty ; but for them, and for a few isolated specimens found upon the islands or other Hellenic soil, we should be reduced to drawing uncertain and inadequate inferences from the products of Etruria and of Rome, imitative indeed of Greek art and subordinate to its influence, but totally unable to preserve to us the spirit of the models after which they were formed. Therefore it is that any acquisitions from a region of more purely Hellenic influence are of the utmost value for a truer appreciation of Hellenic art in England.

E. A. GARDNER.

THE BELL AND THE TRUMPET. (ΚΩΔΩΝ, ΣΑΛΠΙΓΞ.)

THE bell, as is well known, plays in Hellenic life a very limited part. From prose authors, describing the actual facts of life, οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν—to use a phrase of Aristophanes closely connected with this topic—we hear of κώδωνες or *bells*, in two functions only, I think. They are the attribute of the crier, and of the sentinel on the wall. The first use of them was familiar enough to create a proverb διαπράσσεσθαι τι ὡς κώδωνα ἐξαψάμενος, 'to do a thing like a crier with a bell tied to him,' i.e. ostentatiously, a proverb roughly corresponding to our 'be one's own trumpeter,' which the lexicon cites with it. Of the second use, which, we may observe, was confined, for anything that appears to the contrary, to times of special apprehension, we have a well-known example in the last chapter of the fourth book of Thucydides. Brasidas, in the course of his brilliant campaign ἐπὶ Θράκης, made a daring though unsuccessful attempt to convert the instrument of precaution into an occasion of surprise by scaling part of the wall of Potidaea at the very moment when a sentinel watching it had gone to the end of his beat 'to pass the bell' to the next man. The object of the round was of course to give a noisy proof to the authorities and the inhabitants that at the fixed hour the sentinels were all at their posts. Sometimes, as we see from Aristophanes, *Birds*, 842, a different way was used—a tour of inspection being made by one bellman: κωδωνοφορῶν περὶ τρεχε καὶ κάθενδ' ἐκεῖ is one of the glib commands which *Peisthetairos* pours out upon the long-suffering *Euelpides*. The ironical hint that he should take a nap on the way suggests the dangers of trusting so much to one functionary. The tour of Euelpides is properly speaking an inspection of the works in course of building, not of sentries, and it is very probable that 'the bell' was then, as it is still, a familiar voice where large parties of

workmen are employed over a considerable area, whether in civil or military constructions. Later in the same play (1160) the carrying of the bell is duly mentioned among the protections of the new-built Nephelokokkygia against surprise on the part of the hostile gods.

Such was the bell in daily Greek life. But the poets give us glimpses of a different 'bell,' not carried but worn as a military decoration and instrument of terror, whether on the personal armour, the shield or the helmet, or on the chariot and gear of the horses. It is with this smaller decorative *κώδων* that we are now concerned. As I have already said, the most noticeable thing about it is that it is not a truly Greek decoration—or at least not, if one may so say, classical. In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes *Euripides*, it will be remembered, takes credit to himself and his type of tragedy, in comparison with the manner of Aeschylus, for having made poetry of the real facts of life, *οἷς χρώμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν*, and contrasts the bearded, scowling, mock-Titanic *militaires* formed by the old teaching, with the supple and dexterous politicians of his own school (*Frogs*, 964).

γνώσει δὲ τοὺς τούτου τε κάμους ἐκατέρου μαθητάς·
τουτουμενὶ Φορμύσιος Μεγαίνετός θ' ὁ Μανῆς,
σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι, σαρκασμοπιτυοκάμπαι·
οὔμολ δὲ Κλειτοφῶν τε καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ κομψός.

It is interesting to note that the thing selected by Euripides as the type of the poetry which sought dignity and impressiveness in the unfamiliar, is the *armour-bell*. 'I did not,' says the poet of culture (*σοφία*), 'I did not tear my audience from thought to bombastic noise, I did not startle them with representations of a Kyknos or a Memnon with bells upon the harness of their steeds.'

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκομπολάκουν
ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἀποσπάσας, οὐδ' ἐξέπληττον αὐτοὺς
Κύκνους ποιῶν καὶ Μέμνονας κωδωνοφαλαροπώλους.

'No,' he says, 'I invited reflexion, sober judgment, by keeping to objects which my hearers knew well enough to criticise.'

ξυνειδότες γὰρ οὔτοι
ἤλεγχον ἂν μου τὴν τέχνην.

If we refer to the extant specimens of tragedy, this position is fully justified. The κώδων is not apparently mentioned in Euripides. Whether Sophokles actually introduced it upon the stage we cannot say. It is not upon the stage in the fragment cited by Plutarch (738), where the κωδωνόκροτον σάκος, the shield with clashing bells, is *mentioned* as an accoutrement of the Trojans, φίλιπποι καὶ κερουλοὶ σὺν σάκει δὲ κωδωνοκρότῳ παλαισταί. It is impossible to mistake the depreciatory tone of these words, which bring the empty terrors of a barbarian chivalry, the τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη of men who drew the bow-tip, into comparison with the grim earnest of the Greek spearman on foot. Once in the extant tragedies of Sophokles we find a κώδων. To the voice of the brazen-mouthed Italian κώδων is compared the clear voice of Athena, caught by the ready ear and mind of her faithful Odysseus (*Aias* 14).

ὦ φθέγμ' Ἀθάνας, φιλτάτης ἐμοὶ θεῶν,
ὡς εὐμαθὲς σου, κὰν ἄποπιος ᾗς, ὅμως
φώνημ' ἀκούω καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενὶ
χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.

The traditional interpretation of this passage, descending from the scholia, would exclude it from our theme, by giving to κώδων the unusual sense τὸ πλατὺ τῆς σάλπιγγος, 'the broad end of the trumpet.' This explanation seems however somewhat doubtful. A 'special meaning' is a common device of careless commentators, and the epithets χαλκόστομος and Τυρσηνικῆ, both proper to the trumpet, would be quite sufficient to provoke the note. Really they prove nothing. The bell was as certainly a foreign thing by origin as the trumpet, and may well have been also Italian, or so supposed; and when we see that the armour-bell was to Sophokles a characteristic of Troy, we are reminded that a legend of unknown antiquity, which derived from later history an unforeseen importance, did connect Asia with Italy, the Lydian allies of Troy with the 'Tyrrhenian' Tiber. Going back to Aeschylus, we see from Aristophanes that the actual bell, as a part of theatrical costume, was employed by the poet to add the effect of a strange terror to such heroic and imaginary figures as Kyknos the son of Ares, and Memnon the son of the Dawn—with the advantage, as *Euripides* kindly suggests, that the unwonted noise saved the

accompanying words from the animadversions of a reflecting spectator. The author of the *Rhesos*, who imitates all the triad in turn, has imitated Aeschylus in the entry of the Thracian monarch, the ally and kinsman, by the way, of the Trojans. When a messenger announces his approach, we are told that bound on the foreheads of his horses, as on the goddess' aegis, is a brazen Gorgon, 'ringing terror with many a bell' (*Rhes.* 308): and when he arrives, the soldiers shout in admiration of his armour bound with gold, and the proud rattle of his bells (*Rhes.* 383):

ἴδε χρυσόδετον σώματος ἀλκὴν
κλύε καὶ κόμπους κώδωνοκρότους
παρὰ πορπάκων κελαδοῦντας.

Here we are given another 'special meaning,' for the lexicon will have it that *πόρπαξ* is not *πόρπαξ* here but *πόρπη*, though why or how a bell should be attached to a buckle-pin rather than to the handle-bar which crossed the interior of the shield is a question to be asked. Wherever they were fixed, these bells of *Rhesos* are the expression of that feeling so peculiarly detestable to the Hellenic mind, the noisy and unsober pride which goes before a fall. It is again in this aspect that the bell is presented in the *Seven against Thebes*. If this were a proper place, it might be shown that the whole colouring of the military descriptions in that play is archaic, while those of the proud invaders, doomed to the punishment of pride, are designedly offensive and it may be said non-Hellenic. For the present we are concerned only with the wild and wicked Tydeus, whose taunts against his too unworthy associate in arms, the calm and pious Amphiaraus, are significantly followed by the description of his umbrageous triple crest and his intimidating bells.

λέγχοι δὲ κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἄνευ δορός,

is the comment of *Eteokles*. A question of some interest arises upon the details of the description, which runs as follows (*Theb.* 384)—

τοιαῦτ' αὐτῶν τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους
σελεῖ, κράνους χαίτωμ', ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ
χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον
ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τόδε, κ.τ.λ.

and so follows his arrogant device of a nocturnal sky, moon, and stars. It would thus appear that the bells are fixed in some way *under* the shield, to the handle (πόρπαξ), perhaps, where Rhesos wore some of his. But on a closer examination there is reason for a different view. The replies of *Eteokles* to the successive descriptions given by his scouts are throughout close commentaries upon those descriptions. Now, in his remark, above quoted, on the harmless gauds of Tydeus, it will be noticed that the bell is associated not with the shield but with the crest. I add the context:

κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὔτιν' ἂν τρέσαιμ' ἐγὼ
οὐδ' ἐλκοποιὰ γίγνεται τὰ σήματα.
λόφοι δε κώδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἄνευ δορός.
καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἦν λέγεις ἐπ' ἀσπίδος, κ.τ.λ.

and so follows the refutation of the emblematic boast. The first two lines point to the whole description: the fourth, with those that follow it, refer specially to the shield; it would certainly be natural to refer the second to the helmet, more especially as the phrase οὐ δάκνουσι *do not sting*, is plainly aimed at the comparison of Tydeus to the δράκων—

μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὡς δράκων βοᾷ—

the serpent whose 'hairy mane terrific' is celebrated by Milton, following ancient fable with his usual preference of literary colouring to natural fact, and is represented in the armour of Tydeus by the λόφος or κράνους χαίτωμα. If the harsh sound of the κώδων is not to be associated with this comparison, half the point of *Eteokles*' retort is lost. Noticing this, if we go back to the description, we see that it has a flaw. After the words ὑπ' ἀσπίδος in 385, the occurrence of ἐπ' ἀσπίδος in 386 is not only poor in sound, but pointless in sense, for ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμα τόδε requires no explanation, and to give any emphasis to the difference between ἐπὶ and ὑπὸ is rhythmically impossible. To which it may be added, that if τῷ in 385 stands for Τυδεῖ, as it must, the pronoun, despite its prominent place, is wholly superfluous; the sentence would have the same meaning without it. I draw the conclusion that in the true text τῷ stood not for Τυδεῖ, but for κράνει or λόφῳ, and

that ὑπ' ἀσπίδος is a patch to supply the place of some word signifying 'attached to,' and governing the dative pronoun, which in that case could not conveniently be omitted. Thus the bells and the crest are alike decorations of the helmet and the joint reference of *Eteokles* is justified. If a word has been lost, the presumption is that it was lost through a repetition of letters. Can we find a word which satisfies this condition for the present case? The passage just cited from the *Rhesos*, which exhibits a minute imitation of the phrase κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον in the passage of Aeschylus before us, will furnish the unique word which we want,

Γοργῶ δ' ὡς ἅπ' αἰγίδος θεᾶς
χαλκῇ μετώποις ἱππικοῖσι πρόσδετος
πολλοῖσι σὺν κώδωσιν ἐκτύπει φόβον.

Write in Aeschylus

πρόσδετοι δὲ τῷ
χαλκηλατοὶ κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον—

and the origin of the MS. text is clear. The somewhat strange looking πρόσδετοι was robbed of its two last syllables ΔΕΤΟΙ by the repetition ΔΕΤΟΙ or ΔΕΤΩΙ, and the impossible remnant was conjecturally replaced by ὑπ' ἀσπίδος. We may compare the precisely similar corruption of another passage in the play (Aesch. *Theb.* 122) where the syllables required by the metre after διάδετοι have been properly replaced by the repetition of δέ τοι.

Upon the facts respecting the κώδων as above stated a question arises which others may perhaps assist me to answer. The dramatists represent the κώδων as a savage and generally as a non-Hellenic decoration. That it was not used by Athenians of the fifth century is clear. Is there any evidence that it was used by Greeks of an earlier period, or by less civilised Greeks? Are the bells of Tydeus a piece of genuine Greek antiquity, or an imaginary decoration attributed to Greeks whose behaviour is barbarous?

It has been already noticed that in its traditionally foreign and Italian-Asiatic character the κώδων is allied to the σάλπιγξ, and it is significant that though the *Euripides* of the *Frogs*

does not, of course, make the blunder of separating from 'the familiar things we use' the instrument whose note invited the families of Athens to the dearest feast of the year—

ἀκούετε λεῶ . κατὰ τὰ πατρία τοὺς χίας
πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος (Arist. *Ach.* 1001),

and whose solemn and 'Chthonian' sound preceded the reverend meeting of the Areopagos, nevertheless we find he is not afraid to sneer at the trumpet and the *σαλπιγγολογχυπηνάδαι* who admired it; and it seems certain that the trumpet, as a military instrument, was at Athens at all events not popular, Nowhere I think is there a trace of that enthusiasm for the trumpet-call which breaks out so often in modern poetry. Tydeus is indeed likened to 'a horse that waits panting for the sound of the trump,' but then we have already seen how far we are meant to sympathise with the feelings of Tydeus; moreover the trumpet of the simile is probably not the trumpet of battle, but that which started both horses and chariots in the national games. Aeschylus, in his immortal picture of the nation's victory at Salamis, is careful to note that *the trumpet* inflamed the ardour of 'the other side.'—(*Pers.* 395).

σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέφλεγεν.

In Sophokles, the anxious *Tekmessa* reminds Aias, as he goes out upon his fatal errand, that this time it is not the trumpet which calls him from her side (*Ai.* 291). Euripides in the *Phoenissae* (1377), following the *Seven against Thebes* in treatment as in theme, places the trumpet among the proud emblems of an unholy war; it is the trumpet which in the *Troades* (1267) is to apprise the Trojan captives that the final moment of expatriation has arrived; and twice in the *Rhesos* (144, 989) the Trojan *Hektor* names the trumpet as the signal of his attempt, so nearly successful, to burn the Greek ships and destroy their hope of return, emphatically warning his men not to neglect it. In the *Herakleidae* (381) the 'Tyrrhene trumpet' is the prelude to a scene so horrible that the narrator declines the task of describing it and appeals to the imagination of his hearer. Certainly it is not without significance that the

dramatists of Athens direct the attention of their audience so frequently to the birth-place of this barbarous instrument; nor are these traces of popular sentiment to be neglected, if we would read the Athenian poets in their own spirit.¹

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¹ The *κρόνον* is not mentioned in Homer, though the mysterious *κρόσεια* of *Æ* 499 may perhaps be connected with it. The *σάλπιγξ* is mentioned twice. This evidence, in the uncertainty which rests upon the date and origin of any particular passage

in Homer, is scarcely sufficient for a conclusion. Among the earliest references to the war-trumpet, of which the date is certain, must be Bacchylides *Pæan* 9, pointed out to me by Mr. J. A. Platt.

HYGIEIA.

A bas-relief of Pentelic marble found about twelve years ago in Argolis portrays with much beauty the family of the God of Medicine awaiting, in the presence of their father, the approach of male and female suppliants.¹ In the two youths who form part of the group immediately behind Asklepios, it is easy to recognise his sons Machaon and Podaleirios; while the three maidens near them must be his daughters Hygieia, Iaso and Panakeia. One other female figure, who wears a veil and stephane, and is of more stately aspect, would seem to be Epione, the wife of Asklepios. Aegle and Akeso, who are also sometimes named as daughters of the god, are here omitted.² Epione, in spite of her intimate relations with Asklepios, appears to have been chiefly honoured locally—at Epidaurus, and it is her eldest daughter Hygieia who is really the most important member of the Aesculapian family. The almost constant association of Hygieia with her father brought her into the fullest prominence as a medical divinity, though at the same time it, to a great extent, prevented her from attaining to an independent exercise of power. Most modern writers on Greek mythology and religion have generally suffered her to be absorbed in the greater and more interesting personality of her associate, and

¹ O Lueders, *Annali*, vol. xlv. (1873), Tav. d'agg. M N, page 114 f.

² The five sisters are mentioned in Suidas, s.v. 'Ἑπίωνη; Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 40, 31 and in an Athenian inscription published in the *Ἀθήναιον*, vi. p. 143, No. 24, cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Plutus*, 701. Telesphoros, the companion of Asklepios and Hygieia, probably cannot be traced back, from existing works of

art, farther than the time of Hadrian (see *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1852, 'Telesphoros.') It is perhaps worth while to suggest that the *vaïs* in the *Plutus* (701) who attends Asklepios in his midnight visit to the patients in the temple may be a prototype of Telesphoros; unless indeed he is a mere invention of the poet.

have often had but little to tell of Hygieia, except that she was represented 'as a virgin dressed in a long robe, feeding a serpent from a cup.' Though it is certainly unnecessary to relate in connection with Hygieia details which may be just as well related in connection with the more important divinity Asklepios, there still seems room for a brief inquiry like the present, which, by causing us to concentrate our attention rather upon the Goddess of Health than upon the God of Medicine, may reveal more clearly the position of the former in ancient art and religion.

The only children of Asklepios mentioned in the Homeric poems are Machaon and Podaleirios. Asklepios himself is not yet a god in Homer; but legend soon began to busy itself about him, and told of his mother Coronis and his father Apollo. It required no great imaginative effort to assign to the God of Medicine three daughters, bearing the names of 'Health,'¹ 'Healing' and 'Panacea.' The name given to the eldest, 'Ἕγεια' (in the later writers and inscriptions generally 'Ἦγεια), probably conveyed to its hearers the notion of *physical* health, though of course it might also have connoted healthy conditions generally—*Ἕγεια φρενῶν* (Aesch. *Eum.* 535)—*ἡ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν Ἕγεια* (Isocr. 234 B.).² Hygieia remained, so far as we know, the patron merely of bodily health, and differs in this respect from the Roman Goddess Salus, who not only protects the health of individual men, but has also a watchful eye upon the conservation and general prosperity of the State and its rulers. The first appearance of Hygieia in legend or cultus cannot be determined with exactness; but the inscriptions and votive offerings discovered in the Asklepion at Athens prove that her worship, in conjunction with that of Asklepios, was in full vigour in the fourth century before our era.³ The

¹ Hygieia was almost invariably considered to be the daughter of Asklepios; see Paus. i. 23, 4; Suidas, s.v. 'Ἡρίων; Aristides (ed. Dindorf) i. 79; Plin. N. H. xxxv. 40, 31; 'Αθήναιον, vi. p. 143, No. 24: exceptionally, in Orph. H. 66, 7, she is called the wife of Asklepios, and in Procius, *ad Plat. Tim.* iii. 158 is said to be the daughter of Eros and Peitho.

² For the employment of 'Ἦγεια as the name of an Athenian ship and, occasionally, as a woman's name, see Benseler-Pape, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. 'Ἦγεια, &c.

³ See P. Girard, *L'Asclépion d'Athènes*, passim. It is curious that the author of the *Plutus* makes no mention of Hygieia, especially as both Iaso and Panakeia are spoken of as accompanying their father.

fact of Hygieia's position being so thoroughly established at that period, as well as other considerations lead us to infer that the goddess was known, and perhaps worshipped, in Greece at least as early as the preceding century. We read that among the statues made by the Argive artist Dionysios (B.C. 476-468), and dedicated at Olympia by Smikythos, were Asklepios and Hygieia;¹ and Pausanias² tells us that he saw at Titane near Sicyon an image of Hygieia of remarkably archaic form. The name of Hygieia occurs (as well as that of Panakeia) in the famous Hippocratic Oath, and there are extant various works of fifth century art which, as we shall shortly see, may possibly be claimed as representations of the Goddess of Health. But whenever Hygieia may have first appeared, it would seem that she owed her distinctive attributes, and almost her very being, not to the Poets but to the Artists; and it will be by discussing, as far as possible in chronological order, the works of art representing this goddess that we shall best learn what conception was formed of her by the Greeks. Though the ancient writers related more than one legend of Asklepios, they had nothing to tell of his daughter: indeed, it is extremely rarely that we find an allusion to Hygieia—apart from Asklepios—either in the authors or in inscriptions; and it was reserved for our seventeenth-century verse-writers, like the author of *The Art of Preserving Health*, to pay their poetical addresses to the Goddess Hygieia. One ancient composition, however, a hymn or pæan to Hygieia, written probably by the poet Ariphron of Sicyon, has been preserved for us by Athenaeus.³ Its subject-matter though rather commonplace is not inelegantly treated, and we may quote this short poem here, especially as it seems to have been popular in antiquity. Lucian speaks of it as already well known in his day, and as we also find it sculptured on stone⁴ (circ. A.D. 200) together with a hymn to Asklepios and a hymn to Telesphoros, we may suppose that at some time or other it was

¹ Murray, *Hist. of Grk. Sculpt.* i. p. 136; Overbeck, *Gesch. griech. Plastik.* i. p. 107.

² Paus. ii. 11, 6.

³ Athen. xv. 702, A. See Bergk. *Poet. Lyr. Gr.* (3rd ed.) pp. 1249-1250 and his remarks on Ariphron (whose

date is not certain) and Ilikymnios. Cf. Lucian, *De lapsu inter sal.* c. 6; Maxim. Tyr. xiii. 229.

⁴ Kaibel, *Epigrammata Græca*, No. 1027 = *C. I. G.* No. 511, and *addenda*, p. 913.

actually employed in the temple-service of the divinities of Healing :—

‘Τγίεια, πρεσβίστα μακάρων, μετὰ σεῦ ναίοιμι τὸ λειπόμενον
βιωτᾶς, σὺ δέ μοι πρόφρων, σύνοικος εἶης·
εἰ γάρ τις ἢ πλούτου χάρις ἢ τεκέων,
ἢ τᾶς ἰσοδαίμονος ἀνθρώποις βασιληίδος ἀρχᾶς, ἢ πόθων,
οὓς κρυφίοις Ἀφροδίτας ἄρκυσιν θηρεύομεν,
ἢ εἴ τις ἄλλα θεόθεν ἀνθρώποισι τέρψις ἢ πόνων ἀμνηοῖα
μετὰ σείῳ, μάκαιρ’ Ὀγίεια, [πέφανται,
τέθαλε πάντα καὶ λάμπει Χαρίτων ἔαρι,
σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὔτις εὐδαίμων (ἔφυ).

Another hymn, found at Athens in the Asklepieion, sculptured on stone in letters of the Roman period, contains allusions to Asklepios and his family, and especially mentions Hygieia ‘the noble’ and ‘the most delightful.’¹

Our knowledge of the representation of Hygieia in art, previous to the fourth century B.C., is rather limited. At the head of such representations as are known to us must be placed the uncouth image seen by Pausanias at Titane.² It corresponded, he tells us, to one of Asklepios at the same place which was completely draped in chiton and himation, with only the face and the extremities of feet and hands exposed. The statue of Hygieia was, when he saw it, entirely covered with offerings of pious women-worshippers whose gifts consisted of votive locks of hair, and of what Pausanias terms *ἐσθῆτος βαβυλωνίας τελαμώνες*. The early fifth century Asklepios and Hygieia made by Dionysios for dedication at Olympia, must have been of a much less primitive character than the Titane statues, and still more advanced in style must have been the figures of Asklepios and Hygieia with which Kolotes, the contemporary of Pheidias, decorated one side of the ivory table made by him at Olympia (Murray, *Hist. Gr. Sculpt.*, II. p. 137) : but of these representations there is nothing known in detail, and it is only when we come to the names of Polykleitos and Pheidias that we perhaps obtain some glimpses of the artistic presentment of the Goddess of Health. In the great theatre at Epidaurus, that important centre of Aesculapian worship, there have been

¹ *Ἀθήναιον*, vi. p. 143, No. 24.

² Paus. ii. 11, 6.

discovered two marble figures, one male, the other female. Their excavator, M. Kavvadias, sees in these figures Asklepios and Hygieia, and is even inclined to recognise in the Hygieia a work of the sculptor Polykleitos,¹ who is known to have been the architect of the theatre, though there is no actual record of his having made *agalmata* of Asklepios and his daughter. Unhappily, the head and the hands of the female figure are missing. She wears a chiton with diploidion, mantle and sandals. Kavvadias supposes that her hands held the serpent and patera. Another production of the great period of Greek art has also been declared to represent the God of Medicine and his daughter, namely, the male and female figures who are introduced, with a serpent placed between them, in the train of Athene in the west pediment of the Parthenon. In this group, in which the strong male and more delicate feminine forms are pleasingly contrasted, the female figure places her right arm round the neck of her companion, and seems to cling to him for protection. Petersen and others have with good reason seen in this pair divinities peculiarly connected with Attic soil—Pandrosos, and her father Kekrops, for whom the serpent would be appropriate; but Michaelis recognises in them Hygieia and Asklepios. The intimate connection of Asklepios and his daughter, and their joint worship—at least in the fourth century—as important divinities on the southern slope of the Athenian Akropolis render this interpretation plausible, though not absolutely convincing. The objection that the serpent is here on the ground and not, as is usually the case, coiled round the staff of Asklepios, Michaelis answers by remarking that the type of the God of Medicine had not become rigidly fixed, as it subsequently became, especially under the Roman Empire, when Asklepios is hardly ever to be seen without the snake encircling his staff.² We are still more or

¹ Ἀθήναιον for 1881, pp. 59-67.—
 Ἄλλως ἀπόλυτος ἡρεμία, μεγαλοπρεπὴς
 παράστασις, ἁρμονία καὶ συμμετρία ἐν
 τῷ σχηματισμῷ τῶν συστατικῶν τῆς
 μορφῆς μερῶν, πάντα ταῦτα τὰ κατὰ
 τοὺς ἀρχαίους γνωρίσματα τῶν ἔργων
 τοῦ Πολυκλείτου, διακρίνουσι τὸ ἡμέτερον
 εὔρημα. Kavvadias.

² On this group see Overbeck, *Gesch.*

d. griech. Plastik. i. p. 298; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 193, No. 2; Newton, *Brit. Mus. Guide to the Elgin Room*, part i. p. 28 f. and Michaelis's review of the *Guide* in *The Academy*, for Oct. 1880, p. 280. For the Kekrops interpretation see esp. Petersen, *Kunst des Pheidias*, p. 182 and Murray, *Hist. of Gr. Sculpt.*, II., p. 88 and p. 94.

less in the region of uncertainties when we turn to numismatics for some of the earlier examples of Hygieia. An interesting didrachm of Priansus in Crete,¹ probably of the end of the fifth century B.C., represents a female figure wreathed, and draped in chiton and mantle, sitting on a throne overshadowed by a palm-tree,² with her right hand placed upon the head of a serpent which rises up from the ground beside her. At the first glance 'Hygieia and her serpent' suggests itself as the subject of this coin-device. But though the serpent is a constant companion of Hygieia, not all serpents are Hygieian, and we must beware, as Stephani has remarked, lest we mistake some chthonic or other divinity for the veritable Goddess of Health.³ Though it is possible that the figure in question may be Hygieia, whose father was worshipped not far from Priansus, at Leben, it is much safer to adopt the interpretation proposed both by M. François Lenormant and Prof. Gardner, who have seen in the coin a representation of Persephone and of Zeus who visited the goddess under the form of a serpent, when he became by her the mother of the Cretan Zagreus. The same myth should also, no doubt, be employed to interpret the analogous type of a silver coin of the Sicilian town Selinus⁴—a draped female figure seated on a rock and resting one hand on the neck of a bearded snake, which advances towards her. In connection with these coins Mr. Gardner has mentioned a relief in the British Museum, of rude, though perhaps not of very late, style, brought

—Beulé and Stark proposed to name two figures among the divinities of the central portion of the Parthenon East Frieze, Hygieia and Asklepios, but these figures have been more correctly denominated by most recent archaeologists, Athene and Hephaistos: see Newton, *Guide*, pp. 66-67 and Flach, *Zum Parthenonfries*, pp. 17-18.

¹ See Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. ix. 5, page 162; Lenormant, *Gazette Archéol.* 1879, p. 24; Wroth, *Cretan Coins*, p. 56 (= *Num. Chron.* 1884, p. 56); cf. a gem in Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, Bd. iii. Gemmentafel, iv. 9, called by him Demeter, *ib.* p. 507.

The palm-tree is not merely an

ornamental accessory, for it appears by itself as the *type* of other coins of Priansus, and must have had some local religious significance.

² *Compte rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1860, p. 102. 'Die Statuen sitzender Frauen mit Schlangen, die man gewöhnlich auf Hygieia bezieht, stellen ohne Zweifel wenigstens zum Theil, wie das ihnen verliehene Füllhorn beweist, vielmehr Ge da. Vergleiche Clarac, *Mus. de Sculpt.* Pl. 554, 1166; 557, 1186; 558, 1186, A. B. C. und eine ähnliche Statue in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage.'

⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Grk. Coins, Sicily*, page 142, No. 39; cf. Nos. 40-43; Gardner, *Types*, p. 162.

by Lord Elgin from Greece. It represents a woman seated, draped in chiton and peplos, and having on her head a modius and a veil formed by the upper part of the peplos. In her left hand she holds an ivy-leaf—probably intended for a fan—and in her right a patera from which a serpent which appears to rest upon her shoulder is preparing to feed. Mr. Gardner suggests that here also we have a chthonic divinity, such as Persephone, rather than Hygieia. This is quite possible, and the modius and veil are certainly not usually worn by the Goddess of Health. She does, however,—at least once—appear in company with Telesphoros, on a coin of Hierapolis,¹ wearing the modius; and I think we should discriminate between the action of the female figure on the relief and the action of the figure on the coins of Priansus and Selinus. On the coins—where the Persephone and Zeus interpretation well applies—she is welcoming or fondling the serpent; on the relief, she is engaged in feeding the serpent from a patera, an action distinctly characteristic of Hygieia.² In the collection at Petworth House there is a Greek relief, coarsely executed, with a very similar subject. A veiled female figure, seated, holds a cup, up to which a serpent rears its coils. Behind her stands a female attendant or suppliant also holding out a cup; on the right of the relief is an altar.³

On reaching the fourth century B.C., we find the monuments of Hygieia becoming much more abundant and more readily identifiable. A series of votive reliefs from the Athenian Asklepion, which on account of their fine style cannot be much later than the latter part of the fourth century, shows us how the Goddess of Health was at that period represented, at any rate in Attica. Four good specimens of these have been published and engraved by Von Duhn in the *Mittheilungen* of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (II. pp. 214–222; Plates xiv.—xvii.). These representations of Hygieia, which recall the grace and dignity of the maidens of the Parthenon Frieze, show the goddess affectionately associated

¹ Waddington, *Voy. num. en As. Min.* Pl. iv. No. 18; Mionnet, tom. iv. p. 305, No. 634.

² For this relief see *Descript. of Anc. Marb. in Brit. Mus.* part ix. Pl.

xxxviii.; pp. 174, 175: cf. Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, No. 784; Gardner, *Types*, page 162.

³ Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in G. Brit.* page 604, No. 13.

with her father and her sisters. On the relief reproduced in Von Duhn's Plate xiv. Hygieia, wearing chiton and mantle, places her left hand on her father's shoulder, and looks with mild aspect upon an approaching suppliant. Her right hand, which is lowered, holds an oenochoe. Behind her is one of her sisters—Iaso or Panakeia—who clasps her arm. Another relief (Von Duhn, Pl. xv.) represents a similar scene. Asklepios and two of his daughters are in their temple, an altar placed before them. Immediately behind the god is Hygieia wearing a chiton, and gathering about her with both hands the folds of an ample mantle. Behind her is Iaso or Panakeia, placing one hand upon her shoulder. Another temple-scene (Von Duhn, Pl. xvi.) reveals a company of men and women with their children, bringing offerings to the divinities of medicine. Asklepios is seated and Hygieia is standing beside the god, resting one hand on the trunk of a snake-encircled tree. A fourth relief (Von Duhn, Pl. xvii.) shows Asklepios seated and Hygieia standing near him, stretching out her right hand to bless or welcome a suppliant who approaches to sacrifice at the altar.¹ With these reliefs from the Asklepion must be classed one of fine style found in 1785, apparently on the Athenian Akropolis, and now at Brocklesby Hall, Lincolnshire. Two divinities, apparently Hygieia and her father, are receiving the adoration of worshippers; the goddess is veiled and holds in one hand a vase, lowered.² It will be observed that on these reliefs the type of Hygieia is somewhat varied,³ and that she is not represented with her distinctive attributes—the meaning of which I will touch on below—the serpent and the patera. The only attribute which at all indicates her functions is the vase or oenochoe.⁴

¹ On these reliefs see Von Duhn, *loc. cit.*; Girard in *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. pp. 65-95 ('Ex-voto à Esculape trouvés sur la pente méridionale de l'Acropole'); cp. *ib.* i. pp. 156-169, and Girard's *L'Asclépieion d'Athènes*, p. 101, ff.

² See Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in Gr. Brit.* Brocklesby Hall, No. 10, who is no doubt correct in describing the divinities as Asklepios and Hygieia, though other names have been proposed; cf. Lebas, *Annali dell' Inst.*

1845, p. 240 (Zeus and Europa); Kekulé, *Hebe*, p. 47 (Zeus and Hebe); Overbeck, *Kunstmythologie*, ii. p. 576, note 110.

³ Von Duhn points out that on the earlier Athenian reliefs—those belonging to the best period—Hygieia has a more youthful and maiden-like appearance than on the later examples.

⁴ The oenochoe occurs on the Gortys relief, referred to below on page 90, note 3. Compare also an Athenian relief of Asklepios and Hygieia in the

It is to be remarked, however, that these reliefs are, after all, probably only the productions of the ordinary stone-cutter, and that they are perhaps to a great extent local. There were other sculptors not of this lowly reputation who were at work upon statues of Hygieia in the early part of the fourth century B.C., and who probably created or perfected a distinct Hygieian type. One of these artists was Skopas, who, probably during the period B.C. 394-377, made temple-statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at Gortys in Arcadia, and also at Tegea.¹ His contemporaries, Bryaxis and Damophon, were also engaged upon statues of Hygieia;² and it was probably during this century that many of those *agalmata* of Asklepios and Hygieia which Pausanias saw in various Greek temples also first came into being. As to the style and attitude of these fourth century statues we have little or no detailed information. We know, however, that the *agalma* of Asklepios made by Skopas for Gortys presented the god in the very unusual form of a *beardless* figure, and Skopas's Gortynian Hygieia may likewise have been a type of marked originality.³ Perhaps the invention of the serpent and patera motive was due to him;⁴ or he at least may have brought that motive so prominently forward that it was henceforward generally accepted as the type proper for representations of the Goddess of Health. The feeding of the serpent would have been by no means unsusceptible of graceful treatment in the hands of a master, though to us it seems somewhat *banal*, on account of

Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, of tolerable style though rather coarsely executed (Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in. G. B.* Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. No. 16), on which the goddess holds in her lowered right hand a cup; there being no sign of the presence of the serpent.

¹ Overbeck, *Griech. Plastik.* ii. p. 11.

² Overbeck, *op. cit.* ii. 68; ii. 142.

³ A relief from Gortys in Crete represents a bearded male figure seated, a female figure in chiton, mantle and veil, holding an oenochoe, and a youth in a chlamys, who have been called by E. Curtius (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1852, p. 418 f. and Pl. 38, 1) Zeus, Hygieia and

Asklepios, youthful. He supposes that the last-named figure may recall the youthful Asklepios of Skopas made for the Arcadian Gortys. Overbeck, however (*Griech. Plastik.* note 10 to Book 4; cf. his *Kunstmythol.* ii. page 169 f.), names the female figure Hebe, and he certainly seems justified in refusing to call the young male figure, Asklepios (cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vol. iv. p. 46ff, 'A statue of the youthful Asklepios'). If, however, an Aesculapian interpretation is to be applied to this relief, the three figures may fairly be named Asklepios (bearded), Hygieia with oenochoe, and her brother Machaon.

⁴ See, however, above, page 86 on the 'Polykleitos' Hygieia.

its perpetual recurrence on works of inferior art, such as the Greek Imperial coins. Though we may reasonably conjecture that this type came into existence at least as early as the fourth century B.C., we cannot perhaps point with confidence to any extant monuments which embody it before the third century B.C. A copper coin of Rhegium, of tolerable style, belonging probably to the latter part of the third century, shows on its reverse a standing figure of Hygieia in chiton and mantle, holding in her right hand a patera, and with her other hand keeping back the folds of her mantle; a serpent, which we may suppose to be supported on her shoulder, is feeding from the patera.¹ A similar type occurs on one of the Athenian Tetradrachms of the latest period, *circ.* B.C. 146–86.² The goddess is clad in talaric chiton with diplois; the serpent feeding from her patera is supported on her shoulder. Certain copper coins of Epidaurus,³ probably belonging to the third century B.C., must also be here adduced. On the reverse of these a female figure is seen standing, holding in one hand a patera, while her other seems to be occupied in placing some object (perhaps a drug) in the patera or in withdrawing something from it. Behind her, in the field of the coin, is the *σικυα* or cupping-vessel. Epione has been suggested as a name for this figure, as it is known that she had an *agalma* at Epidaurus.⁴ It may, however, be simply intended for Hygieia.

But it is time to say something respecting the signification of the serpent and patera as attributes of the Goddess of Health. We need not indeed linger long over the pious explanation given by an antiquary of the last century: 'Pateram indicare

¹ Cat. Grk. Coins in Brit. Mus. *Italy*, p. 383, No. 100; cf. Nos. 113–115. The coin seems to be assigned to too early a period in the catalogue. I may remark that representations of Hygieia are rare on coins till Imperial times. Mention should perhaps be made of one of the Asiatic electrum *hectæ* (fourth cent. B.C.) *obv.*:—Head of Apollo, r. laureate; *rev.* Female head, r. with hair in sphendone; behind the head, serpent: the whole in linear frame. Wt. forty-five grains. Brit. Mus. Coll. The serpent seems

an integral part of the type, and the head, which has a youthful appearance not very suitable to Demeter, is therefore probably Hygieia. Cf. the *hectæ* with head of Asklepios, before which is a serpent (*Num. Chron.* 3rd ser. vol. ii. Pl. i. No. i.).

² Engraved, Boulé, *Monn. d'Athènes*, p. 259; a specimen is in Brit. Mus.

³ Brit. Mus. Coll. P. Lampros, *Νομισματα τῆς νήσου Ἐπιδαύρου* (Athens, 1870) Plate, Fig. 28.

⁴ Paus. ii 27, 5; 29, 1.

religione quaerendam esse salutem'; nor need we pay much attention to the common theory, according to which the Goddess of Health is engaged in nourishing the serpent as a symbol of health and of vigour perpetually renewed. We are more likely to seize the true meaning of this feeding of the serpent if we regard it not as a mere piece of more or less frigid symbolism, but as a manifestation of some actual religious ceremony connected with the goddess. Adopting, therefore, for Hygieia the explanation formerly given by C. A. Böttiger¹ of *Salus* we may consider her to be engaged in an act of serpent-divination (*τῶν δρακόντων ἡ μαντική*), and to be taking an omen as to the future health of her suppliants from the manner in which the serpent receives the nourishment offered him. Certain rites described by Aelian are evidence that divination of this kind was not unknown in classical antiquity. There was at Lanuvium a grove to which the virgins of Latium were annually conducted, in order that their claims to chastity might be submitted to what we may call the Ordeal by Serpent. If the serpent accepted the food brought him by the maidens, their purity was regarded as established, and also a fertile season was expected:

‘Clamantque agricolae, “Fertilis annus erit.”’²

In Epirus, likewise, there was a grove in which sacred serpents were kept, and to which on the great festival of the year a virgin priestess repaired holding in her hand the *μειλίγματα*. If the serpents ate the food readily a fruitful and healthy year—*ἔτος ἀνοσον*—was to be confidently looked for, but their refusal to eat was a sign of impending misfortune.³ It is generally

¹ *Kleine Schriften*, 1837, vol. ii. p. 128.

² Aelian, *De nat. animal.* xi. 16; Propertius, *Eleg.* lib. iv. carm. 8.

³ Aelian, *De nat. anim.* xi. 2. Though omen-taking seems to be the action in which Hygieia is engaged, I do not wish to contend that every female figure in ancient art who is represented extending a patera to a serpent is necessarily performing the same function. For instance, on the relief in the British Museum (Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. p. 183) represent-

ing a woman—probably Medea—holding out a patera to a serpent coiled round a tree, on which is the Fleece, simple feeding and not omen-taking is perhaps intended. (Cf. the seated Pallas holding patera to serpent coiled round tree on a coin of Nicaea (Bithyniae), Mion. t. ii. p. 455, No. 240; Panofka, *Asklepios*, Pl. v. Fig. 3, and similar figures.) The feeding of a serpent on *Sepulchral* Monuments also calls for a special interpretation of its own.

said that Hygieia—as represented on coins and other monuments—is offering some kind of drink to her serpent. Though as a rule the artist gives no clue as to the contents of the patera, I believe that the goddess is supposed to be presenting to the serpent refreshment of a more substantial kind. The Lanuvian serpent was invited to give his omen from a barley cake (*μάζα*), and we not unfrequently find in the case of Hygieia's serpent that he is feeding from some cone-like object which is placed upon the patera, or, when the patera is not represented, held in the hand of the goddess. Instances of this occur on the Greek Imperial coins of several cities. For example, at Las¹ in Laconia, and Euippe² in Caria, the goddess holds a patera with the object in question upon it. On a coin of Aezanis³ (Phrygia), Hygieia (or, perhaps, the Empress Sabina as Hygieia) feeds the serpent from a patera on which are two of these objects. On a well-known Pompeian painting⁴ a woman—whether Hygieia or a priestess—feeds the serpent which is entwined round her body from a plate on which are various fruits, and in the centre one of conical form. In a group of Asklepios and Hygieia, on a Corinthian coin of Lucius Verus,⁵ the goddess holds the conical object in her hand, without a patera, as she does also on a Roman medallion of M. Aurelius,⁶ on a well-known ivory diptych, now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool,⁷ and on other monuments. This object, which we thus find to occur not unfrequently as the food of Hygieia's serpent, has sometimes been called by archaeologists an egg, sometimes a fruit. It resembles a pine-cone, a fruit which a serpent could hardly eat, though it is met with in connection with the God of Medicine, and appears to have been regarded in antiquity as possessing some healing or life-giving properties. A statue at Sicyon, representing, according to Pausanias,⁸ the God of Medicine as a youth, held in one hand a pine-cone—*πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου*; and a late votive-relief from the Asklepieion

¹ Æ. Caracalla. Brit. Mus. Coll.

² Æ. Lucilla. Brit. Mus. Coll.

³ Æ. Sabina. Brit. Mus. Coll.

⁴ Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, No. 782; O. Jahn, *Archäol. Beiträge*, pp. 221-224; Gell, *Pompeiana*, vol. ii. Pl. lxviii.

⁵ Æ. Brit. Mus. Coll.

⁶ Froehner, *Les Médaillons rom.* p. 86, Fig. 2.

⁷ Wieseler-Müller, *Denkmäler*, No. 792b; Maskell, *Ivories*, p. 21.

⁸ Paus. ii. 10, 3. Cf. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Hist. d'après la Bible* (2nd ed.) p. 84 (note); K. Koch, *Die Baumen des alt. Griechenlands*, p. 32.

at Athens, with a dedication to Asklepios and Hygieia, has as its subject the snake-encircled staff with two large fruits on one side of it, and two pine-cones on the other.¹ The pine-cone also enters as an ingredient into one of the curious prescriptions ordered by the God of Medicine for a patient who probably frequented his temple on the Tiber Island at Rome.²

Before proceeding to notice the extant monuments of Hygieia which belong to Hellenistic or Roman times, we should say something of certain exceptional representations of a Hygieia who is apparently to be considered as distinct from the well-known goddess, daughter of Asklepios. A silver coin of Metapontum in Italy, of the fourth century B.C., bears on its obverse a head of rather girlish appearance, bound with a double fillet and adorned with earring and necklace; it is accompanied by its name HYGIEIA (Ἥγεια).³ The appearance on the Metapontine coinage of other female heads with descriptive legends, such as HOMONOIA (Ὁμόνοια) and NIKA inclines us to consider the Hygieia here portrayed as an allegorical personage rather than a goddess actually honoured with worship. 'Hygieia' also appears as the name of a female figure on at least three extant vases, assignable to the fourth century B.C. It is well known that Aesculapian subjects proper are not to be found among the vase paintings, and the vases on which this Hygieia occurs—such as the Meidias vase and the Ruvo Aryballos—are of exceptional character, distinguished by their delicate but somewhat mannered treatment of subjects lying outside the usual range of ceramographic composition. To vases of this class (as De Witte has well remarked) it is necessary to apply an interpretation which in other cases would seem fanciful; for the names which are inscribed near each of the personages represented prove that we are in the region of *allegory*: even when figures like Aphrodite and Hygieia are introduced, bearing names well known in the current mythology and religion of the Greeks, they are freely employed in an allegorical sense, and without regard to hieratic tradition. On the Ruvo vase⁴

¹ *Ἀθήραιον*, vol. v. p. 318; *C. I. A.* No. 181a; Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 4092.

² *C. I. G.* No. 5980, line 13.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Grk. Coins, Italy*, p. 242, No. 62; cf. Nos. 63, 64, 65.

⁴ *Cat. of Grk. Vases in Brit. Mus.* vol. ii. No. 1263; Lenormant and De Witte in *Revue Archéol.* 1845, p. 550ff. and their *Mon. Céram.* ii. p. 61; iv. Pl. lxxxiv.

we have, according to the interpretation of Minervini as developed by Charles Lenormant and De Witte, a scene in Elysium where a mortal youth, just deceased, but henceforth under the name Polyetes to live in immortal happiness, is being received by Eudaimonia, Pandaisia and Eros—allegorical personages who may be supposed to correspond to the *καλαὶ ἐλπίδες* of the Eleusinian Epoptae. Behind Pandaisia stands Hygieia. Her hair is bound with an ornamented sphendone, and she wears a transparent chiton and an embroidered peplos, one side of which she holds up with her hand, towards her face, bending her head forward at the same time. Above her is written her name ΥΓΙΕΙΑ. The melancholy attitude of this figure seems, at first sight, but ill-suited to 'Health':—'*mais un jour viendra où Hygie séchera ses larmes: elle usera du pouvoir qu'elle partage avec Esculape, de resusciter les morts.*' Or, as M. François Lenormant¹ rather more neatly interprets this enigmatical vase, we have here the contest of two rival goddesses—'Happiness,' the goddess of the abode of the dead, who welcomes her new spouse Polyetes, and 'Health,' the goddess of terrestrial life, who 'expresses by her attitude and her gesture the grief which she feels at being separated from her lover.' One of the scenes on the Meidias vase² is the Garden of the Hesperides. Here, grouped near the Tree, are Lipara, Chrysothemis and Asteropê, daughters of Atlas, and to the left of them, seated on a rock, is the unexpected figure of 'Health'—ΥΓΙΕΙΑ. Her hair flows in ringlets and is bound over the forehead with a radiated ampyx; with one hand she draws forward over her shoulder the corner of an upper garment which she wears, with the other she holds a sceptre: she looks towards the central scene, while a youthful hunter, Klytios, extends his hand towards her. Aristides³ in his oration on the Asclepiadae speaks of Machaon and Podaleirios as having been brought up by their father in gardens of Hygieia—*τρέφει ὁ πατὴρ ἐν Ὑγείας κήποις*; though we cannot feel sure that he is alluding to any such scene as that depicted upon our Meidias vase. The fragment of a vase found at Kertch offers us a third

¹ *Contemporary Review*, vol. xxxviii. pp. 431, 432.

² Gerhard, *Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1839, pp. 295–

303; *Cat. of Grk. Vases* in Brit. Mus. vol. ii. No. 1264.

³ Aristid. opera (ed. Dindorf.), vol. i. p. 73.

representation of Hygieia. Little unfortunately remains, except the seated female figure with her name ΥΓΙΕΙΑ and certain indications of the presence of another person who must have been Hermes.¹

Besides touching on this more or less allegorical Hygieia, we ought—in a paper on the Goddess of Health—to make some mention of Athene Hygieia. Most of the principal Greek divinities included the art of healing among their powers, but Athene—especially in Attica—assumed a distinct name to emphasise her medical functions. The original relations of Athene Hygieia, and Hygieia the daughter of Asklepios, are unknown to us, but perhaps they were goddesses independent of one another. According to the well-known story of Plutarch (*Pericl.* 13), Perikles caused a statue to be erected on the Akropolis to Athene Hygieia, because she had revealed to him a remedy for the injuries of one of his slaves: when this dedication was made, the Athenians were already in possession of an altar of this goddess, situated on the Akropolis.² The basis of the statue of Athene Hygieia was found in 1839 *in situ* close to one of the columns of the Propylaea, and is inscribed 'Αθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγιείᾳ Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος.³ The presence of a hole in this basis, and a consideration of the types of certain other extant statues of Athene have led Michaelis to conjecture that this Athena Hygieia of the Akropolis held in one hand a spear upright and in the other some object indicative of her medical rôle—such as the patera.⁴ The restoration of the type of this goddess must however be considered as conjectural, and it has been doubted by R. Bohn⁵ whether the hole in the basis, in which, according to Michaelis, the spear of the goddess rested, was made in antiquity and for this purpose.⁶ The Athene Paionia mentioned

¹ *Compte rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1869, p. 11; 1870-71, p. 202 and the atlas for 1870-71, Pl. vi. No. 7.

² Plut. *Pericl.* iii.; Aristid. ii. p. 25c.; Michaelis, *Mittheil. d. D. arch. Inst.* i. p. 293; Bohn, *Mittheil. d. D. arch. Inst.* v. p. 331f. Cf. the article 'Athen' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, page 204, col. 2.

³ *C. I. A.* No. 335; Ross, *Arch.*

Aufs. i. 185ff; Murray, *Hist. of Grk. Sculp.* ii. p. 232.

⁴ Michaelis, *l.c.* p. 284f.

⁵ *l.c.*

⁶ On Athene Hygieia see further, Panofka, 'Die Heilgötter der Griechen,' in *Abhandlungen*, d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin, 1843, p. 295f; Flasch in *Annali*, 1873, 'Statua d'Igia nel Belvedere del Museo Vaticano.' The

by Pausanias as having an image in the House of Polytion at Athens (i. 2, 4), and as being united on the great altar of the Amphiareion at Oropus with Aphrodite, Hygieia, Panakeia and Iaso (Paus. i. 34, 3), can hardly have differed from the better known Athene Hygieia.¹ It should be added that a bas-relief found in Rome (*Bullettino*, 1872, p. 228) represents Athene in the company of Hygieia who holds her usual serpent and patera.

Of the representations of Hygieia belonging to later Greek and to Roman times, the most abundant are those upon coins. The copper money issued by Greek cities under the Empire shows that the worship of the Goddess of Health became everywhere familiar both in Greece and Asia, though we need not suppose that her frequent presence on the coins, dissociated from Asklepios, points to any special worship of her, apart from her father. The Hygieia types begin as a rule to appear on the coins, just as do those of Asklepios, about the time of Hadrian, and become very plentiful under the Antonines and under Septimius Severus and his family, continuing to occur with greater or less frequency till the time of Gallienus. The representation varies but little. We often find the familiar group of father and daughter—Asklepios standing on the right of the coin, and his daughter on the left, turned towards him, as if conversing, and feeding her serpent from the patera. The representation of Hygieia, alone, which is also very common, seems to be an abbreviation of this group: the goddess, though deprived of her companion, looks towards the right and feeds her serpent as usual. Her dress is sometimes the chiton and mantle, sometimes the chiton with diplois. She commonly holds in one hand the serpent, in the other a patera, though sometimes, as has been already observed, a pine-cone is held instead of the patera.² From the Greek Imperial coins with types

head of this statue, which does not belong to its present body, has a stephanos adorned with gorgoneion and two serpents. Flasch thinks it may be the head of a statue of Athene Hygieia; *C. I. A.* ii. 163 (Athenian sacrifice to Ath. Hyg.); Harpocration, *Ῥυγία Ἀθηνᾶ*.

¹ Of Athene Hygieia there was an altar in the deme of Acharnae, Paus. i. 31, 6.

² Imperial copper coins of Irenopolis in Cilicia, under Domitian and Trajan (*Brit. Mus.*) show Hygieia holding a branch as well as the serpent and patera (cf. the Pompeian painting referred to above, p. 93).

relating to Hygieia we pass naturally to the engraved gems—mostly of Roman times—which bear representations of the Goddess of Health. Here again we find the same group of Hygieia and Asklepios, or Hygieia, alone, with her usual attributes.¹ Some varieties of no great importance occur, such as where Hygieia stands near a tripod (Toelken, No. 1203), as she does also on the Liverpool Ivory (Wieseler-Müller, *Denkm.* No. 792 b). One unpublished intaglio, a sard in the British Museum, from the Blacas Collection, presents however a type of some novelty and interest, and is reproduced in this article, enlarged to twice the diameter of the original. It represents



two female figures standing, draped in chiton and mantle. One of them holds a snake-encircled staff, and turns back her head to her companion, placing her arm on her shoulder. In the Blacas manuscript Catalogue (No. 267) these figures are called 'Nemesis and Hygieia': the serpent-staff is a very unusual attribute for Hygieia, but she is no doubt the goddess here intended to be represented. The name Nemesis is quite arbitrary, and it is more natural to see in Hygieia's companion one of her sisters Iaso or Panakeia. Though this gem need not necessarily be of pre-Roman work, its style is decidedly pleasing, and the grouping

¹ Toelken, *Erklärendes Verzeichniss der ant. vortieft. geschnit. Steine* (Berlin) Nos. 1200—1208; Chabouillet, *Catalogue des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 233, No. 1720 intaglio of Nemesis with serpent and patera of Hygieia, cf. No.

1722, and a similar gem in Brit. Mus. from Blacas Coll. On the sard engraved in King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 367, No. 42, Hygieia feeds the serpent from a cone held in her hand: see also Tassie-Raspe and other sources.

to some extent recalls those representations of Hygieia with her sisters and father which occur on the Athenian reliefs of the fourth century (see above, p. 89).¹

From the extant statues of Hygieia it is extremely difficult to recover any of the plastic types of the goddess which prevailed in the fine period of Greek art. Though well-nigh every European Museum, whether public or private, can boast its 'Hygieia' or its 'Salus,' there are few divinities whose statues have suffered so much at the hands of the restorer, who to produce a Hygieia seems to have demanded nothing but a female torso to which he might affix a head, a serpent and a patera. Under these circumstances a detailed examination of the extant Hygieias is a task of small profit, and I confine to a note some references to various statues which seem for any reason noteworthy.² We must, however, here refer to one of the most remarkable of the extant statues, the beautiful figure in the Hope Collection at Deepdene, found at Ostia in 1797.³ This figure wears a long chiton and an ample mantle which is thrown back over the left shoulder. Her head is lowered, and the hair is bound with a kind of kerchief (*sakkos*)—an unusual head-dress for this goddess. A large serpent coils itself round her left shoulder and over her breast to the right fore-arm. The left hand, the right fore-arm with the cup and other parts of less importance are restorations. It seems certain that the head is antique, and really belongs to the statue, though the contrary was stated to be the case by Clarac. The marble appears to Michaelis to be Italian rather than Pentelic. Of this statue there is a replica

¹ This gem is set in a ring: it has unfortunately been broken in two, and has not been joined with perfect exactness.

² Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in Gl. Brit.* especially 'Broadlands,' No. 14 (= Clarac, iv. 557, 1181); 'Oxford, University Galleries,' No. 80 (= Clarac, v. 978 D, 2524 I) and the 'Deepdene' (Hope) and Lowther Castle Hygieias; Clarac, Pl. 546, 1151 B and text iv. pp. 5, 6 (group of Asklepios and Hygieia, a good deal restored, cf. *Bullettino*, 1870, page 36; Clarac, Pl. 556, 1174, text, iv. p. 17 = Brunn, *Descript. de la Glyptothèque* (Munich),

2nd ed. franc. 1879, p. 218, No. 174; and see others in Clarac, more or less restored; Flasch in *Annali*, xlv. 1873, 'Statua d'Igia nel Belvedere del Museo Vaticano'; cf. *Bullettino*, 1872, pp. 11, 12, and 134; 'Athysior', 1882, p. 542f. (Epidaurian statues, Roman); marble pedestal inscribed *Ἐσθιασθη Τρεία*, Dyer, *Ancient Athens*, p. 380 (cf. Paus. i. 23). *Brit. Mus. Guide to Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, pt. ii. (1876) p. 9, No. 17, &c.

³ Michaelis, *Anc. Marb. in Gl. Brit.* 'Deepdene,' No. 7; Wieseler-Müller, *Denkm.* ii. 61, 780; Clarac, iv. 555, 1178.

at Lansdowne House, London,¹ but it is inferior both in size and execution. The extant statues do not seem to present any very important varieties in the type and attributes of the Goddess of Health, though we should notice an unusual combination in the collection at Lowther Castle,² in which Hygieia holds on her left arm a winged boy who is doubtless Eros.³ The goddess herself wears a close-fitting chiton and a mantle. 'The expression of the face is amiable, the hair in maidenly fashion tied together on the crown, while tresses fall down on the shoulders. A snake, of which the greater part is antique, curls itself round the lowered right arm.'

In conclusion, a few words may here be said upon the Roman goddess Salus in order to give greater completeness to our sketch of Hygieia. Salus, in spite of her resemblance to the Greek Goddess of Health, always maintained her own personality tolerably distinct. As the patroness of material prosperity, as the upholder of the Roman State and protectress of the sacred person of the Emperor, she had, as we have previously remarked, nothing in common with Hygieia; and though the Romans under the Empire were familiar enough with the Hygieia who everywhere appeared on the coins of the Greek cities, they reserved for Salus certain attributes of her own, and generally, though not invariably kept her representations distinct from those of the Greek Goddess.⁴ A temple to the Salus Publica or Romana was, according to Livy, vowed in the year B.C. 307 by the censor C. Junius Bubulcus, on the Quirinal Hill.⁵ When Aesculapius was introduced into Rome from Epidaurus at the beginning of the third century B.C. we do not know that the Goddess Hygieia accompanied him; but if she did she would have found the Romans already acquainted with goddesses of medicine—such as the old divinity Meditrina—while she would have been unable to set herself up as a rival to Salus in the non-medical functions of that goddess. In B.C. 180, at the time of a pestilence, we find the Sibylline books commanding the

¹ Michaelis, *op. cit.* 'Lansdowne House,' No. 10.

² Michaelis, *op. cit.* 'Lowther Castle,' No. 4.

³ Cf. Wieseler-Müller, *Denk.* No. 792b.

⁴ The serpent of Salus seems, however, borrowed from the Greek representations of Hygieia.

⁵ See Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handbuch. d. röm. Alterth.* vi. p. 361; Preller, Pauly, &c.

presentation of gifts to Salus in union with Apollo and Aesculapius. A head of the Roman goddess appears on a denarius of the Junia gens (Cohen, *Méd. consul.* pl. 23, 7), struck probably in B.C. 89, and a denarius of the Acilia gens, B.C. 54 (Cohen, *op. cit.* pl. I. No. 3) represents Salus leaning against a column with her right hand raising up her serpent's head towards her face. The various representations of Salus under the Empire can be well followed on the Roman coins.¹ On an *aureus* of Nero 'Salus'—identified, as she generally is, by an accompanying inscription—is represented seated on a throne, holding in her right hand a patera, but without the serpent. On a coin of Galba the 'Salus generis humani' holds her patera over a lighted altar, and has the further attributes of a rudder and globe: the 'Salus Publica' (under Nerva) holds ears of corn. When Salus is represented with her serpent she is sometimes seen seated extending a patera to it as it coils round an altar, or she leans against a column feeding the serpent in the manner of Hygieia.

WARWICK WROTH.

¹ The coins which follow are all *aurei* in the Brit. Mus. Coll.

ON A PHOENICIAN VASE FOUND IN CYPRUS.

THE vase of which I here publish representations is barrel-shaped with round ends, and has at each end protuberances in the form of nipples. There is a small raised ring round the neck. The mouth is funnel-shaped, with edges slightly overlapping. The dimensions are as follows:—Circumference over nipples 2 ft. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Circumference of barrel 2 ft. 1 in. Height of neck 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Total height of jar 1 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The vase was bought at Larnaca, and probably found near that place.

The vessel is of a purely Phoenician model, though not necessarily of pre-Hellenic times, of a kind occurring not only in earlier and later specimens made by the Phoenician race in Cyprus, but also in pottery manufactured by other races in places in the island where their influence predominated. The clay used in the composition of the jar is of a darkish cream colour, and has evidently been very carefully washed and prepared. The paintings were done in black and reddish brown on the natural ground shortly before firing, and to the painstaking of the artist is owing the remarkably perfect preservation. The neck is decorated inside and out with plain bands of different breadths, black, with the exception of two brown, one in and one outside. The handle is framed in broad black bands from which are drawn lines from side to side interrupted by a cross at the bend. The lines of the handle are continued round the neck in a wavy pattern. The painting on the opposite side to the handle was made first, as is shown by the symmetry of the drawing in comparison with the other figures, and has for a centre the sacred tree of design and richness of detail never before observed in works of this kind. This emblem is intended to represent ideally the human body in the shape of the goddess of Nature, worshipped under the symbol of a tree, which is



proved not only by the form of the drawing but also by other objects discovered in Cyprus and Hissarlik introducing the same idea. In this case the head is crowned with lotus-flowers, and the arms and legs represented by scroll-work. Alexander di Cesnola bought from Idalium two jars (*Salaminia*, Figs. 233 and 235), the first bearing the sacred tree, and the second in the same position on the vessel, a curious figure with a lotus flower for a head and holding a combination of those symbols called in India by Prof. Max Müller 'Swastika' or 'Suastika.' The figure is simply an emphasised form of the tree. Between the



scrolls standing for legs is a small square containing a Swastika, probably painted with the same intention as in that on the leaden image found by Dr. Schliemann. From this square depends what may be mere ornament or another figure. The two stags and birds belong to this part of the design, and are facing the tree in the manner so often seen in other Phoenician objects. The bird on the left, shown to be a bird of prey by the talons, holds in one claw a small lotus-flower and is surmounted by an Assyro-Phoenician rosette. The other, by the evidence of the legs and feet, is probably a wader; in front of it is a stalk with a flower and it is crowned with a large lotus

flower. The stags also appear to carry lotus flowers and feed from the tree. The action of all the stags on the jar is remarkably lifelike for so primitive a design, and it is to be noticed that no two are in the same attitude.

The artist's intention was to draw the symbolic tree in symmetrical arrangement on every side, but having made the left-hand bird too large he could not retain the desired accuracy, and one of the trees in these end paintings got pushed slightly out of the line. In treatment these trees are to all intents the same. They have both six rosettes in a vertical line down the centre agreeing completely with those on the jar now in the Berlin Museum. (Plate IV., Fig. 1, Cesnola's *Cyprus* German Edition; p. 55, English Edition.) The stags at the sides have no lotus-flowers, and one of them is below the tree and has his head turned away for want of room, the others seem to be climbing; they are in many respects better and more freely executed, and their teeth are shown in a curious way.

The design under and in a line with the handle, always having the sacred tree for subject, was probably made only to fill up, the arms for want of sufficient space being of unequal length. There are no attendant animals, but some rosettes.

This vase is without a rival in its kind either in Cyprus or elsewhere for richness of design, accuracy of detail and lifelike drawing, and although made by Phoenicians, is interesting also from the Hellenic point of view; showing at once from what source the Greeks acquired many of the decorative designs which they applied to vases, and how the inventiveness of the Greeks reacted on the Phoenician potters, and stimulated their faculties.

MAX OHNEFALSCH RICHTER.

A SEPULCHRAL RELIEF FROM TARENTUM.

THE tablet which is the primary subject of the present paper, and which is depicted on the accompanying plate, has been for forty years in the British Museum, having been presented in 1845 by Mr. W. R. Hamilton, the secretary of Lord Elgin. It consists of a slab of close-grained white marble of oblong form 2 feet 9 inches in length and 1 foot 10½ inches in height in the middle where it is broadest. The right upper corner is restored. The tablet was evidently made to let into a wall; the back is rough-hewn, and at the top is a small oblong hole for a peg.

The inscription beneath the relief is obviously modern. It reads Aesculapio Tarentino Salenius Arcas, in letters which seem to date from the early part of the present century; apparently it was inserted by some person who considered the relief to represent Aesculapius, wrongly, beyond a doubt. But it is yet of some value as suggesting that the monument was found at Tarentum, and this is on all accounts probable.

The design of the relief, which is flanked by Doric pilasters, must be described. On a couch recline to the left two men clad in mantles (*himatia*); one is bearded and middle-aged, the other of ephebic age. The older man holds a patera in his left hand and lays his right on the shoulder of the youth, who turns to embrace him affectionately. A second youth enters from the left leading in a horse. He is clad in chiton and chlamys, and a taenia is wound about his head. Before the reclining men is a table covered with food and fruit; to the right is a naked servant holding an oenochoe and a patera or flat cup.

The art of the relief is good; not very early, but of times earlier than the Roman conquest of Tarentum. The figures of the youths remind one of Athenian sepulchral reliefs of the

fourth century. But the most distinctive part of the composition in this aspect is the horse. He is somewhat thin-legged, slightly built and tall, his head rising very high. He is just such a horse as is usually depicted on Tarentine coins of the latter part of the fourth century;¹ on earlier Tarentine coins the horse is represented as far more compact and smaller in proportion to his rider.² The horses on coins of northern Greece are also tall, but they are much more massive.³ It would not be very easy to match the tall sharply-cut animal of our relief except at Tarentum, and it is likely that these qualities were conspicuous in the noted Tarentine breed of horses. The same character belongs to the horse's head from Tarentum published in these pages⁴ by Prof. Michaelis. We may therefore venture to assign the present monument locally to Tarentum, and in time to the end of the fourth century B.C.

The subject of the relief is a matter of more complexity. I consider it to be one of the earliest examples of a remarkable class of sepulchral reliefs. But the more detailed explanation of it is postponed for the moment.⁵ For I cannot content myself with discussing this monument by itself. It seems worth while to go into the matter at greater length, and not only to discuss this relief but to indicate what opinions have been held in regard to the class of monuments to which it belongs, those called by archaeologists *sepulchral banquets*. Few groups of ancient remains have aroused more frequent discussion than this; discussion in which the greatest names have been ranged in hostile camps. Yet we need recount the history of the dispute but summarily, since the question now, in consequence of recent discoveries, admits of definite solution. The scholar of to-day is enabled to take a higher stand in this matter than the giants of the last generation, and to overlook the whole field in which they waged a fluctuating war. No doubt when the *Corpus of Sepulchral Reliefs* projected many years ago by Prof. Conze is published the whole subject will receive fuller attention than I can bestow, and the facts of the case will be placed before readers in satisfactory and final form.

¹ Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. xi. 3, 4.

² *Ibid.* Pl. v. 8, 9, 34, 35.

³ *Ibid.* Pl. vii. 3-6, 39, 40.

⁴ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882, Pl. xxiv. p. 234.

⁵ I return to the subject under head iv. *ad fin.* at page 138.



But in the meanwhile a slight skirmish on the ground hereafter to be occupied by the advancing army of knowledge may be not without its uses, at least to those English readers who are unable to follow closely the course of archaeological discovery.

I.

In almost all large museums are to be found Attic sepulchral monuments which bear a relief of the following kind: A pair, man and woman, are enjoying together a banquet, in the attitude usual to the Greeks: the man reclining on a couch, the woman seated at his feet: in front a slave serves the wine. This is the commonest species: but in the genus there are numerous varieties. Sometimes we have two men reclining with their wives, or these last are absent, and a multitude of accessories are added, as to which we shall presently speak. Is it wonderful that the appearance of a banquet on a tomb, the presence of sensuous enjoyment at the gate of death, should excite the interest of those who study antiquity? And amid the Athenian sepulchral reliefs which usually bear representations touched with sadness, scenes of parting and melancholy, they seem to form a class quite apart, and to indicate a different order of thought.

These reliefs are seldom of an early period. I believe that the earliest date claimed for one of the usual type is the fourth century B.C. And the great majority, if we exclude the Lycian reliefs as but half-Greek, belong to a much later period, to late Macedonian and Roman times. Then their type had become fixed and conventional, and accessories were added according to a routine and without special meaning. They are especially common in Attica, but specimens reach us from northern Greece, from Peloponnese, and from the coasts of Asia Minor.

This class of reliefs did not escape the observation of Winckelmann;¹ he indeed published one of them; but fell, as was not unnatural at the time, into the error that the representation was of a mythological scene, the amours of Poseidon and Demeter Erinnyes. Zoega² was the originator of the view

¹ *Alle Denkmäler*, No. 19.

² *Bassirilievi*, Pls. xi. xxxvi

which sees in works of this class mere representations from ordinary Greek household life. Gerhard hesitates between two views; he sometimes speaks of the feast depicted on the monuments as of one enjoyed by the deceased in Hades, and sometimes seems rather to regard it as enjoyed by the survivors and celebrated by them in memory of lost friend or ancestor. K. O. Müller preferred the theory which sees in the scenes an allusion to the future happiness of the good, and the enjoyments which await them in the realm of Hades. Le Bas¹ adopted the same view, and was vigorously attacked by Letronne, between whom and Le Bas sprang up on some of the points involved a memorable controversy, which did much to clear the air and set matters in the true light, so far as it was possible in the existing state of knowledge. Letronne was considered to have the better of the controversy, and after this the more naturalistic explanation, which sees as in the family groups on tombs, so in the feasts also, allusion to the ordinary events of daily life, found support from some of the ablest names. Friedländer, Welcker and Jahn all took this view, with but slight variations among themselves, and Welcker² in particular distinguished himself by a sharp and contemptuous criticism of those who held other views than his own. Meantime Stephani³ had appeared upon the scene with his great learning and wide knowledge of works of Greek art. He did not take the view of Welcker and Jahn, but was led mainly from a comparison of the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs to the belief that the Greek sepulchral reliefs frequently represent the physical enjoyments which were not wanting according to the belief of the ancients in the Elysian fields, and which there awaited the just as a simple continuation of the natural pleasures of the present life. In 1868 the French Institute selected banqueting scenes on Greek tombs as the subject for one of their prize competitions; and the result was the production of two valuable works on the subject; one by Pervanoglu⁴ which has been published, and which proceeds on the lines of Friedländer and Welcker; and one of much greater length by M. Albert Dumont, which has I believe remained as yet unpublished. It is

¹ *Antiq. Figurées*, pp. 85, 599.

² *Alle Denkmäler*, pt. ii. Pl. xiii. and text.

³ *Der Ausruhende Herakles*, 1854.

⁴ *Das Familienmahl auf altgriechischen Grabsteinen*.

however known that M. Dumont believes the feasts of the reliefs to be symbolical representations of those offerings to the dead which were so usual at fixed periods among the Greeks, and memory of which is still kept up in modern Greece by the relations of the dead who bring roses to their graves at certain festivals, and bestow on friends cakes called *κόλλυβα* made of pomegranate seeds and fruits.¹ There is also a short but careful and sensible paper dealing with the whole subject published by Hollaender² about 1864: this writer takes the same view as Dumont. Within the last ten years the number of important and instructive reliefs of this class has greatly increased, and notices have been elicited from many Continental archaeologists, such as Conze, Milchhoefer, Furtwängler, Wolters and Ravaissou. Some of these will be discussed in the course of this paper.

To sum up: Of the reliefs of this class three explanations have been offered: (1) That they are retrospective, and represent the enjoyment of the past life of the persons whose tombs they adorn. This view brings them in connexion with the ordinary Athenian grave reliefs which represent domestic scenes or out-door pursuits. This view was started by Zoega, and maintained with great vigour and success by Friedländer, Welcker and Jahn. (2) That they refer to the offerings of meat and drink brought by survivors at fixed periods to the grave, which the dead are thus represented as accepting and enjoying. This is the view of Hollaender enforced by M. Albert Dumont and many others. (3) That they represent the happiness of the deceased in Hades, and his enjoyment in the next life of delights of eating and drinking similar to those which he possessed in this world. This view, which represents the Greeks as imagining the next world to be a continuation of this, not in essentials merely, but even in gross and material enjoyments, has been advocated by Stephani, Le Bas and K. O. Müller.

Sepulchral monuments on which is a banqueting scene are very common. Mr. Pervanoglu in his work published in 1872 enumerates 212 examples known to him; M. Albert Dumont describes no less than 297 specimens; and neither of these

¹ See M. Dumont's notes on the *κεκόσμητα* in the *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. vol. xx. p. 247. Also, Newton,

Travels and Discoveries, I. 213.

² *De operibus anaglyphis*, &c.

lists is anything like complete. In such circumstances it is evident that I cannot here cite even all important varieties; I must content myself with describing a very few typical specimens.

We begin with a simple and ordinary class: Male figure reclining on couch; at his feet seated female figure; before the couch a tripod covered with eatables and drinkables, with a slave to serve them; while the man is feasting, the woman commonly draws her veil about her. Or the male figure reclines alone. It is evident that here we have nothing to give a colour or a flavour to the scene; the feast is to all appearance an every-day one. It is well known that the heroes of Homer sit at table; and the custom of reclining came in at some time between the age of Homer and historical times. The custom never spread to women, at least of the modest class, nor to boys. We are told that in Macedon boys were not allowed to recline at table until they had slain a boar, which sometimes did not happen until they were middle-aged; Cassander for instance had to sit like a boy until he reached his thirty-fifth year. When men dined together in Greece modest women were not present; but when a man dined at home his wife would naturally be present, not reclining with him, nor probably eating with him, but sitting by to entertain him with her talk while he dined. The group which I have described is therefore an ordinary scene from the private life of the Greeks. Sometimes the seated wife rests her head on her hand in an attitude which to the Greeks signified grief¹ This may seem a jarring note at a feast; but we know that it was customary in Athenian grave-reliefs which represent scenes of daily life to introduce some such touch as this, to show that the beautiful picture has been spoiled by the hand of death, that it was not destined to last, and that already the shadow of coming change was thrown on to the happy scene. In the same way we may interpret another adjunct sometimes found in banqueting scenes which certainly come from actual tomb-stones, a snake twined round a tree in the background.

So far we find nothing to throw doubt on the theory of Welcker and Friedländer, that the daily banquet was introduced in sepulchral reliefs, from the same motives as other scenes of

¹ Stephani, *Der Ausruhende Herakles*, Pl. vii. 1.

domestic life. What scene, they say, could be more characteristic of domestic felicity, what memory more pleasing to recall on a gravestone than these happy moments, when physical satisfaction of bodily needs went with pleasant talk and social enjoyment?

We may even go further and say that to certain reliefs of the class, this view alone seems appropriate. For example, one of the earliest and most interesting among them is on a tomb in the celebrated Athenian cemetery on the Sacred Way.¹ It represents two men reclining on a couch, with food as usual set before them, and their two wives seated by; in the foreground is a galley, in which is Charon with his hand extended towards the feasters. A comparison with other Athenian reliefs lead us to think that this banquet, at all events, is one of every-day life. The sudden appearance in the midst of social enjoyment of one destined to summon to the next world is a striking fancy, rather in accordance, one would think, with the taste of the Etruscans than that of the Greeks, yet by no means unknown in Greek and even Athenian sepulchral reliefs. We may instance the well-known relief inscribed with the name MYPPINH where Hermes appears² leading by the hand the girl Myrrhina from the midst of her family, to convey her to Hades.

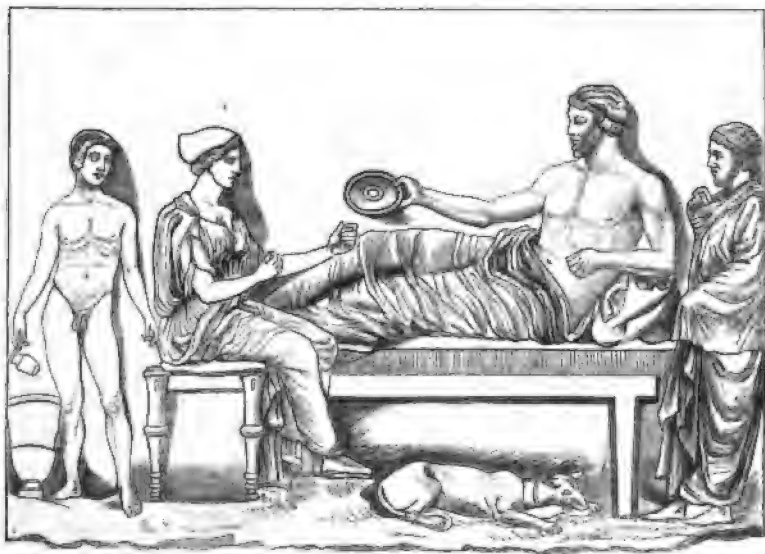
Indeed this simple explanation of the group is in almost all cases tenable where the monument is of Athenian provenience, and the relief belongs to an ordinary tombstone. In this case the relief is of square form, and carved on a stèle usually bearing the name of the deceased, and left rough at the bottom that it may be set up in the ground. But there is another class of reliefs easily distinguished from these by being oblong in form, of greater width than height, usually flanked by pilasters, and made to be let into the wall of a larger monument. Many writers have confused these with the reliefs of stelae, but they are, as Stephani clearly shows, to be kept apart from them. Stephani, remarking the likeness of these reliefs to *ex voto* tablets dedicated to various deities, expresses the opinion that they were set up in private shrines as memorials of the dead, and used in the household worship of deceased ancestors.

¹ Salinas, *Monumenti Sepolcrali*, Pl. iv.

² Ravaissou, *Le monument de Myrrhine*.

As to their provenience, it seems to be established that in some cases at all events they come from cemeteries, and the close neighbourhood of tombs; one published by M. Fränkel¹ for instance was found close to an actual tombstone. They must therefore be considered as a sort of supplementary memorial, set up near the tombs of the wealthy or distinguished, beside the ordinary inscribed stelae.

If we could in this paper maintain a strictly scientific order, we should treat them apart from the actual reliefs of tombs. This is, however, not altogether possible, because the two classes are confused in the lists drawn up by various writers, even in those of Stephani himself, as he is obliged to confess.



But in the main, all that here follows refers to the oblong class of reliefs. They are far more complicated, and introduce a number of additions to the simple banqueting group, which are found but seldom on the simple reliefs of square form. These additions we must briefly discuss in order. As they multiply, so do the difficulties of the naturalistic method of interpretation increase. In order to help the imagination of the reader, I

¹ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1874, p. 148.

insert on the opposite page a woodcut of a typical specimen of the oblong reliefs.¹

It is the relief in the Theseium at Athens, commonly called "the death of Socrates." As to its date opinions differ; some, as Friederichs, assign it to the fourth century B.C., in which case it would be among the earliest reliefs of the class; some, as Stephani, consider it to date from so late a period as that of Hadrian. Certainly in many of the details and the general character of the work, we see proofs that the relief does not really belong to good Greek times. But if it be of eclectic and unoriginal type, yet the monument whence the type was borrowed must have belonged to days of Greek autonomy.

A dog is in this case seen lying under the couch.² It is true of course that dogs did, in Greek houses, lie under the couches and tables to be fed from the hand of master and mistress; nevertheless the dog was certainly an animal devoted to the shades below, the favourite of Hecate, and the common sacrifice to the infernal deities. Sometimes in the place of this dog we find a snake. Welcker and some of the more extreme advocates of what we may term the daily-life theory as to these reliefs have held that the snake appears in them by the same right as the dog, as a domestic animal, since we know that it was by no means unusual among the Greeks to have tame snakes, and to allow them the range of the house.³ But less extreme advocates have seen the absurdity of supposing that the snake was a common attendant at the ancient dinner-table, and have allowed that his presence in these reliefs must have reference to the widely-spread belief of ancient times, that snakes were either the companions or even the representatives of dead heroes. I need not surely bring forward proofs of this statement, but I may for a moment pause to point out how ancient science explained the fact. Plutarch tells us, that when the dead body of Cleomenes was hanging on the cross in Egypt, a large serpent was seen wound about it, repelling the attacks of the birds of prey who would have fed on it. This phenomenon, he says, terrified some of the Alexandrians as proving that Cleomenes

¹ Εφεμ. ἀρχ. Pl. 269. Welcker, *Alte Denkm.* ii. No. 96; Stephani, *Ausruh. Herakl.* p. 81, &c. A cast in the British Museum.

² Cf. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, ii.

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Pl. xiii. 1; Zoega, *Basirillieri*, Pl. xxxvi.

³ The story of Olympias, wife of Philip, and her tame snake is well known.

was a hero or of semi-divine nature, until it was pointed out, that as the dead body of a bull produces bees and that of a horse wasps, so the dead body of a man produces in the natural course of its decay, snakes.

A third animal of usual occurrence in these scenes is the horse, who either makes his appearance bodily,¹ or else is represented by his head only, which is seen, as it were, framed in the background, that is in a square inclosure which has been imagined to stand for a window, through which the head is seen. With regard to the horse, one of the fiercest contests in this whole war has been waged. One party have affirmed that his appearance is a sign of death. They have tried to establish a connexion between Hades and horses, and to show that the horse is a natural symbol of departure on a long journey, as the Greeks usually travelled on horseback. There has even been a suggestion that there must be an antique element in the modern Greek belief that Charos, or Death, rides on horseback about the mountains attended by a train of corpses, and with dead children hung at his saddle-bow. Letronne and Welcker are very severe upon this theory, declaring the legends of the modern Charos to be of Slavonian origin. Welcker is also very angry with an unfortunate critic who imagines the term *κλυτόπῳλος* as applied in Homer to Hades, to have something to do with riding on a horse.² He maintains that the horse who appears at banquets on tombs is merely an ordinary domestic animal, who has good right to share in the pleasures of his master, and by his presence testifies to the knightly rank of the person to whom the tomb belongs. Friedländer declares that the way to the next world for a Greek would lie across the waves, and that it would not occur to him to connect even in idea the last journey with a horse. To this question we shall return.

Finally, the scene of the banquet is, on the oblong more complicated class of reliefs, very commonly supplemented by an addition, which at once seems entirely to change its character: that is, by the approach to the feasting pair of some worshippers, represented as of smaller size than they, and therefore as of inferior rank or dignity. Sometimes they bring with them a pig, and frequently other offerings, with chaplets and other trappings of

¹ As in Zoega, *Bassirilievi*, Pl. xi.

² The epithet refers of course to the chariot, not the horse of Hades.

Greek cultus. The following relief from Argos may serve as an example¹: Male figure reclining, and female seated, attendant in background; under the couch a serpent, and in the background a horse's head inclosed in a square frame. There enters a train of suppliants of small size, bringing with them a sheep for an offering. Another relief, also published by Welcker,² shows us a very similar scene, with a curious variety, that the reclining male figure wears on his head a modius, and holds in his hand a horn (*cornucopiae*). It is at once evident that the presence of worshippers takes these reliefs out of the class which can be explained as representations of ordinary domestic life. Even the most thorough-going of the advocates of the daily-life theory have seen this, and maintained, as does Welcker, that the reliefs where votaries appear belong to altogether another category from sepulchral reliefs; are indeed *ex voto* tablets dedicated to certain deities, by persons whom they had aided and succoured. In the tablets where a snake appears by the side of the pair who are the objects of veneration, he calls them Asclepius and Hygieia; where the reclining figure wears a modius, he calls him Sarapis accompanied by his wife Isis or Persephone.

The recent excavations at the Asclepieion at Athens have resulted in the discovery of a large number of *ex voto* tablets dedicated to Asclepius and Hygieia. These however do not bear any very close resemblance to the class of reliefs under discussion. Asclepius and Hygieia appear on them³ either seated or standing, usually one seated and one standing. The snake, which specially belongs to the healing god, takes its place under his seat, or twined round a tree. Worshippers, of course of smaller size, approach bearing incense or fruits. But these tablets are of far earlier period than the sepulchral reliefs, and cannot fairly be compared with them. With greater fairness we may cite, as representing a late *ex voto* tablet to Asclepius, a remarkable coin of Bizya in the British Museum. Comparison with other coins of the same city and period, on which Asclepius very commonly appears, renders it certain that the representation does belong to his cultus. We may thus describe

¹ See Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, ii. Pl. xiii. 2. The horse's head here looks like that of an ox; this can scarcely be anything but the result of defective drawing. The monument

itself has disappeared.

² *Ibid.* Pl. xiii. 3.

³ *Mittheilungen Inst. Ath.*, vol. ii. Pls. xvi.-xviii.

the reverse type of this curious piece ¹ which was minted in the reign of Philip the Arab:—ΒΙΖΥΗΝΩΝ. Asclepius reclining on a couch and Hygieia seated in front of him; a tripod before the couch, also a serpent twining round a staff. A votary approaches bearing an amphora of wine, and on the other side a horse enters. In the back-ground is armour hung on a tree.



This scene so closely resembles some of those cited by Welcker that we might naturally be disposed to accept the theory that these latter also were dedicated to Asclepius.

Welcker, however, does not seem to have been aware that some of the reliefs of the oblong class on which votaries make their appearance bear inscriptions which may perhaps help us towards ascertaining their meaning. Two such are cited by Stephani from Janssen's catalogue of the sepulchral reliefs at Leyden:—²

(1) A male figure reclines on a couch holding a patera, before him is a table laden with fruits; votaries are grouped about him; above, five square openings, in which are placed, arms, a horse's head and three female figures. Inscribed:

..... οφάνης Κυδρογένης
..... Κυδρογένης Ἡρώ

(2) A male figure reclines, holding horn and patera, a table before him as usual; behind, a snake wound round a tree; by the side an oenochoüs; votaries approach bringing a pig decked for sacrifice; in the corner above is a horse's head. The inscrip-

¹ *Cat. Gr. Coins in Brit. Mus.*
Thrace, p. 90.

² Nos. 15, 16.

tion records that the tablet is dedicated by Diodotus, son of Antialcides, Prytanis for the second time and his fellow-Prytanis to one Teiades [ΤΗΙΑΔΗ].

If we could change but a letter or two at the end of the inscription just cited, and read ΤΩΙΑΙΔΗΙ we might fairly see in the tablet an *ex voto* relief dedicated to Hades, and certainly the reclining male figure with his horn and patera would do very well for a representation of Hades. But we learn from Janssen that the reading as he gives it is clear and certain; we are therefore obliged to suppose that the tablet was set up in honour of a mortal hero, and that he was dead at the time is indicated by the whole scope of the relief, and in particular by the snake twined round a tree in the background, this being a well-understood sign of death. The first tablet also is set up in honour of a hero.

Another instance will be found in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1874.¹ On a relief there published we see a male figure reclining, with his wife seated as usual; votaries approach them. The inscription in this case is Ἡδύλος ἀνέθηκε Εὐκόλος. Eucolus seems to be the deceased hero, to whom Hedylus, presumably a relation, set up this tablet.

We seem then to have clear instances of votive tablets set up in honour of a mortal, with votaries and the symbols of snake and horse-head; but perhaps scarcely enough instances to enable us to lay down the rule that all the class of banqueting-scenes on oblong reliefs were of this nature.

II.

Hitherto, I have been regarding Attic banqueting reliefs as a class of monuments apart, and considered them from the point of view which prevailed until recent years. But theories of development are of as great value in archaeology as in other branches of science. If we try not only to distinguish the classes of these reliefs, but to track them upwards in time and discover their original ideas and the artistic forms from which they are descended, we shall, I hope, be able to decide finally

¹ P. 148.

those questions which seem insoluble when we proceed from the mere classificatory point of view. To take this course would have been a few years ago impossible, as the monuments which will most assist our search had not then been discovered. But now it has become a possibility.

If we turn from Greece to the monuments of the semi-Greek countries of the east and west, to Lycia on the one hand and Etruria on the other, we shall at once see that the banqueting reliefs do not stand so far aloof as they appear to do when we confine our attention to works of Hellenic art only. On many of the Lycian tombs discovered by Fellows are reliefs of which the subject is a male figure reclining on a couch and holding a patera. On a tomb at Cadyanda¹ for instance, the relief represents a man reclining, holding a bunch of grapes and a patera, a dog below his couch: suppliants approach him bearing grapes. The relief of a tomb at Myra² represents a reclining man and a seated woman who draws forward her veil: a dog is beneath her seat; and votaries are on either side. Both these tombs are of the native Lycian or pre-Greek class, and must therefore be older than the Hellenisation of the district which took place probably in Seleucid times. And they appear to contain most of the essential elements of the later banqueting reliefs. Not very different in character are scenes depicted on still earlier monuments, such as the well-known tomb called the Nereid monument, which was erected according to a generally accepted theory in honour of Pericles, a king of Xanthus. On one pediment of this building we find an ideal battle-scene, on the other is a group representing the king after death receiving the homage of survivors. He is seated on a throne beneath which crouches a dog, his queen sits opposite, drawing forward her veil; between the two are their children, and on either side suppliants of smaller stature are represented as approaching the principal figures.³ Groups of a similar character are to be found on other Lycian monuments, that called the Chimaera-tomb for instance. Thus so far as Lycia is concerned

¹ Fellows, *Lycia*, p. 118.

² *Ibid.* p. 197.

³ Such is the interpretation suggested by Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875. I believe that it has been

generally accepted, and has superseded the theories which made of the group either a set of deities or mortals engaged in an every-day feast.

there can be no doubt that as early as the fourth century B.C. dead heroes were represented on their tombs as receiving homage from the living.

The same order of ideas prevails in Etruria. The well-known archaic sarcophagus of the British Museum furnishes us on its two sides with contrasted pictures of fighting and feasting. And that the feast here is a feast after death, is shown by the analogy of the wall paintings of several of the large tombs of Etruria, in which the occupant of the tomb is seen eating, drinking, and making merry, as if he had but to continue in the tomb the life which while he was in the flesh he had found so pleasant.

But we must not delay over the representations in Etruscan tombs, partly because in character they are nearer to the art and the beliefs of Egypt than to those of Greece, partly because the question of their interpretation is not altogether an easy one. Let us pass on to Greek soil. And first we must mention a class of sepulchral reliefs common from the fourth century onwards, and more particularly usual in Boeotia, in which we see a hero of magnified stature, either riding on a horse or leading a horse, and receiving in a patera or cup the libation of some figures, usually female, who meet him.

A good instance of this large class may be found in a Theban relief, which represents a warrior of magnified stature, clearly a hero, standing beside his horse and holding out a patera to receive the offerings of some suppliants who approach, bringing him a pig, a bird and a vase. A similar relief exists in the Sabouroff Collection.¹ It is from Tanagra, but Furtwängler considers it to be of Attic work, and of not later time than the fourth century B.C. It represents a hero accompanied by his horse, holding out a patera into which a female figure is pouring wine or oil from a vase: at the side a man and woman and two children enter as suppliants. Above is the important inscription, ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΛΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΩΙ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ, proving that the tablet was set up in honour of a deceased mortal. In a small stele from Rhodes in the British Museum, the hero advances on his horse towards a female figure who prepares to pour him a libation.

Italian excavations also have of late years largely illustrated

¹ Pl. xxix.

our subject. At Tarentum large numbers of terra-cotta reliefs have been discovered¹ which in their subjects approach closer to the Athenian monuments. These terra-cottas are usually found in fragmentary condition; but it is clear that in many cases they represent a deceased hero reclining at table, often accompanied by wife and child. Sometimes these groups bear the impress of archaic, sometimes of fully-developed art. A remarkable specimen which presents exceptional features is engraved in the *Monumenti* of the Roman Institute (xi. pl. lv.). It represents a young man and woman engaged in feasting together, while behind them appears in the background a horse. The exact purpose of these terra-cottas has not as yet been ascertained, but all scholars who have written about them are agreed that they belong to the cultus of the dead in Tarentum, which was, it must be remembered, a Dorian colony. On others of these tablets heroes seem to be represented as riders.

But the best clue for the due interpretation of the Greek banqueting reliefs is furnished by those archaic Laconian reliefs the finding of which in recent years has so greatly increased our knowledge of art and archaeology. Some of the more important of these were brought before the learned world by Dressel and Milchhoefer in the second volume of the *Transactions of the German Institute at Athens*.² One stone bears a relief representing man and woman seated side by side; he holds wine-cup and pomegranate, she draws forward her veil. Another reproduces the same pair; but behind them stands erect a snake, while in front approach two votaries of the female sex bearing as offerings a cock, an egg, a flower, and a pomegranate. So soon as wonder at the very remarkable artistic style of these interesting reliefs so far subsided as to allow archaeologists leisure to consider their meaning, two opinions found advocates. The wine-cup naturally suggested Dionysus, and the first discoverers of the stones had supposed the tablets to be made in his honour, and to represent him seated with Ariadne (or perhaps Persephone), to receive the adoration and offerings of certain votaries.

¹ Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 300; also Dümmler, *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1883, p. 192. They have been also found at Myrina.

² Engraved also in Overbeck's *Gr. Plastik*, 3rd edit. i. 85; Perry, p. 73; Murray, i. 94.

Messrs. Dressel and Milchhoefer in the above-mentioned Transactions discussed the matter at length and with much discretion. They declared that the reliefs must belong to some well-understood and widely-spread Peloponnesian cultus, deeply rooted in the feelings of the people, and possessed of a well-understood language of symbols, the wine-cup, the egg, and the pomegranate. It occurred to these archaeologists to compare the reliefs of Sparta with the reliefs representing banqueting scenes, but they maintained that whereas the personages represented in the ordinary banqueting scenes are mortal, those portrayed on the Spartan reliefs must be deities. They next asked what deities? and rejecting Dionysus as inappropriate and not known in Laconia in early times, decided that the figures represented must be Hades and his consort, and the whole set of reliefs an important evidence of the worship of Chthonic deities in Laconia in early times. The scene represented would thus be the homage done by votaries dead or living to the great powers of the unseen world.

The proofs, however, of the truth of this attribution were not numerous. That Hades sometimes on vases holds the wine-cup or kantharos of Dionysus is true. And there was found near Sparta a terra-cotta statuette of a seated man, inscribed ΑΙΔΕΥΞ, which word we may reasonably suppose to be a cross-form between ΑΙΔΗΞ and ΑΙΔΩΝΕΥΞ.¹ But this figure being headless, and endowed with no attributes, furnishes but a very slight argument in favour of giving the name of Hades to so different a being as he in the reliefs. There was no doubt rife in the Peloponnese, or at least in all parts of it where Pelasgic traditions of cult were strong, a devoted worship of the Chthonian deities Demeter, Persephone, and Hades. But we do not know that Sparta was one of the seats of this worship; rather from the hostility shown by the Spartans to the Eleusinian mysteries, the celebration of which they on several occasions interrupted, we may conjecture that they did not care to countenance the cultus of the great nature-deities.

The reasons in the other scale of the balance were even at that time weighty. First, the only one of the Spartan reliefs of which the exact find-spot could be traced was found, it appears, standing erect in a tumulus composed of earth and

¹ *Mithcil.* ii. p. 299.

stones which was in all probability an early tomb, while near by was a stone inscribed $\Theta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$.¹ Secondly, the snake seems by his presence to afford a strong indication that the being whom he attends is rather a deceased hero than Hades the mighty ruler of the dead.

Thus even on the evidence before them, Messrs. Dressel and Milchhoefer might with justice have ventured to reject the theory that Hades and his consort are represented in the reliefs. It is, however, always difficult on the discovery of quite a new class of works of art immediately to determine their character. Fortunately, not long afterwards, other Spartan reliefs came to light; of these some are figured in the seventh and eighth plates of vol. iv. of the Athenian *Mittheilungen*. One represents a male figure seated, closely draped, holding in one hand a wine-cup from which a snake drinks, in the other hand a pomegranate. This relief is on a stelè inscribed with the name of $\tau\iota\mu\omicron\kappa\alpha\eta\varsigma$; and another stelè which bears the name of $\alpha\pi\iota\epsilon\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\eta\epsilon$ exhibits a similar figure though in a freer style of art. These reliefs readily attach themselves to the more archaic class of Spartan monuments, and throw a fresh light on their character, so that after seeing them Milchhoefer² retracted his previously expressed opinion, and no longer hesitated to believe that in all alike dead mortals held the post of honour, and that all referred to the cultus of ancestors.

Other fortunate discoveries made recently, both on the soil of Laconia and on that of Attica, have removed the last shadow of doubt in the matter, and by bringing the Spartan reliefs in line with the banqueting scenes on Athenian and other tombs have served to explain the character of these also, and to throw light beyond them, not only on other classes of sepulchral relief, but on the monuments of Lycia, Etruria, and other districts of semi-Greek art.

A Laconian relief was found at Chrysapha³ near Sparta. Its subject is a male figure, seated, fully clad, holding in one hand a wine-cup, in the other a pomegranate; at his feet is a dog leaping up, and in front is sculptured in low relief a horse.

¹ This would seem to be the genitive of $\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\rho$, a variant of $\epsilon\rho\mu\eta\varsigma$. It seems to signify that the tomb was sacred to the Chthonian Hermes.

² *Mittheilungen*, 1879, p. 160.

³ Published by Furtwängler in the *Mittheilungen*, vol. vii. (1882) Pl. vii. This writer looks on the evidence furnished by the monument in the same way in which it is here accepted.

Neither Dionysus nor Hades is specially connected with dogs or horses, nor has Asclepius any connexion with a wine-cup or a pomegranate. It seems then that it cannot be a deity who is here represented. And every one who is acquainted with sepulchral reliefs, knows that a dog leaping up and a horse in the background are among their most usual features. We can



scarcely resist the conclusion that our slab belonged to a tomb, and that the person there represented is a mortal, seated in state to receive the homage of his descendants or of passers-by.

If any doubt remained it would vanish on considering a stele recently discovered in Attica, and ascribed to the latter part of the sixth century.¹ As to the sepulchral destination of this monument its inscription leaves no doubt, recording that it was

¹ *Mittheilungen*, iv. (1879) Pl. ii.

set up in honour of one Lyseas by his father. It is not a relief, but a flat slab, bearing a painting of Lyseas standing. This standing figure in general outline reminds us of the relief which presents a portrait of Aristion, and of other portraits of early Attic worthies; but the remarkable thing about it is that the hero bears in one hand what seems to be a laurel-bough, in the other a wine-cup exactly similar to that carried by the seated figure in the Spartan relief. We thus gain an incontrovertible proof that a wine-cup or kantharos does not belong only to Dionysus and Hades, but may be held by a hero on his tomb.

It may then be considered as certain that the dead were figured on their tombs as seated in state, holding wine-cup and pomegranate. And this leaves no doubt that the pair, male and female, seated, who appear in the early Spartan reliefs are the departed head of a family and his wife, and that the reliefs wherein they appear are of sepulchral character. Again, this pair, as we have already seen, is in some cases approached by votaries bringing offerings; this shows that, in Sparta at least, not only were the regular offerings to the dead held in great estimation, but that their presentation was considered a fit subject to adorn the tombs of departed heads of families. And the stelè of Lyseas shows that this general order of thought is not peculiar to Laconia, but that we may expect to find ideas not dissimilar in other parts of Greece and even in Attica.

In Boeotia stelae have been discovered which exhibit the prevalence in that part of Greece also of the same ideas. They are published in the third volume of the *Mittheilungen*. For instance, we have from Lebadeia a stelè of very early date, which was evidently fashioned with a view to being set up in the earth as a gravestone. The relief on this stone is as follows: On a seat rests an aged man clad in a himation: his feet supported by a stool. Both arms are extended, in one hand is a staff, in the other a kantharos. Here we distinctly find the dead hero grasping the cup of Dionysus.

According to Dressel and Milchhoefer the tablets at Sparta must be memorials of a widespread and deeply-rooted cultus. Willingly we accept this verdict: and the phrase happily expresses the character of that worship of the dead which was widely prevalent in ancient times, and which was a marked

feature of Greek religion, more particularly of the religion of the conservative races of the Peloponnese.

The worship of the dead can scarcely be said to lie on the surface of the great Attic literature. That literature, in fact, belongs rather to all time and to human nature than to a particular age and country; and what is local and temporary in Greek thought and feeling has ever a tendency to fall into the background in it. It represents the Greek mind in the same way in which the Doryphorus of Polycleitus, and the Apoxyomenus of Lysippus, represent the Greek body: they give us the better and nobler side, and put out of sight what is mean and unworthy. In the great age of Greece, and in the favoured city of the Athenians, religion meant the worship of the great deities of Olympus, the highest and noblest forms of the Greek religious consciousness. Primitive and patriarchal elements of religion still existed; but they were thrust into the background. Thus, as indeed a glance at Athenian sepulchral monuments will assure us, the worship of the dead did not occupy among the *élite* of Greece the same space in men's minds which at an earlier time it had held, and which it still held in the more conservative districts.

Nevertheless, a careful search will disclose many passages even in the Attic writers which illustrate this form of religion. The opening passage of the *Choephori*, for example, tells of cultus kept up at the tombs of deceased worthies. In the *Alcestis*, the heroine of the play is scarcely dead before she is invoked by the chorus as a spiritual power, able to give and to withhold favours:—

νῦν δ' ἐστὶ μάκαιρα δαίμων,
χαῖρ', ὦ πότνι', εὖ δὲ δούης.

It is instructive to compare with such passages as these a class of vases peculiarly Athenian, the beautiful white *λήκυθοι*,¹ which bear paintings in almost all cases illustrative of the offerings brought to the tombs of departed ancestors by survivors. The abundance of these vases proves that the ideas which they illustrate were quite familiar to the Athenians.

¹ Cf. Pottier's useful work *Les Lécythes blanches antiques*, 1884, where these monuments are fully discussed from

the point of view of funeral customs as well as from that of art.

At a lower level than that of poetry, in the laws and the customs, more especially the burial-customs, of the Greeks, we find ample proof of the tenacity with which they clung to the belief that the dead desired offerings of food and incense, and were willing in return to furnish protection and aid. We must briefly trace the rise of this belief in the primitive mental tendencies of the ancient peoples of the East.

It is well known to be one of the most universal and deepest rooted convictions among barbarians, that the dead are not without feelings and perceptions, but remain keenly alive to the treatment they receive from their kindred and require of them much assistance. The dead man, living in his tomb as he had lived in his house, requires frequent supplies of food and drink, rejoices in the presence of armour and ornaments, such as he loved in life, and is very sensitive to discourteous treatment. These ideas were part of the mental furniture of the whole Aryan race, before it separated into branches, and are found in all the countries over which it spread. They were also fully accepted in very early times by the Egyptians. The belief of these latter in the existence of persons after death was so intense that it has created their art, given birth to their literature, and even now gives a strong colour to all that remains of the Egypt of the Pharaohs. The Egyptian grave consisted properly of three parts: first the underground cell where were laid, carefully preserved and wrapped in spices, the mummies of the dead; secondly, an inner chamber filled with images, and thirdly, an outer chapel accessible to the friends of the departed. The last two require a word of explanation. The images were regarded as things in which the shade of the deceased might dwell, their number was increased in order that among so many one should please him well, and as long as one remained, so long it was supposed would the shade of the deceased find something to attract and bind him to the spot. The outer chapel was a place of resort of friends who brought offerings to the dead, burning incense, the fumes of which were allowed to pass through certain openings into the chamber of images. Even after the Egyptians had fully accepted the belief that the souls of the dead passed to a distant world, there to be judged by Osiris, they still, inconsistently enough, retained the customs of the tomb, and called it the eternal dwelling-

place, in opposition to that temporary dwelling-place, the house.

By no means dissimilar were the views of the Greeks, at least in earlier times. In the earliest of Greek graves, such as the so-called Treasury of Atreus, at Mycenae, and the building at Orchomenus,¹ we find a somewhat similar arrangement of an inner chamber devoted to the dead, and an outer chamber to which those who came to pay their respects to the tenant of the tomb probably had access, and which may have been stored with articles of pomp and splendour, set aside for his enjoyment. It is well known with what care the early Greeks provided in the chamber in which they placed a corpse, all that was necessary for its comfort, I had almost said its life. Wine and food of various kinds were there laid up in a little store, a lamp was provided full of oil, frequently even kept burning to relieve the darkness; and around were strewn the clothes and the armour in which the dead hero had delighted; sometimes even, by a refinement of realism, a whetstone² to sharpen the edge of sword and spear in case they should grow blunt with use. The horse of a warrior was sometimes slain and buried with him that he might not in another world endure the indignity of having to walk. Even in Homeric days the custom survived of slaying at the tomb of a noted warrior some of a hostile race to be his slaves thereafter. After the fall of Troy, Coulanges remarks, the captives were distributed among the chiefs; but it was not thought right to deprive the dead Achilles of his share, and Polyxena was offered up at his tomb. According to the ingenious theory of a modern *savant*,³ the terra-cottas so commonly found in tombs in some parts of Greece are the successors and substitutes of these living victims, placed like their bodies in the grave of one who would in his future life require servants and companions. Every one knows that the custom of *sati*, whereby a wife is burned on the same pyre with her dead husband, is barely extinct in India.

And the care for the dead did not by any means cease at their burial. They had to be constantly tended thereafter, their bones preserved from violence, and their tombs from

¹ Described by Dr. Schliemann in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ii.

² Rayet, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1875.

³ At Mycenae, for instance.

spoliation; and at certain seasons food and drink had to be brought them and left by their tomb for their use. Sometimes even this did not satisfy their friends. There is in the British Museum a sarcophagus in which a hole has been cut, to allow food to pass in to the occupant, and Mr. Newton has suggested that the small apertures near the top of Lycian tombs were made with the same view; they are too small to allow the passage of the dead body itself. If a body was left unburied, or if the tomb in which it was laid was not from time to time supplied with food and drink, then the ghost inhabiting such body became a wretched wanderer on the face of the earth, and neither had peace itself, nor allowed survivors to be at peace.

The belief in the continued need felt by the dead and to be supplied by the living, was so deep that even Christianity has been unable wholly to abolish it, though in modern days roses take the place at tombs of the more substantial offerings of old times. A couple of passages from Lucian¹ will serve to summarise the ancient feeling: *πεπιστεύκασι γοῦν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀναπεμπομένας κάτωθεν δειπνεῖν μὲν ὡς οἶόν τε περιπετομένας τὴν κῦσαν καὶ τὸν καπνὸν, πίνειν δὲ ἀπὸ βόθρου τὸ μελίκρατον.*—*τρέφονται ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν χοαῖς καὶ τοῖς καθαγιζομένοις ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων ὡς εἴ τῃ μὴ εἶη καταλειμμένος ὑπὲρ γῆς φίλος ἢ συγγενὴς ἄσιτος οὗτος νεκρὸς καὶ λιμώττων ἐν αὐτοῖς πολιτεύεται.*

It is true that the state of opinion which gave birth to Greek burial-customs did not persist unchanged into historical times. Later there was spread abroad a general belief in the existence of a realm of spirits, presided over by Hades and Persephone, and hidden somewhere in the deepest recesses of the earth. At least the common people believed in the Styx and the Cocytus, the dog Cerberus and the Elysian fields, and the ferry-man Charon who conveyed souls. They even gave the dead an obol to pay to Charon as his fee, but this very fact shows how persistent the belief in the connexion of the future life with the body was, for it was in the actual mouths of corpses

¹ Lucian, 519 (*Charon*, 22), ii. 926 (*De luctu*, 9). I cannot omit quoting these passages, to which my attention was drawn by the late Rector of Lincoln College. He took a kindly interest in the present paper, and

during his last illness copied out for me Lucian's words in tremulous characters which evidenced alike the feebleness of his health, and the continued activity of his interest in Hellenic studies.

(the mouth being the Greek purse) that the piece of money was placed and left. The same men who supposed that souls went into a far country, yet believed heroes to hover about the spot on which they were buried, like the virgins of Leuctra who appeared to Pelopidas, when he happened to sleep at the spot where they were buried, or like the sages whose tombs became oracular. The upper stratum of belief was occupied by those notions of religion and a future state which were sanctioned by poetry and art, and public cultus; but in the background still lurked many feelings which had arisen at a time when the grave was regarded by all as a dwelling-place, and the dead as by no means inaccessible to the favours and the requests of the survivors.

If, having acquired and assimilated these facts, we now turn to the Spartan and Athenian reliefs successively, we shall find ourselves in a position to solve some of the difficulties which they present, and which have in former days perplexed archaeologists. We may begin with the Spartan class. These reliefs show us in connexion with the dead man as hero a number of symbols. The hero himself holds a wine-cup. Fürtwängler suggests that this contains an allusion to the libations which used to accompany funerals. This is doubtless true; but the hero is not pouring a libation, but receiving it. This is no trivial distinction, but involves the whole question whether the wine-cup is merely introduced in a spirit of vague symbolism to typify certain rites which belonged to funerals, or whether it is introduced not with a mere symbolical intention, but with a very literal and real one. It appears to me that our hero holds out his wine-cup to be filled, conveying thereby a very broad hint to his votaries that he hopes to receive plenteous draughts of wine at the recognised festivals of the dead. In the case of some sepulchral reliefs this is quite evident. I will instance a stelè of the fourth century from Tanagra;¹ on which is a hero standing beside his horse, holding out a vessel which a lady who approaches fills from an oenochoe. The same subject is found on a stelè from Thebes,² and many others.

And there is the same meaning in the case of those statues of the gods in which a patera is held in their hands. On coins the patera in the hands of deities is especially common.

¹ *Sabouroff Collection*, Pl. xxix.

² *Mittheilungen*, iii. 376.

Some students imagine that the deities who hold *paterae* are occupied in sacrificing to one another. Some archaeologists explain the fact by saying that the *patera* is the symbol of worship: it should, I think, rather be considered that the gods hold out to their votaries empty vessels for them to fill with libations or incense.

The hero of the Spartan reliefs also holds sometimes a pomegranate. It is well known what use is made of this fruit in the legends of Cora. In the lower world she tasted a pomegranate subtly offered her by Hades, and as a consequence could never entirely return to the upper air and the light of day, but was obliged to remain for four months of the year as queen of the world of shades. The pomegranate then is the characteristic food of the shades;¹ they eat it at their feasts, and it is brought to them by votaries together with fowls and with eggs, which are recognised archaic symbols of future life beyond the grave. The wife of the hero draws her veil forward; a natural and characteristic act no doubt in a Greek matron. Yet the frequency of the action in case of those seated ladies on Attic tombs who are taking leave of their friends to go on the last journey suggests that to grasp the veil may be a sign in these cases of departure to another world, just as to rest the head on the hand is a recognised sign of grief. The three animals which occur on the Spartan reliefs are the snake, the horse, and the dog. The snake and the dog appear as friends and companions of the hero; the horse only comes in relief in the background.

III.

If we return next to the class of oblong tablets found in Attica and elsewhere in Greece, presenting the subject of a banquet, we shall find that they have lost much of their mystery. We shall no longer hesitate to see in them the dead hero and ancestor with his wife, as they still exist after death in the pious thought of their family.

Indeed among the sepulchral reliefs of Peloponnesus is one

¹ Furtwängler takes it otherwise, as the symbol of wifely love and devotion. But it is sometimes placed in the hands of virgins. Pomegranate

seeds enter still into the composition of the cakes, *κόλλυβα*, above spoken of (p. 109).

which may be considered as the prototype of the banqueting scenes. It comes from Tegea,¹ is of archaic work, and presents the following design: On the left of it is a female figure seated in a chair towards the right, holding a flower and drawing forward her veil. Opposite her reclines on a couch a man, of whom unfortunately all is lost but the feet. Between man and woman is a naked youth who holds a wreath. Milchhoefer remarks with justice that this relief, in spite of its fragmentary state, just avails to bridge over the gap between the Spartan stelae and the ordinary banqueting reliefs. It has many points of resemblance to both classes.

When we have recognised that the banqueting reliefs of later Greek art are the descendants of earlier monuments which testify to the prevalence in Greece of the worship of ancestors we shall no longer be startled by the presence on them of votaries bringing offerings. And we shall be able to explain the presence in them of domestic animals, the horse and the dog. It is evident that henceforward the view which makes of these the ordinary household pets of the deceased while he was alive must be modified, since we now know that what we have to deal with is not an ordinary scene of daily life. Yet the theory requires but slight modification, a sort of translation, to make it again reasonable. It has been an ancient custom with most or all of the peoples of Europe to bury with a dead warrior his horse and his dog. The bones of horses and dogs are found with those of deceased worthies in Etruscan, Panticapaeon, and other tombs. It seems to me not impossible that the Greek fashion of representing horses and dogs in the company of heroes on their reliefs and vases may be a result of these ancient burial customs. Depicting the future state of the hero they place still in his company the horse and the hound which were his pride when he was alive, and which a Greek gentleman could not do without in this world or the next.

That the horse was constantly thought of in close connexion with heroes who received cultus is so well known that it need not further be insisted on. We may compare the class of late South Italian vases in which it is so usual to see a hero standing in his heroon to receive homage, while his horse is very commonly added.

¹ See *Mittheilungen*, 1879, Pl. vii.

But a very curious feature of the votive reliefs is that frequently in the place of a horse we find only a horse's head framed. I do not know that any one has suggested a plausible explanation of this fact, for it is impossible to accept as plausible the theory that the square frame is a window through which is seen the head of the horse standing outside.¹ If I must suggest an explanation it would be that the frame with the head in it is an anathema within an anathema, a votive-tablet represented as hung up by the couch of the feaster.

The dog also occurs by no means unfrequently on actual stelae, the well-known archaic one from Orchomenus in Boeotia for instance, and many of the Athenian tombs. The snake is still commoner on stelae, though he appears there by a right quite different from that by which horses and dogs hold their place. Horse and dog are old friends whom the hero takes with him to the other world; the snake is a new friend who there first becomes his companion. Horse and dog belong to the happy hunting ground; the snake to the cold earth of the cemetery. The arms which in sepulchral reliefs are often seen hung up in the background stand no doubt, by parity of reasoning, for those placed in the tomb at burial.

Another feature of the sepulchral reliefs of both Spartan and Athenian classes which requires some notice is the constant presence of the wife. This has always been regarded as a chief support for the theory which refers these scenes to daily life. The stones on which banquets are depicted were certainly in many cases and probably in many more set up in memory of a dead husband by a surviving wife. How, it was asked, could a husband who had removed to another world sup with a wife who remained in this? but the difficulty vanishes if we refer the scene to the past and not to the future. There is a certain plausibility about this argument; and if wives accompanied their husbands only on actual stelae and not on the oblong slabs it might be possible to allow some weight to it. But as no doubt remains that the reference in these latter is to the

¹ It is not unusual to find the head of a horse without his body, painted on late Italian vases (see *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. 40). But this fact gives us no help.

future, and as women very usually accompany their husbands on them, we are compelled to seek another explanation. It is surely likely that a wife, even if she survived, would wish to represent herself as sharing in imaginative anticipation the banquet of her dead husband.

It is however a fact not to be overlooked that in cases where the female figure is not seated at the feet of the male figure or beside him, but meets him to pour wine into the cup which he holds out, a modification of the older type which we meet at quite an early period, then this lady does not seem to be the wife of the hero. Rather from her stature and appearance we may suppose her to be some divine personage of perpetual youth and beauty.¹ And sometimes by the wings which spring from her shoulders we may identify her as Victory, who thus greets the hero on his arrival in the world of shades. This is a poetical variation of the idea; but we need scarcely suppose that in these cases a divine maiden is assigned to the deceased as his companion in the next world, as Hebe was assigned to Herakles.

Whether the feasting hero is supposed to be receiving the gifts of his votaries at the tomb or in Elysium, is no easy question to settle. Indeed I do not believe that it can be settled, for it is a matter on which the Greeks never fairly cleared their minds. The primitive theory was that the deceased man lived in the family tomb, and on this theory were based the burial customs, the storing of food and drink in the tomb, the piling in it of armour and vestments, the kindling of a lamp there to dispel the darkness. But though these customs locally survived to later Greek times, the ideas which had given birth to them partly passed away. A realm of Hades, an Elysium, Islands of the Blest were imagined, and the soul, at death, was supposed to wander forth to distant lands in the direction of the setting sun, or to pass into the lower parts of the earth. And yet, though Achilles dwelt in the *Μακάρων νῆσος*, he was also to be found at his tomb, where Alexander the Great went to worship him. Though the soul of Agamemnon when he died went to the land of Hades, yet Electra calls on his name at his burial-place. We here reach one of those radical confusions of ideas which exist

¹ See especially a stèle from Laconia and the remarks of Furtwängler on it in the *Mittheilungen* for 1882, Pl. xvi. at p. 367.

among all peoples,¹ even among ourselves if we take the trouble to consider the matter. We may therefore decline to attack the problem of the locality of the feast of the hero; the snake points to the tomb, but the horse and dog indicate rather the Elysian plains.

We have already remarked that among the Athenian sepulchral reliefs, which so often merely depict a scene of every-day life, with a shadow of coming death thrown across it, the banqueting reliefs seem to form a class apart. And we now see the reason. The usual reliefs are products of Athenian artistic feeling and good taste, and we may add of Athenian levity and love of innovation. But the banqueting reliefs come from another source altogether. They are based on a religious respect for ancestors which belongs especially to Peloponnesus and the Dorians. Their line begins probably among the races of Asia Minor: it is accepted by the Spartans and developed at Tegea and Tarentum. At Athens it does not make its appearance until later times, and is never taken up and assimilated as the Athenians took up ideas which were congenial to them. The few early banqueting reliefs from Athens, such as that on which Charon appears, are peculiar, and not readily ranged in line with the rest.

IV.

How, next, do we explain those votive reliefs to Asclepius, which are not merely in character, but even in every detail, so closely like the reliefs in honour of the dead? I think that after a careful examination of instances, it clearly appears that these are mere copies of the reliefs we have been discussing. The presence of a horse, and armour hung on the walls, are features of the Asclepian reliefs, which seem in their case to have no intelligible meaning at all. Le Bas suggests that the meaning of the horse is, that death would have taken place but for the intervention of the physician-god, and that the arms hung up mean, that had the patient not recovered, the survivors would have hung up his arms on his tomb. But it is sufficiently evident how lame is an explanation which rests entirely on

¹ Exactly the same confusion is ideas as to the future life. See observed by M. Perrot in the Egyptian *l'Égypte*, p. 135, &c.

'would have been,' and thus confesses itself directly at issue with what actually took place. To me it appears far more reasonable to suppose, that arms and horse alike were transferred from sepulchral reliefs, where they have a clear and intelligible meaning, to the Asclepian reliefs, where their presence is by no means so appropriate.

It is indeed a fact, however we may explain it, that the artistic representations of Asclepius and Hygieia are, from the first, remarkably similar to those of deceased heroes. Not only do the snake and the dog belong alike to the dead and the deities of healing, but the very pose of the latter seems often copied from that of figures in sepulchral reliefs. I would specially cite one sepulchral relief,¹ wherein a hero seated lays his hand on the head of a snake, in almost exactly the attitude of the great statue of Asclepius by Thrasymedes at Epidaurus,² while a female figure stands before him in the customary pose of Hygieia. The dog too, who reclined beside the throne of Asclepius at Epidaurus, has his parallel in the dog who lies under the couch of the hero in the Lycian reliefs. We must remember that Asclepius was a hero of mortal origin, born of the woman Coronis. To Homer he is merely the 'blameless physician,' whose sons, Machaon and Podaleirius, led to Ilium the men of Tricca. The framers of these reliefs may also have considered Asclepius as but a demi-god, to whom horse and armour would be appropriate.

It has been supposed that there are also votive tablets of this class dedicated to Serapis. And certainly the feaster on the couch sometimes wears on his head a modius which is the special mark of Serapis. A specimen is engraved by Welcker,³ but to those at all acquainted with Egyptian tombs an explanation of this fact will readily suggest itself. Among the Egyptians the dead man becomes Osiris on passing into the next world, and takes on himself the character and the form of that deity. Serapis is the successor of Osiris in Egypt, and assumes at a late period all his functions; what more natural, then, that a deceased hero should appear after death, whether in Egypt or even elsewhere, in the form of Serapis, and wearing his special

¹ From Patras. *Mittheilungen*, viii. of *Greek Coins*, Pl. xii. 21, p. 187.
Pl. xviii.

³ *Alle Denkm.* Pl. xiii. 3.

² Copied on a coin. Gardner, *Types*

head-dress? And we actually find reliefs in which the feaster wears a modius, which are identified by their inscriptions as referring to mere mortal heroes.¹

This order of thought, however, belongs to Egypt rather than to Greece. It has been suggested that on the Spartan reliefs, for instance, the dead man appears in the person of Hades rather than in his own. But this is scarcely true. The hero is generalized by dying, as it were, and loses his most marked individual traits. But he does not lose his personality in that of the god of the shades; for in almost all classes of sepulchral reliefs young men are distinguished from elderly ones, and the wife and children who accompany them are those of their actual life.

A curious monument published by Pervanoglu² is a relief of closely similar character, erected in honour of a divine being, whose cultus was almost confined to Attica, Boreas, whom the Athenians supposed to be particularly partial to them, owing to the influence of his wife, the Attic Oreithuia. In this relief appears a man with janiform head, reclining on a couch, and a lady seated at his feet, with the inscription, ΙΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΕΥΙΠΠΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΙ. Pervanoglu shows that the names or epithets *εὐππος* and *βασίλεια* apply most properly to Boreas and his consort, and that the Janus-head is appropriate to him almost alone among gods and heroes.

In the last two pages we have been travelling on the verge of an interesting subject, by no means distantly connected with, the subject in hand, the custom of spreading a banquet to the gods under the name *θεοξένια*. The lectisternia of the Romans, in which they spread feasts for certain of the gods, and laid their images by the tables that they might enjoy what was provided are well known, and most people fancy that the custom was of Latin origin, but it is certain that the Romans in this matter were mere imitators of the Greeks. We should naturally suppose that the custom of feasting the gods arose from that of feasting deceased ancestors. And this view receives fresh confirmation when we consider that these banquets were, among the Greeks, bestowed not upon all the gods, but nearly always on those of mortal birth, such as the Dioscouri, Asclepius and

¹ Holländer, *De Operibus*, &c. p'ate.

² *Das Familienmahl*, &c. plate.

Dionysus. They are bestowed indeed upon Zeus and Apollo, and this may seem strange, unless we remember how commonly Zeus Patroius or Herceius, and Apollo were confused in cultus with the traditional family ancestor.¹ The monuments which commemorate *θεοξένια* are however in some cases older than the stelae which belong to the cultus of ancestors. On a lekythus from Rhodes, for instance, published by Mr. Newton,² we have a very remarkable painting, which represents a couch laid with cushions at each end, and above the Dioscuri on horse-back approaching the couch, evidently in order to receive the promised banquet. Testimonies alike in the form of inscriptions and of passages of ancient writers, to the custom of inviting the Dioscuri to dine are abundant, and are collected in the work of Deneken *De Theoxeniis*. This writer shows that the reliefs which are usually supposed to represent the visit of Dionysus to Icarius, really represent banquets at which a priest or votary of Dionysus receives his master in the capacity of host and feasts with him. One of the most remarkable of these reliefs was published in the *Archäologische Zeitung* of 1882, by Deneken. It represents a man reclining at table, and a woman seated at his feet, no doubt his wife. Below the table is a snake, and beside it a slave to pour wine. The reclining pair turn with a gesture of surprise and pleasure to the door, at which enters Dionysus holding a thyrsus and leaning on a young satyr. Deneken maintains, and probably with justice, that this monument belongs to the oblong class of banqueting reliefs; and that it was inserted in the walls of a heroon erected in honour of one who had in his life-time offered banquets to Dionysus, whether as his priest, or as a member of some corps of actors, who were in ancient times called Dionysiac artists.

A relief like this brings us back to the question which we have already discussed. Is the scene of it in this world, or in the grave, or in Hades? No doubt it is commemorative of events which happened in this world. Such a relief would only be set up in honour of one who had in his life been a guest-friend of Dionysus. Yet the presence of the snake, confirmed by the general argument which has been established in the course

¹ See for instance, the remarkable inscription *Bull. Corr. Hell.* iii. 47, where Zeus Patroius appears as family

god of the gens of the Clytidae.

² *Transactions of the B.S.L.* New Series, ix. 434.

of this paper, serves to show that the reference is not merely to the past, but to the world which lies beyond death. The man who has shown a friendly hospitality to the god of wine when he was alive, might fairly expect to receive him as a guest in Hades. We may then safely discard the view which would lay the scene in the present life. The grave and Hades remain, and of these possible scenes we may hesitatingly prefer Hades, as a banquet given to Dionysus actually in the tomb must seem a strange and incongruous thing.

In connexion with the last sentence we may cite an important relief published by Conze,¹ which represents a man supping at table in company with a hero, who can be identified as Herakles by means of the lion-skin which he carries, as well as with a number of female figures. Conze considers that the scene represents one who sups in Elysium with Herakles and the Muses, and the accessories seem to bear out the view. Not only are there trees in the background, among which flutter winged youths, but similar youths appear also in the foreground, and furnish the feasters with food and drink. Here then we may seem to have an actual scene from Elysium. But at the same time the relief recalls to our mind the remarkable inscription called the will of Epicteta,² which gives details of the foundation, at quite a late period, of a cultus of some deceased relatives of the foundress in conjunction with that of the Muses, the heroon being at the same time a temple of those goddesses. In such a heroon, a relief like that under discussion would be quite in place, and the banquet represented on the relief might be an ideal representation of the sacrifices there offered year by year by the surviving kinsfolk.

At the end of these somewhat protracted investigations we find ourselves at last in a position to discuss the relief from which we took our start. It evidently belongs to the class of banqueting reliefs, and to that subdivision of the class which consists of oblong tablets erected in the neighbourhood of tombs. Of this class I believe it to be one of the earliest extant examples. In the elder reclining figure we recognise at once a deceased hero and ancestor, and in the general scene an idealised representation of the sacrifices brought to him from time to time

¹ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1871, p. 81.

² *C. I.* 2448, cf. Newton, *Essays*, p. 169.

by surviving relatives. But that which constitutes the great peculiarity of the relief, and that which is least easy to explain in it is the presence of the two youths, one reclining at the feet of his elder, one leading in a horse. These youths are not deities. For a moment one might be inclined, especially considering the Tarentine origin of the relief, to suppose that they are the Dioscuri, who were greatly venerated at Tarentum, come as guests to sup with the hero, but that explanation seems impossible in view of the familiar attitude which is assumed by the reclining men. No mortal would dare to lay a hand on the shoulder of one of the great twin brethren. Neither are they slaves, their size and their dignity at once preclude this idea. They can scarcely be explained except as the sons of the elder man. Sons do not as a rule on monuments of this class appear as of the same stature as their parents, but as the wife is ordinarily represented as of the same size as the hero, his sons may be so exceptionally. Shall we suppose that these sons died with their parent and were venerated with him, or were they the survivors who erected the tablet? I fear that, in spite of all the writing on the subject of sepulchral reliefs, their grammar is not yet sufficiently established to enable us to form a decided opinion on this point; and with like uncertainty the horse may be regarded either as belonging to the father, or to that one of the sons who brings it in. Perhaps the son on the couch may have been dead when the relief was set up, and the standing son may be the survivor who brings in a horse for the use of his relatives. In the presence of this animal, and in other respects our relief resembles the Tarentine terra-cottas already cited.

But in calling this relief abnormal, we must not forget that the ordinary type to which we might have expected it to conform, the type in which the seated wife is present, certainly was not in exclusive use. None of the banqueting reliefs of Greece proper, except that of Tegea, are of so old a date, and the earlier Athenian banqueting reliefs show much greater variety than do the late. We must therefore be cautious in applying to this scene rules of interpretation based on a class of monuments to which it cannot be expected to conform.

V.

If the present paper comes here to an end the reason must be sought rather in the limits of space and the occupations of the writer than in the exhaustion of the material. I have tried to explain the Greek banqueting reliefs, by comparing them with other classes of sepulchral reliefs in use in Greece at an earlier period than that in which banqueting scenes first make their appearance, and which bear a more clearly indicated meaning. But I have not tried to follow the idea in its various developments in Greece in historical times, with chronological and geographical classification : for this could not be attempted without a multitude of illustrations. And I have by no means tried to trace the custom of representing banquets on tombs to its original source. This would involve a discussion of the monuments of Etruria on the one hand, and of Assyria and Egypt on the other; and would require many investigations into the religions and the customs of many nations. The work would bring most valuable results, but it is altogether beyond the present purpose. And I understand that more than one able archaeologist is at work on the subject in Germany.

It would be equally out of the question to attempt, in the course of an article like the present, to determine whether in other cases the analogy of the Spartan reliefs may induce us to discover mortal heroes and heroines where we have hitherto seen deities. Certainly a process of that kind has been for many years going on in the interpretation of Greek art. Some statues formerly called Apollos are now regarded as athletes; figures once regarded as representations of Hera or Demeter are now known to be portraits of matrons. To extend this change of interpretation to new fields might be an enticing task. But I will here refer only to one monument, which to most Englishmen who know anything of classical archaeology bears a charm quite unique—the Lycian Harpy-tomb in the British Museum. It has been suggested by Dr. Milchhoefer¹ that we can now scarcely hesitate to see in the reliefs of this

¹ *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, p. 54. *Mittheilungen*, iv. 167. In the same journal viii. p. 81, Prof. Brunn speaks of the scenes on the Harpy tomb as sepulchral.

beautiful monument scenes in which deceased worthies are receiving worship from the living.

In support of this view several considerations are adduced; firstly, the building was certainly a tomb; and we find on several of the Lycian tombs, as has already been mentioned, representations of the heroes buried in them as receiving offerings and worship from survivors.

Milchhoefer calls especial attention to a detached gable end¹ of a Xanthian tomb in the archaic room of the British Museum, on which is represented a stelè surmounted by a harpy, on either side of which stelè is a seated figure, one bearded and one beardless, each holding a long staff. These two seated figures closely resemble those on the Harpy-tomb, and Milchhoefer considers that they are two buried worthies depicted as seated beside their tomb, just as on the white Attic lekythi we sometimes see the dead seated on the steps of their own tombs. We are also referred to the paintings of an early tomb at Caere in Etruria,² where the hero is depicted in a sitting posture, while near him is a winged figure bearing in his arms a woman.

In Greece the hero exchanges a sitting for a reclining posture at the end of the period of archaic art, the relief of Tegea above mentioned marking the transition. Does it not seem probable that at about the same time the same change of posture was introduced in Lycia also? The reclining figures of later Lycian art we know to be heroes: does it not then seem very likely that the seated figures of earlier Lycian art are also heroes? We have here a sort of rule of three sum: three of the four objects of which we speak are known; and it might seem very reasonable to deduce the nature of the fourth. And in fact on the Nereid monument, personages already recognised as deceased ancestors are seated.

Milchhoefer further maintains that there is no precedent for assuming that the deities of Olympus can be depicted on a monument the nature of which is clearly sepulchral. To which argument we may add another in the fact that the objects offered on the Lycian monument are not such as were presented to the Olympian gods, but all have a chthonian character. In

¹ A poor engraving of it in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1844, p. 150. ² *Mon. d. Inst.* vi. 30.

fact the objects in the hands of the seated figures on the Harpy-tomb and of their suppliants are nearly those which we find on the Spartan monuments. One of the seated figures holds the patera, the receptacle for incense, one an apple or pomegranate and a flower, while another holds a fruit in each hand. A dove, a cock, a flower and a pomegranate are the offerings brought to the ladies by their votaries. A seated male figure receives the, to him, more appropriate gift of arms, arms which remind us of those sometimes suspended on the wall in the reliefs of which we have above spoken. It might perhaps be replied that as we know so little about the religion of the Lycians, we must be cautious in applying to the reliefs on their tombs arguments taken from Greek religious custom; but here again the close likeness between the reliefs of Lycian and those of Peloponnesian tombs forbids us to suppose that they can belong to entirely different classes of representations embodying diverse religious reliefs.

This theory then seems very promising; but before we accept it, we must wait until its author, or some other archaeologist, takes it up in detail, and furnishes us with an exact and well-reasoned explanation of the different groups represented on the four sides of the tomb. That the tomb should have been erected in honour of three men and two women is not likely. Nor is it the custom of early art to represent worshipper and worshipped as of the same stature; but on the Harpy-tomb, standing and seated figures are nearly of the same size. We require also fuller explanation of the mysterious harpies themselves, and the prey they are bearing away; for we can scarcely subscribe to Milchhoefer's view that they are merely inserted to indicate a locality—the under world. There thus opens before us an interesting problem, one of many which recent excavations in Greece have suggested: and I cannot but hope that in the future our universities, with their new interest in archaeology, may produce followers of Oedipus bold enough to attempt, and able enough to solve them.

PERCY GARDNER.

ANCIENT MARBLES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

SUPPLEMENT I.

[PLATE XLVIII.]

WHEN I published my book on the *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, University Press, 1882), I was fully convinced that the catalogue there given would be susceptible of many corrections and supplements. But the hope I expressed in the preface, that I should be informed of marbles existing in private collections which might have escaped my notice by their owners or other competent persons, has completely failed; nor have I become aware of publications concerning this matter. Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking that there must be in Great Britain a good deal of hidden treasure of the kind, which would perhaps easier come to light if there were a place expressly destined to receive such communications. Now, there can be no doubt that no place would be more appropriate to the purpose than the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. I have therefore ventured to propose to the Editors to open in this Journal a corner for storing up such supplements and corrections. As a first instalment, I here offer some notes which may begin the series, and which can be continued. May other lovers and students of classic art, especially in Great Britain, follow my example.

BROOM HALL (Scotland, Fife).

This seat of the Earl of Elgin, a few miles distant from the venerable old town of Dunfermline, contains a small collection of Greek marbles which, with the kind permission of the owner,

I had an opportunity of examining some months ago. Although my hope of discovering among the reliefs some hitherto unknown fragment of the Parthenon has failed, still some of the marbles are deserving of particular attention. They are arranged along the walls of the spacious hall, adorned with a large portrait of the Athenian Lord Elgin, of whose labours in Greece these remains, too, are the result. As they were not comprised in the collection offered for sale to the nation in 1816, they may have been brought to Scotland at a later time. As a matter of fact, Lord Elgin, when examined, in February 1816, by the Committee of Parliament appointed for the acquisition of his marbles, expressed his belief that even after a large additional consignment of about eighty cases, which had reached England towards the end of 1812, there had arrived more cases during his absence from the country.¹ With this supposition seems to agree what I shall observe below on no. 5; nor has any one of the inscriptions at Broom Hall (except no. 25, which had been copied beforehand in its original place) been mentioned either in Visconti's Catalogue of the Elgin Marbles or anywhere else, which would certainly have been the case if they had been at London at the time of the sale of the main collection. Thus, this as it were posthumous part of the Elgin Marbles has been separated from the rest and, being a little out of the way, has remained nearly unknown up to the present day. Perhaps, according to that Athenian belief mentioned by Hobhouse,² one might still to-day hear the *Arabim* inclosed in these marbles groaning and sighing for their fellow-spirits exposed to public admiration in the splendid Elgin Room of the British Museum.

The description begins to the right of the main entrance, following the order of the actual arrangement. A few fragments of no consequence have been omitted.

1. *Fragment of frieze.* At the lower border remains of a very small denticulation, the individual denticles measuring but 0·02 m. in width and height. The only part remaining of the sculpture is a female kneeling towards the right on her right knee; she wears a chiton, which leaves nude the right shoulder and breast, and an ample mantle. The head and neck, part of the shoulder, and the arms which were stretched forward, are

¹ See *Report of Committee*, p. 44.
 Michaelis *Parthenon*, p. 351.

² *Journey*, i. p. 348 = Lord Broughton, *Travels*, i. p. 300.

wanting, as is part of the left leg. Relief pretty high (0·065 m.) and round, workmanship not very refined. Pentelic marble. H. 0·38. L. 0·30.

2. *Fragment of archaic female figure*, apparently part of a relief, though nothing of the background has been preserved. The sculpture, the real archaic character of which cannot be doubted, shows a draped female of very broad proportions, from the neck down to the knees. She presents herself in full face and rests on the left leg, around which the chiton forms stiff perpendicular folds; the right leg is a little advanced, and a portion of the drapery near the right thigh proves that the chiton was lifted up and grasped by the right hand, according to a scheme of composition very favourite in archaic art. The upper part of the chiton falls down to the waist, forming a stiff mass, almost without folds, in which the bosom is but very slightly marked; below it, instead of the beautiful row of folds usual in later times (for instance in the Eirenè of the Munich Glyptothek), a narrow straight roll of drapery is visible, treated in an equally plain way. One may compare a similar treatment in the Hestia Giustiniani of the Museo Torlonia.¹ Both the arms were lowered, but are broken off; so is the head and the lower part of the legs. As to composition, such figures may be compared as those on the *akroterion* of the temple of Aegina;² as to style, I know no better example than the famous Chiaramonti relief of the Graces,³ and its Athenian companions. The marble is certainly not Pentelic, but rather Parian, though a little greyish in colour, and of a somewhat large grain. H. 0·70, from the pit of the nape to the waist 0·24, from the waist to the right knee 0·35. Width of the opening of the chiton at the neck 0·22, of the chiton near the waist 0·19. The relief projects from the ground about 0·09, measured at the breast.

3. *Capital of column*. Below leaves of acanthus, above them a row of palm-leaves, at the top a plinth. H. of capital 0·32, of plinth 0·075. Comp. no. 26. A similar capital, attributed

¹ Braun, *Kunstmythologie*, Pl. 33. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, i. 30, 338a.

² For more examples compare *Arch. Zeitung*, 1864, p. 137.

³ Cavacoppi, *Raccolta*, ii. 13. *Arch. Zeitung*, 1869, Pl. 22. Cf. Benndorf, *ibid.* p. 53. Furtwängler, *Athen. Mittheil.* 1878, p. 181. Petersen, *Mittheil. aus Oesterr.* 1881, p. 52.

to the 'Tower of the Winds' is to be seen in Stuart and Revett, *Antiq. of Athens*, i. pl. 16, fig. 1.

4. *Two feet*, with sandals; each separate.

5. *Marble throne with reliefs*. Publ. by Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, p. 33, from whose engravings the group of the *τυραννοκτόνοι* has often been repeated, for instance, *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, pl. 127, 3. *Mon. dell' Inst.* viii. pl. 46, 2. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*, i. p. 119, fig. 15 b, 3 ed. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpt.*, I. p. 172. Mitchell, *Hist. of Anc. Sculpt.*, p. 286. When Stackelberg was at Athens (probably in 1810), he found the throne 'on the site of the ancient prytaneion' (that is to say the old Metropolis), and in the letterpress of his work, published in 1837, he expressed the opinion that probably the marble would still be at its original place. None of the travellers, however, who visited Athens afterwards, seem to have seen the monument; and indeed, W. R. Hamilton, in his *Memorandum on the Subjects of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, which was first privately printed in 1811, mentions our chair of marble as having passed into Lord Elgin's possession (p. 32 = p. 33 of the edition of 1815). Evidently Lusieri, Lord Elgin's agent, had meanwhile made the acquisition of the marble, and afterwards sent it to England. Here it had been utterly lost sight of, notwithstanding its considerable historical importance, and although Benndorf (*Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 106, note 2) had justly inferred from Hamilton's words that the monument had been transported to England. Now at last it reappears in Scotland. Plate XLVIII. shows the two reliefs, photographed from wet paper impressions which I have taken from the originals, and reduced to about two-thirds of the real size; on the original, the standing figures, measured from the top of the head to the ground, are 0·20—0·21 high. Though the impressions have been a little pressed, they will still be distinct enough to show the style and the details of the groups. The reliefs are extremely flat, scarcely more than drawings, the outlines being scratched with the chisel and separated from the surrounding ground by a kind of flat groove scraped into the marble. A similar system is shown in the representation of the muscles and other important parts of the body, although they are indicated with considerable clearness and strength; the drapery, too, is not modelled in relief but

indicated only by deep incised lines. One may compare the workmanship of the reliefs on the throne of the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus, discovered in the Athenian theatre, or of certain Attic sepulchral reliefs (Conze in *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad.* 1882, p. 569).—In the group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the archaic character of the original has been in some details better preserved by the sculptor, than one might conjecture from Stackelberg's drawing. The beard of Aristogeiton, for instance, is longer and more pointed; in the head of Harmodios the truly archaic length of the inferior part of the countenance is well rendered; the folds of Aristogeiton's cloak are simpler, more distinct and rectilinear, more like those of the Naples statue recognised by the late Friederichs (*Arch. Zeit.*, *l. cit.*). The right forearm of Harmodios, which is broken off on the marble, has been restored by Stackelberg, but hardly in the right way, the sword being much too long, as the comparison with the sword in Aristogeiton's hand will suffice to prove. I have little doubt that the arm originally was considerably more bent, as indeed it appears on the Athenian *tetradrachmae* already compared by Stackelberg; a conjecture borne out also by the movement of the body in the Naples statue, which is so much bent back, that evidently the artist did not choose the moment in which the youth is already striking the blow, but the preceding moment in which he is lifting his arm in order to strike. Another inaccuracy in Stackelberg's drawing consists in Aristogeiton's left hand, the joint of which on the original is not so close to the mantle as on the drawing. Thus it may be that the very faint traces which appear on the ground beneath the hand, parallel to the mantle, belong to the sheath of the sword which is clearly visible on some of the other copies (see Benndorf, *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 106; *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, ed. by Conze, vii. tav. 7, 5 and 6). Finally, the two advanced legs are more separated from one another on the marble than in Stackelberg's drawing.—The group on the opposite side of the chair is in higher relief and better preservation; unfortunately the paper impression has more suffered from pressing. Here again Stackelberg's drawing does not do full justice to the artistic merits of the sculpture. On the marble the energy of the movement of the youthful warrior is rendered with much greater vigour,

the line of the uplifted arm is more strained, the body shows a greater development of muscular exertion, the position of the falling woman is less weak. Nowhere appears the slightest trace of archaism; consequently the original of this relief will have belonged to another period of Greek art than that of the other relief. This suggestion is corroborated by the whole composition. The female body in its falling position reminds us strongly of the fine torso of an Amazon in the Borghese Palace at Rome (*Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. 37); one may also compare one of the groups of the Phigaleian frieze (*Mus. Marbles*, iv. 19) where, however, the movement of the Amazon is put in closer connexion with the attack of the conqueror. These analogies appear to me to point also to the true meaning of the composition. The interpretation given in the *Memorandum* with reference to the death of Leæna is not in concordance with the details of the composition; Stackelberg's explanation of the group as King Erechtheus immolating his daughter Chthonia to the weal of the country is contradicted by the youthful age of the beardless warrior. Why not recognise one of the most popular Attic myths, Theseus slaying the Amazon? a subject which forms a most adequate companion to the heroic exploit of the two friends who τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην ἰσούμοις τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποιήσατ' ἑν.—As to the inscription on the broken upper edge of the support of the chair, I am sorry to confess that I noticed only the beginning, ΒΟΗΘΟΞΔΙΟΔ, but overlooked the concluding letters ΙΟΞ given by Stackelberg. Thus I am unable to say how many letters may have disappeared in the gap between the two fragments, and whether Stackelberg's supplement Διοδ[ώρου υ]ἱός may be right. The letters, as will be seen on the plate, are incised in broad deep lines; the Ⓞ with a point, not a stroke, and the slightly divergent legs of the ξ indicate the anteroman period. Pentelic marble.

6. *Sepulchral stèle of Myttion.* The top is entirely plain; it forms a triangle of rather high proportions. Along the two sloping edges faint traces of a painted kymation are visible; but what is more remarkable, on the horizontal stripe which runs just above the field of the relief, is clearly preserved an inscription, the letters of which are not as usually incised but were painted, and still show a clear smooth surface, easily distinguishable from the surrounding ground which, not having

been protected by the colour, is entirely corroded. The letters are MYTTION (distinctly thus, not Μύρτιον); before the Μ there is a rough spot, but no letter seems to have perished. The name, hitherto unknown, is rather an equivocal one, comp. Hesych. μυττός· ἐννεός. καὶ τὸ γυναικεῖον. Painted inscriptions on tombstones are not unheard of (comp. Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. p. 43), but rarely do we meet with an example so well preserved as that of Myttion. From this analogy I have little doubt that a number of sepulchral reliefs which to-day appear to be uninscribed, once bore inscriptions in painted letters.—The middle part of the stelè contains the flat relief, without any border at the sides. A girl is represented, with short curly hair, walking to the right in a very uncommon dress. Over a long ungirdled chiton, she wears a stiff and plain jacket or caftan which goes down to her knees, with long sleeves, exactly like those worn to-day by the Albanian women. Her right hand, with outstretched index, hangs down; in the left she holds a small bird. At the lower extremity of the field are some traces of red colour.—The lowest part of the stelè is but roughly worked, because it was meant to be covered by the ground.—The stelè, with its very simple shape (comp. no. 16) and the modest treatment of the relief, seems to belong to the beginning of the fourth century. Pentelic marble. H. 0·71 (top 0·14 field 0·375, lower part 0·195). W. above 0·275, beneath 0·295, the slab tapering considerably.

7. *Fragment of relief, apparently votive.* A plain border, 0·06 wide, indicates that the fragment belongs to the right extremity. The only sculpture remaining is a stately woman, turned to the left, draped with girdled chiton and a cloak which covers the head and the legs; a corner of it is held by the left hand. The right arm, outstretched horizontally, is broken off, and so is the head and the lower part of the legs. The workmanship, which may belong to the third century, is a little more detailed than is usual in Attic reliefs; the marble is Greek, but not Pentelic. H. 0·44. W. 0·25. H. of relief over the ground about 0·03.

8. *Fragment of sepulchral stelè.* On the upper half, to the left, a female is sitting to the right on a chair with footstool; she wears chiton and mantle, which veils her head, holds her left in the lap, and stretches her hand to a man, apparently bearded,

standing opposite her. He is draped in a cloak which leaves the breast uncovered, one end of which, falling down from the left shoulder, he grasps with the left. Between the two, a bearded man, similarly clothed, stands full face; his left arm leans on a staff (not indicated in relief), and the right hand rests on it. The heads of both the men are partly broken away with the upper part of the stelè. Beneath this relief, treated in a flat and sketchy style, the upper part of an amphora is visible, in very flat relief; the rest is broken off. Pentelic marble. H. 0·44 (upper part 0·31). W. 0·35.

9. *Top of a sepulchral stelè.* The uppermost part, with gently curved outline, is decorated with delicate rolls and flowers, in very flat relief; below a simple cornice. Of the relief itself there remains only a girl's head, with long rich hair, a little bent, in high relief, but much injured. Date, the beginning of the fourth century. Pentelic marble. H. 0·32 (0·20 and 0·12). W. 0·38.

10. *Sepulchral stelè of Chairippè.* Above a simple pediment. Below it, on the slab, the inscription:—

ΧΑΙΡΙΠΠΗ:ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ
Α Α Μ Π Τ Ρ Ε Ω Ξ

Square field, with indication in outline of the capitals of the two antæ, to left and to right. A female, draped in chiton and mantle, unveiled, sits to right on a chair with footstool, and stretches her right hand to a bearded man standing opposite her, nearly as the woman in no. 8. The slab is broken at the lower end. Pentelic marble, very white on account of its being rubbed. The relief is flat; the style a little overworked and somewhat dry; apparently of the third century. H. 0·81. W. above 0·41, below 0·39.

11. *Large sepulchral relief of Theogenis, Nikodemos and Nikomachè,* in the beautiful high relief style of the fourth century. The head of the two females (much damaged) entirely detached from the ground. To the right, Nikomachè, draped as usual, unveiled, is sitting to the left, and gives her hand to the beautiful Theogenis standing opposite her, and draped in the same way; her left hand grasps a corner of the cloak near her breast. In the background, between the two females, the bearded Nikodemos stands full face, his breast not covered by

the mantle, which falls down from his left shoulder and covers his legs. His right arm is crossed before his stomach; four fingers of his left hand appear, awkwardly attached to his left upper arm; they hold an alabastron which hangs from a strip of leather. The lower part of the figures, from beneath the knees, is wanting. Two antæ support an extremely low architrave, with an equally low pediment; on the small cornice which separates them are traces of a painted kymation. On the architrave the names ΘΕΟΓΕΝΙΞ and ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΛΛΟ (the omission of the final γ indicates the first part of the fourth century); at the right end of the architrave, the place being wanting for the name of the sitting female, it was written in smaller letters on the horizontal geison of the pediment: ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΗ. Pentelic marble. H. 1·01 (pediment 0·205, architrave 0·035, remainder of relief 0·87). W. of pediment 0·925, of architrave 0·90, of relief 0·90. Elevation of relief above the ground 0·11.

12. *Sepulchral relief of boy and child*, with well-preserved pediment, below which the cornice shows remains of a painted kymation. On the slab itself, above the relief, faint traces of colour may indicate a painted inscription. In the square field, a youth enveloped in a cloak, which leaves uncovered part of the breast and the right arm, stands to the left, and offers with his right hand a bird to a little boy standing to the right, and likewise draped with a cloak, who looks up to the youth, and stretches out his right arm in order to receive the bird; in his left hand he holds a small object, apparently a cup. The relief, 0·01 m. above the ground, is more rounded than in the case of no. 10, but the execution is not refined. Preservation excellent. At the bottom of the slab the peg is preserved, which served to fix the marble on to some pedestal. H. 0·90 (relief 0·48). W. 0·405 (relief 0·285—0·305).

13. *Upper end of stèle of Aristokleia*. Semi-circular akroterion with elegant tendrils in very flat relief. From a leaf of *acanthus spinosa*, emerge gently curved twigs, symmetrically arranged, ending in reed-like leaves, and interspersed with various flowers. Beneath this anthemion of a rather uncommon pattern, runs a band with a slightly scratched inscription ΕΨΥΛΛΑΓΓΙΝΑ (the beginning means rather ΕΥΦ than ΕΧεΦ); the palæographical character which indicates about

the second century B.C., proves this inscription to be a later addition. Below, an architrave with the original inscription, **ΑΡΙΞΤΟΚΛΕΑ**. Unfortunately, of the relief, nothing remains except a small portion of a head in high relief. The stèle belongs to the end of the fifth, or the beginning of the fourth century. H. 0·33. W. 0·44.

14. *Small sepulchral relief of two females*, broken at the top and below; nearly the whole relief is preserved. To the left, a female, draped with chiton and mantle, raising her left arm, is seated on a chair with foot-stool, and stretches her right hand towards a tall young girl standing opposite her. She wears a dress very common with Attic virgins, viz., a chiton, the upper part of which is girdled and falls down to the knees; narrow strings are crossed before the breast, a small shawl-like mantle hangs down at her back, and her left hand grasps a corner of it (compare for instance a fine akroterion from Tráchones, with a similar figure in high relief, at Athens). The flat relief may belong to the third rather than to the fourth century. Much corroded. H. 0·40. W. 0·425.

15. *Fragment of a (votive?) relief*, forming the right end of the composition. An imposing female figure stands full face, draped in the Attic chiton, a small mantle hanging from the left shoulder and over the right arm, which rests on the hip. The left elbow leans on a narrow pillar. Relief tolerably high, a little corroded; the style is simpler and more Attic than that of no. 7. I forgot to take the measures.

16. *Painted stèle of Kollion*, with triangular top like no. 6. The whole slab is plain, without any part sculptured in relief. On the upper part, one distinguishes a painted pediment with akroteria, and beneath a painted kymation. Below this, in the field, is an inscription in roughly cut letters of irregular shape **ΚΟΛΛΙΩΝ**. The field at first appears to be empty, but on closer inspection, the smooth surface and some slight traces of colours allow us to recognise distinctly the outlines of a very nice composition, the ground around the figures being corroded by the weather. To the right, a youth stands in a gentle attitude; he is naked, except for a small chlamys, which covers like a shawl the left shoulder and arm, and the right arm. The left hand holds a staff which leans slantwise on the upper arm. In the outstretched right hand the youth holds a small bird. He looks down to a small

boy sitting on the ground, who leans on his left arm and endeavours to lift his body; he looks upwards and stretches out his right arm, desirous to grasp the bird. The group is a very fine specimen of the Attic talent for *genre* scenes, and reminds us of many similar compositions on painted vases. (For painted sepulchral stelae, compare Ross *Arch. Aufs.* i. p. 29, 40. Michaelis in the *Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1867, p. 113. Löschke *Athen. Mitth.* 1879, p. 37. Milchhoefer *ibid.* 1880, p. 164. Pottier, *Bull. de corresp. Hell.* 1884, p. 159. L. Gurlitt in *Histor. u. philol. Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet*, p. 151.) Pentelic marble of superior quality. H. 0·61. W. 0·255.

17. *Sepulchral stelè with two youths.* The upper end is broken. The field is flanked by narrow edges. Two youths, clad in mantles, which leave uncovered the right breast and arm, stand opposite to one another, holding hands. The youth to the left grasps his mantle near the left breast. The noble style which recalls certain reliefs like those engraved in Bouillon *Musée des ant.*, iii. *cippes choisis*, Pl. 1, 6. 2, 12, seems to point to the end of the fifth century. Pentelic marble. H. 0·70. W. 0·38. Elevation of relief above the ground, 0·025.

18. *Fragment of relief with warlike scenes.* A warrior, with strap and hilt of sword visible, is sinking down and is held from behind by a comrade, whose hands are clasped together before the breast of the wounded warrior. The standing warrior wears a corslet. Only the upper parts of both figures are preserved. Of a third figure to the right, there remains only the right hand holding a spear. The style is late, apparently Roman, but the fragment seems not to belong to a sarcophagus, nor is the subject mythological, but rather taken from real life. Pentelic marble. H. 0·28. W. 0·33. Elevation of relief 0·10.

19. *Sepulchral relief of Aphrodisia of Salamis.* The pediment, with completely preserved akroteria, is adorned with a shield. The field, flanked by columns, contains two females, both seen full face. To the left, the smaller one, of rather heavy proportions, wears chiton and cloak; left hand lowered, right arm crossing the stomach; hair arranged in parallel lines. To the right a priestess of Isis, clad as usual in a chiton and a fringed mantle, holds a sistrum in her uplifted right, an ewer

in the lowered left hand. On the architrave is the inscription—

ἈΠΡΟΔΙΣΙΔΟΥ ΜΠΟΥ ΠΑΤΧΝΧΙΔΩΑ
ΣΑΛΛΑΜΕΙΝΙΑ 90C ΧΝΕΧΛΙ

The inscription to the left is incised with great care, the other in coarser characters, in harmony with the barbarous words. According to Professor Duemichen, the second name is Egyptian, composed of *pat* (*pet*, δῶρον) and *Anaiath* = Ἀναίτης, so that the meaning of the whole name would be similar to that of the first woman. As to the second line, I have no explanation to offer. Common style of imperial time, when tombstones of priestesses of Isis abound. H. 0' 90. W. 0' 62.

20. *Fragment of late sepulchral relief.* Upper part of a man, apparently beardless, clad in chiton and cloak, seen full face.

21. *Small sepulchral relief.* The pediment is wanting; antæ at either side. Between them, to the left a fully draped and veiled female is sitting on a chair, on which a cushion is lying, with a footstool before it. Her feet are crossed; her left hand grasps the veil, her right is stretched out towards a man (head wanting), partly enveloped in his mantle; his left arm hangs down. Between them, in the background, a servant is visible, holding in her arms a baby swaddled, and with a large cap on its head (comp. *Arch. Zeit.* 1845, Pl. 34). Excellent specimen of the beautiful style, of that severer description which prevails at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century; the modest dimensions agree with it. The two main figures are rendered in high relief (about 0·07), particularly the head of the woman. H. 0' 69. W. 0' 535.

22. *Large Greek sarcophagus.* The front is adorned with two rich festoons, which are fixed at the corners on a bull's head, and held in the middle by a flying boy. In each of the two fields above the festoons is a head of a youthful Satyr, with pointed ears, ruffled hair, small horns, and two slight tufts of beard at the chin. On each of the sides is a similar festoon, hanging from two bulls' heads, with a lion's head above it. The back being put against the wall cannot be examined; probably it is without reliefs. The cover is shaped like a roof covered with leaves; in the middle of the two pediments are two prominences

so battered that it is impossible to make out their original form; at each of the corners is an akroterion. On the front the architrave which forms part of the cover, contains an inscription in beautiful deeply-cut letters of the imperial epoch, in one line:

ΑΙΛΙΟΣΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΙΔΗΣΑΙΛΙΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ
ΤΟΥΕΞΗΓΗΤΟΥΥΙΟΣΨ

(A certain Αἴλιος Ζήνων Βερενικίδης was ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Ἐπινικίων between 197 and 207 A.D., see *C. I. Att.* iii. 1171, i. 27; 1173, 10; cp. 1171, i. 69; 1172, 10. Dittenberger in *Hermes* xii. p. 11.) Grey marble. H. 1·05 (sarc. 0·62, cover 0·43). L. 1·95. D. 0·76.

23. *Sepulchral stèle of two females.* A simple slab, tapering considerably, without any architectural feature; the top, now missing, may probably have been of semi-circular shape. In the midst of the slab is the flat relief. A girl, fully draped, with the hair turned up in a tuft behind, holding in her lap enveloped in the cloak her left hand, is sitting to right and holding the hand of a tall and slender veiled female who stands opposite her in a rather stiff position, reminding us of an εἰδωλον. The style is similar to that of the sepulchral marble vases, or of certain painted stelæ. The sitting figure is of better work and higher relief. Pentelic marble. H. 0·57. W. 0·44—0·48. Figures h. 0·26.

24. *Fragment of a large relief,* perhaps sepulchral. Upper part of a man, fully draped, the right arm crossed before the stomach. Marble apparently Parian. About life-size.

25. *Fragment of an inscription,* complete at the top, broken at the other three sides; edited by Boeckh *C. I. Gr.* 2424.

ὁ]ΔΑΜΟΣΟΜΑΛΙΩΝΣ[τὸν δεῖνα
ξ]ΠΥΡΟΥΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑ[ν ἐτίμησε
Γ-ΓΙΟ·ΧΙ·ΧΡΥΣΟ

The remains of the last line are not clear; they do not allow us to read simply στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ, nor is Boeckh's supplement [στεφάνῳ ἀρισ]τεῖν ἀπὸ χρυσῷ[ν, &c., in harmony with the distinguishable traces. The palæography indicates Roman times. Will. Turner (*Journal of a Tour in Greece*, 1820, I. p. 34) saw the marble in the island of Melos.

26. *Capital of column,* companion to no. 3.

27. *Doric capital*, of late style. The echinos low and rectilinear, four *anuli* in the shape of rolls or *tori*, twenty flutings.

28. *Hypotrachelion of a column*, similar to those of the columns of the Erechtheion, but of inferior workmanship. A band decorated with *anthemia*, above it an *astragalos*, at the top an *ovolo* or *kymation*. H. 0·22 (0·15 + 0·015 + 0·055). Diameter at the top 0·50.

Besides these marbles, there is at Broom Hall a small number of *painted vases* of little consequence. The following may be mentioned:—

29. *Two-handled cup*, with geometrical patterns of very simple description: parallel lines, zigzag, cross, &c.

30. *Cover of a pyxis*, decorated with three separate compartments divided by lozenges. A girl standing near a box, another near a chair, the third bearing a basket. Graceful compositions; red figures.

31. *Small pitcher* with one handle. Winged youth flying, bears a box, a mirror and a bunch of grapes.

32. *Small krater* ("oxybaphon"). Front, a youth turning to right, and bearing in his right a spear, half hidden behind his horse which he holds by the bridle. Back (of worse execution), a boy with shield, running to left and holding a helmet on his outstretched right hand.

33. *Krater* of the same shape, larger and of better execution. Front, three youths, reclining at a banquet; before them a young servant, with a trowel (*τρυνλῆς*) in his hand; in the middle a female flute-player, draped, painted white. Back, figures enveloped in their cloaks.

Nos. 31—33 show the style of Magna Graecia.

EDINBURGH.

A personal examination of the antique sculptures in the Antiquarian Museum (April, 1884), enables me to give a fuller and more trustworthy description of them than that given in my *Anc. Marbles*, p. 298—300. The greater part of Lord Murray's antiquities is now incorporated into the Museum.

The plain numbers are those of the 'Catalogue,' division *E*; those in brackets are my own addition.

1. *Statue of youthful Asklepios*, from Cyrene, very much like the statue, also from Cyrene, recently published by Mr. W. Wroth in this Journal, iv. p. 46, with the only exception that a large triangular corner of the *himation* hangs down from the hips, the edge of it going slantwise from the right hip to the left knee. The youthful head of the god looks up a little towards his left. The long and wavy hair falls down to the neck; part of it covers a portion of the forehead. On the head lies a twisted roll, and on it rests a very low *kalathos* (edge broken). Right arm broken at the shoulder and at the wrist, but antique; fingers of left hand which hangs down, and head of serpent wanting. The statue is otherwise in good preservation. The best part of it is the ideal-looking head; the treatment of the nude part shows an empty smoothness, that of the drapery wants clearness and simplicity in the folds across the stomach, in other parts it is rather poor. The height (4 feet 2 inches = 1·27 m.) is nearly the same as in the Cyrenaean statue of the British Museum (4 feet 5½ inches = 1·37 m.). It is evident that both these statues refer to a representation of the god of health favourite in Cyrene.

2. *Statuette of youth*, resting on his left leg, the right leg being bent backward. The upper part of the body is nude, the inferior part enveloped in a mantle which forms a kind of roll across the stomach, and a corner of which is lying on the left shoulder. Left hand on hip; the part from the middle of the upper arm to the wrist is wanting, and so is the whole right arm which was lowered, as is indicated by a *puntello* at the right thigh. Head wanting. Near the left leg a trunk, on which the drapery falls down. Insignificant work. H. 0·50. From Cyrene.

3. *Fragment of votive relief*. For description see *Anc. Marbles*. The relief is tolerably high and round. The workmanship is certainly finished, but does not show great delicacy; the composition is good throughout. It may belong to the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the third century. Unfortunately the relief being hidden behind a large glass-chest, a more minute examination is impossible. H. 0·77. L. about 0·68. From Cyrene.

12. *Female head*, pleasing and rather youthful. The wavy hair is simply brushed back, but not *à la Chinoise*; a plain mantle veils the upper and back part of the head. The style reminds us of Attic sepulchral monuments of the fourth century. Nose a little battered. Tips of ear perforated for earrings. Parian marble of yellowish colour. H. 0·23. L. of face 0·15. From Cyrene.

13. *Head of bearded Dionysos*. Along the forehead three rows of button-like curls; beard long, of conventional style; hair long, falling down to the neck. Probably part of a term. Insignificant work. H. 0·23. L. of face about 0·15. From Cyrene.

14. *Veiled female head*, similar to no. 12, but less well executed and more defaced, the whole of the nose and part of the left cheek wanting. Greyish Parian marble. H. 0·28. L. of face 0·19. From Cyrene.

15. "*Female head*, braided hair, crowned with ivy, marble, imperfect—Cyrene." Thus the Catalogue; I have not found it.

16. *Bust of Julius Caesar*, of excellent preservation, only the back part of the left ear being restored, the right cheek, the chin, the tip of the nose, and the left eyebrow battered, the neck broken and patched; modern is also the pedestal. The thin and slightly crisped hair, very superficially executed, covers the whole cranium and goes down to the neck. The modelling of the forehead is a little overdone, the wrinkles above the nose somewhat contracted; the eyes lie very deep and are stern-looking; nose very thick, and so are the lips; the whole part around the mouth, with its wrinkles of rather indistinct form, produces an effect of bad humour. The execution of the eyes, the lids, the inner corners, looks very modern, and generally the feebleness and indistinctness of all the details is scarcely consistent with antique art. The marble seems to be Greek, perhaps Parian, at any rate of very fine grain. Life size. Where General Ramsay bought the bust is not known.

16.* (In the Museum, E 16). *Terra-cotta relief of Dionysos*, painted like *rosso antico*. At the upper edge of the fragment, part of a cornice; below a fig branch. Of the relief itself remains only the head of youthful Dionysos, crowned with ivy, looking down with a noble expression of thoughtfulness. All the rest is wanting. H. 0·27. L. 0·20. L. of face 0·05.

Formerly in Lord Murray's collection, see *Anc. Marbles*, p. 299, no. 3.

17. *Portrait statue*, resting on the left leg, and enveloped in a cloak, which covers the whole body down from the breast to the feet and is doubled before the stomach, the lower edge slanting from the right thigh towards the left knee. A corner hanging down from the left shoulder is grasped by the left hand. The whole arrangement has some similarity to that of the so-called Zeno of the Capitoline Museum. Right arm lowered; in the right hand a roll, but half of the forearm and the hand are replaced and perhaps a modern restoration. The neck is inserted; however, the beardless portrait head with fat cheeks seems to be antique and to belong to the body. Common Roman sculpture. H. about 0·50. (From the bequest of Sir James Erskine to the Royal Institution? See *Anc. Marbles*, p. 299, R. Inst. no. 2).

20. *Small bearded head*, with gloomy expression, apparently a portrait. H. about 0·14.

[24.] *Statuette of a little girl*, draped in a double chiton which is girded very high; narrow strings fasten the chiton at the shoulders (comp. the 'Fates' of the Parthenon). The left hand holds a roll before the bosom, the lowered left grasps the edge of the overhanging part of the chiton. The big head is portrait-like; the short hair, gently curled, goes down to the neck. The whole figure reminds us very much of certain chubby girls on Greek sepulchral reliefs, and suggests the idea that the statue may have served for a similar purpose. Coarse workmanship. H. about 0·50. "From Athens. The property of John Tweedie, Esq., R.A." According to this notice the statue cannot be identical to that mentioned in my *Anc. Marbles*, p. 299, R. Inst. no. 1, which belongs to Sir James Erskine's bequest.

[25.] *Attic (votive?) bas relief*. A youthful horseman, clad in chiton (?), chlamys and petasos, is dashing left on a horse much like those of the frieze of the Parthenon. Both the hindlegs of the horse rest on the ground, the forelegs are lifted. The youth's left knee is much bent and the lowered foot thrown backwards, the right foot advanced. Before this figure there is the remainder of another horse in rearing position, so as to touch the ground with none of its feet; it is much smaller, and

partly hidden by the former one; near it the leg and part of chlamys of a standing figure (the horseman? a servant?) who seems to try to tame the rearing animal. The main figure which is nearly intact, is entirely of Attic character, all the outlines being sharply raised above the ground; the other figure and the second horse are treated in lower relief, as it were in the background. The left extremity of the relief is wanting. H. about 0·30. L. 0·40 (the relief is placed too high to take exact measures). Probably this is the relief Waagen saw in Lord Murray's collection, and erroneously described under two different items (*Anc. Marbl.* p. 299, nos. 1 and 2).

[26.] *Bronze relief* of the Murray collection, no. 4 (*Anc. Marbles*, p. 299), undoubtedly antique. It is a good work, in rather high relief, and was intended to serve as an *applique*. H. 0·22. (The nos. 5—7 of the Murray collection are not in the Museum.)

F. V. 23. Roman cippus. Square bordered front, with a youthful bust clad in *tunica* and *pallium*, within a sunk field of irregular shape. Beneath the inscription:

DIS · MANIBVS
C · IVLIO · RVFO · VIX · ANN · XVIII · M · VI
PIENTISSIMO
PARENTES · ARAM · POSVERVNT

H. 0·72. L. 0·54.

I add two inscriptions evidently originating from some *columbaria*:

[27.] D · M
C · ACILIOBASSO
MEDIC · DVPLIC
COLLEGAEIVS

Elegantly incised letters. Ed. *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scotl.*, 1870—72, vol. ix. p. 7. A gift from Sir Walter Simpson, Bart., Dec. 1870.

[28.] F A V S T I L I A F L A V I ·
C L E M E N T I S · S E R ·
P I A · V I X · A N · X X · H · S · E ·
H E R M E R O S C A E S A R I S · N · S E R ·
T A B E L L A R · C O N I V G · P I A E · F ·

Letters of artificial character, very deeply cut. Ed. *Proceedings*, &c., 1879—80, vol. ii., new series, p. 91. From the bequest of David Laing, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., 12 Jan. 1880.

The most recent addition to the Museum consists of a large collection of *Attic vases*, the gift of Lady RUTHVEN of Winton Castle (Febr. 1884). It is particularly rich in lecythi, mostly of small dimensions, and contains specimens of all styles, from the older ones with brownish, and with black figures down to those with white or with red figures, and even of the style of Magna Graecia. Of mythological subjects I have noticed only two; both on *nasiterni* with black figures on red ground:—Herakles seizing the Centaur Nessos, from whom Deianeira is running away with upraised arms, the whole scene flanked by two youths with staffs; and a warrior and an Amazon fighting over a dead warrior lying on the ground, again flanked by two warriors. (Among the older elements of the Edinburgh collection, there are some very well preserved specimens of vases with geometrical patterns, without any figures.) The two remarkable *sepulchral reliefs* in Lady Ruthven's possession (see *Anc. Marbles*, p. xxvi), are still at Winton Castle; no. 1, of which I saw a photograph in Prof. Baldwin Brown's possession, is exceedingly fine.

STRASSBURG.

AD. MICHAELIS.

To be continued.

I. THE TRUMPET OF THE AREOPAGOS.

II. THE LIBATION-RITUAL OF THE EUMENIDES.

THERE are two difficult passages in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus to which it may be well to invite the attention of Greek students in general and of archaeologists in particular. It seems probable that the solution in each case is to be sought from archaeology as much as from linguistic and textual criticism.

I. THE TRUMPET OF THE AREOPAGOS.

Aesch. *Eum.* 566 foll.¹

It will be remembered that in the *Eumenides*, Athena, having undertaken the consideration of the suit between Orestes and his pursuers, the divine Avengeresses, pronounces the case to be improper for decision either by herself or by a single mortal arbitrator, and accordingly assembles and constitutes a court, the first court on the hill of Ares, for the purpose of the trial (*Eum.* 470—489). The court assembles accordingly, and Athena opens the proceedings by causing solemn silence to be proclaimed. There can be no doubt that the formalities and accompaniments of this legendary institution are imitated from those actually used in the historical tribunal. It is with this proclamation that the present question is concerned. The passage runs as follows (*Eum.* 566 foll.) :—

ΑΘΗΝΑ. κήρυσσε, κήρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργάθου,
εἴτ' οὖν διάτορος Τυρσηνικῇ

¹ The references in Aeschylus are to the numbering of Dindorf's *Poetae Scenici*.

σάλπιγξ, βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη,
 ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαίνέτω στρατῶ.
 πληρουμένου¹ γὰρ τοῦδε βουλευτηρίου
 σιγᾶν ἀρήγει καὶ μαθεῖν θεσμούς ἐμους, κ.τ.λ.

The second line of this citation, given as above by the Medicean MS., is obviously defective. Over the syllable εἰ is written in the MS. by the same hand ῆ. This is to all appearance a mere conjecture to remove the inappropriate εἶτε by substituting ῆ τε, the copula and the article agreeing with σάλπιγξ, and is of no consideration in point of authority. In considering how the defect should be supplied, let us first approach the question from the side of meaning.

If the context be examined for indications of anything wanting to the sense, such an indication may, I think, be found in the words βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη. The *piercing Tyrrhene trumpet* whose note commands silence in the court of Areopagos is *filled with breath of mortal man*. As this condition is common to the blowing of all trumpets, the mention of it appears to be otiose, unless there was something in the character or history of the Areopagite trumpet, which made the employment of it by a mortal noticeable; and moreover to justify this notice according to the instinctive habits of literary composition this something should naturally be indicated in the context. No such quality appears in the epithets διάτορος and Τυρσηνική, both commonly descriptive of this species of instrument. This incompleteness would be remedied if the trumpet, as used in the Areopagos, was regarded as the property and gift of some divine being, and if a place for this appropriation could be found in the defective verse. If further we ask to what deity this gift should be referred, we may at once say this at least, that it should be a deity of the underworld, a Chthonian deity; and this for two reasons—first, all brazen instruments as such were regarded as ‘Chthonian,’ and were associated with the underworld. Thus Euripides in the *Helena* (1346) speaks of the ‘Chthonian note of brass’:

χαλκοῦ τ’ αὐδὰν χθονίαν
 τύπανα λάβετε βυρσοτενή.

¹ The doubt as to the correctness of this word need not be here considered.

This association is very natural, not only because the metal of the instruments was a gift of the underworld, but also from their hollow boom. It is no matter of conjecture that this suggested to the Greek ear the idea of a deep and cavernous place, for we find Euripides, when he wishes to describe the general quality of a 'Chthonian' sound, selecting the very words (*βαρὺν βρόμον*) which are constantly applied to musical instruments of this kind. In the *Hippolytus* (1201) at the approach of the miraculous monster

*ἔνθεν τις ἡχὴ χθόνιος, ὥς βροντῇ Διὸς,
βαρὺν βρόμον μεθῆκε.*

Secondly, if the trumpet, as such, might be expected to belong to a deity of the lower world, a trumpet of the Areopagos has a peculiar claim to this connexion, for the tribunal itself was 'Chthonian,' sanctioned and protected by the powers who presided over the place of final judgment, as Sophokles says (O.C. 948) by the mouth of Oedipus,

*τοιούτον αὐτοῖς Ἄρεος εὐβουλον πάγον
ἐγὼ ξυνήδη χθόνιον δνθ' ὅς οὐκ ἐᾷ
τοιούσδ' ἀλήτας τῇδ' ὁμοῦ ναίειν χθονί,*

a passage which refers to the jurisdiction of the Areopagos over the same question which is agitated in the *Eumenides*, the moral and ceremonial purity of suppliants.

If we try further to narrow our problem, and determine which of the Chthonian deities is best suited to the function indicated in the lines before us, we shall scarcely hesitate in the selection of the Chthonian Hermes (*Ἑρμῆς Χθόνιος*). No other deity could well be the patron of a *κήρυξ*, the possessor and giver of a herald's trumpet, than the Herald himself, the *φίλος κήρυξ*, *κηρύκων σέβας*, as he is called in the *Agamemnon*, the minister and messenger of the Chthonian Zeus. We conclude, then, that the requirement of sense would be satisfied if the trumpet of the Areopagites were here described as an attribute of *Ἑρμῆς Χθόνιος*, and it accords with the conclusion that this deity is mentioned by Pausanias among the divine patrons of the tribunal.

Now let us approach the lacuna from the side of technical criticism. It is notorious that one of the most frequent causes

of defect in MSS. is the occurrence of the same or similar letters twice over, which are written only once, either by inadvertence, or intentionally, the repetition being then indicated by a mark, afterwards misunderstood and lost. It is scarcely necessary to take space in proving or illustrating this kind of error. Not to go beyond this same play, we read at 944,

μηλά τ' εὐθενοῦντα γὰ
 ξὺν διπλοῖσιν ἐμβρύοις
 τρέφοι, χρόνῳ τεταγμένῳ γόνος
 πλουτόχθων ἐρμαίαν
 δαιμόνων δόσιν τίοι.

The metre (cf. 924) shows that an iambus is wanting in the third line, the sense requires a copula. Both are restored by adding letters lost through repetition, thus,

τρέφοι, χρόνῳ τε τῷ τεταγμένῳ γόνος, κ.τ.λ.

Other instances might be given *ad libitum*; in the Aeschylean MSS. in particular very many small lacunae are due to this cause. Upon technical grounds, therefore, there is reason to think that where the MSS. give us εἴτ οὖν for something which must have originally been three syllables longer, the true reading must have nearly resembled εἰτουνιτουν.

Combining our results we obtain the question, Can we find the name of Hermes Chthonios in the letters ΕΙΤΟΥΝΙΤΟΥΝ? If so, the coincidence of two wholly independent proofs will give a strong presumption that we were on the right track. But Hermes Chthonios has one distinctive and proper name, and that is Ἐριούνιος, as for example in Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1144:

ΕΤ. πότερ' οὖν τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπώλετο
 αὐτοῦ βιαίως ἐκ γυναικείας χειρὸς
 δόλοισι λαθραίοις, ταῦτ' ἐποπτεύειν ἔφη;
 ΔΙ. οὐ δῆτ' ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἐριούνιον
 Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε, κ.τ.λ.

Ἐριούνιος was no doubt originally an adjective, but it is also an independent title, as we see *e.g.* in Homer *Il.* 24, 360, 440. Should we not therefore restore to him, as patron of the Areopagos, the

herald's trumpet borne by his representative, the herald—or to speak more correctly restore him to his trumpet, and write

Ἐριουνίου δὲ διάτορος Τυρσηνικῇ
σάλπιγξ, βροτείου πνεύματος πληρουμένη,
ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα φαινέτω στράτῳ.

*And let the piercing Tyrrhene trump of Eriounios, filled with
breath of mortal man, utter to the host its lofty voice.*

II. THE LIBATION-RITUAL OF THE EUMENIDES.

Aesch. *Eum.* 1044.

At the conclusion of the *Eumenides* the reconciled goddesses are conducted by Athena and a solemn procession of citizens to the rock-cavern on the side of the Akropolis, which was in historical times their traditional abode and over which their temple was built. These *προπομποὶ* accompany their march with a brief song in two strophæ and two antistrophæ of dactylic metre. The last pair are given by Dindorf thus,

	ἴλαοι δὲ καὶ εὐθύφρονες γᾶ	στρ.
	δεῦρ' ἵτε σεμναὶ τᾷ πυριδάπτῳ	
	λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι καθ' ὁδόν.	
	ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.	
1044	σπονδαὶ δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἔνδαιδες οἴκων	ἀντ.
	Παλλάδος ἀστοῖς· Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτας	
	οὔτῳ Μοῖρά τε συγκατέβα.	
	ὀλολύξατε νῦν ἐπὶ μολπαῖς.	

This is the MSS. text with a few small corrections, such as the insertion of τᾷ in 1041, and the omission of δ' after ὁδόν in 1042. Upon 1044 Dindorf observes that the line is corrupt, the metre requiring a dactylic tetrameter, and this is plainly true. In the corresponding line 1040 there is one syllable of doubtful quantity, the second of εὐθύφρονες, but—without taking into account the suggestion of Meincke that εὐθύφρονες γᾶ has

arisen by repetition of letters and the adoption of a gloss into the text from an original reading, certainly much better in rhythm, εὐφροves αἶα—the metrical character of the whole song shows that 1040, like the rest, is dactylic, and hence that εὐθύφροves, if genuine, should have the quantity - - - . The metrical objection thus attaching to 1044 is reinforced from the side of interpretation. The words, or such of them as really are words, have in truth no meaning at all. The expression σπονδαὶ ἔνδαιδες was apparently suggested to the writer of it by the mention of the πυρίδαπτος λαμπάς immediately before, and is intended to mean, as the commentators render it, *libations accompanied by torch-light, peace made by torch-light*, or the like. But this version ignores the meaning of the preposition ἐν. The compound ἔνδαις, if it could exist, should mean either *being in a torch* or *having a torch in it*. Moreover, if the word could mean *torch-lit* it would remain to show that *torch-lit* is a proper epithet for libations in general, or if not in general, for the special ceremonies here described and founded.

Accepting therefore the verdict that this verse is corrupt, it remains to see whether it can be restored, or can be made to throw upon the interesting ritual of an important Athenian sanctuary any lights less doubtful than that of these apocryphal torches. Seeing that the subject is clearly *libation*, the question which presents itself is whether we know of any peculiarity belonging to the Eumenides-worship elsewhere and likely therefore to have belonged also to that in the Akropolis cavern. Now it happens that among the ceremonial observances known to us in the fullest detail and upon the best authority, is precisely the ritual libation prescribed to the worshipper of the Σεμναὶ at a sanctuary within near view of the Akropolis itself, the grove at the village of Kolônos. In the *Oedipus at Kolônos* the aged exile, desiring to propitiate the deities of the place, receives from the chorus of natives minute instruction for the performance of his offering. The passage (*Oed. Col.* 466—490) is well known and need not be set out at length. The water to be drawn, the vessels to be used, the manner of decorating them, the posture of the suppliant, the composition and number of the libations, are successively described. The holy water is to be poured three times, the third libation being marked by the addition of honey (l.c. 481), and immediately after the

pouring, "thrice-nine" twigs of olive are to be laid with both hands upon the earth. The prayers follow—

τρὶς ἐννέ' αὐτῇ κλῶνας ἐξ ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν
τιθεῖς ἐλάας τάσδ' ἐπέυχεσθαι λιτάς.

The marked importance in this ritual of the sacred numbers three and the square of three, suggest a correction of the Aeschylean passage, which has, I think, some claim to be considered decisive. Reserving for the moment the secondary consideration of the adverb ἐς τὸ πᾶν, I would write

σπονδαὶ δ' †ἐς τὸ πᾶν† ἐννάδες οἶκων
Παλλάδος ἀστοίς.

The libations in your house are to the townsmen of Pallas nine in number [for ever], literally are nines. Between ΕΝΔΑΙΔΕC and this ΕΝΝΑΔΕC, the difference is such as the most trifling accident would entirely obliterate. The prose form of the word for a set of nine is ἐννεάς, and ἐννεάδες might be read here and scanned as a dactyl 'by synzezeis,' the 'e' having the pronunciation of a 'y,' as in Aeschylus not seldom. But the MSS. reading makes it more probable that the form here used was ἐννᾶς (cf. ἐνναέτης, ἐνναετηρίς); the form εἰνᾶς, εἰνάδος, which is the Ionic-Epic correlative to ἐννᾶς occurs in Hesiod. It would appear that the departure of the procession from the stage is actually accompanied by libations, which would of course be made according to the manner traditionally and historically established in the Akropolis-temple. This, from the evidence of the MSS. and the comparison of the cognate ritual at Kolónos, we conclude to have been according to the number nine. It will be observed that at Kolónos the libations were three only, the olive twigs afterwards offered 'thrice three,' which points to minute differences between the ritual of the two places, such as, for the sake of their distinction and separate importance the guardians would be likely to maintain.

With regard to ἐς τὸ πᾶν, if there were any good evidence that the 'α' of the uncompounded πᾶν could be abbreviated in an Attic dramatist, the context would well admit the MSS.

reading here in the sense of 'for ever.' But there is no such evidence. *εἴσωπιν* (Linwood) might perhaps signify *hereafter*, without the addition of *χρόνου* which it has in Aesch. *Supp.* 617. Rather more near to the MSS. would be

σπονδαὶ δ' ἐς τρόπον ἐννάδες οἴκων,

By nines are the libations made after the fashion of your house, and this type of corruption (the confusion of *τ* and *τρ*) might be largely illustrated from the Aeschylean MSS. The very same change, *e.g.* has probably taken place in *Eum.* 52. The main interest of our passage is, however, unaffected by this doubt, and it scarcely deserves further attention.

It is notorious that the numbers three and nine were important in ritual, and we may notice a further indication that these numbers, especially the number nine, played a prominent part in the libation ritual of Athens. The selection of the water to be used for ceremonial purposes was as a rule not arbitrary. Each cult had its appropriate river or spring from which it was obligatory to draw. Thus in the passage of the *Oedipus* already cited, Ismene, who performs the oblation on behalf of her father, receives careful directions for finding the *ἑρὰ κρήνη* 'on the other side of the grove' (see 505). Now we know from what spring the cults of the Akropolis were served. Thucydides informs us (2, 15) that the water used generally for ritual purposes in Athens was that of the famous fountain called, he says, in old times, *Καλλιρρόη*. This, however, as Herodotos and the same passage of Thucydides show, was not the name by which it was known at Athens in the historical period of antiquity. The Athenians called it *Εννεάκρουνος* *The Nine Wells*. Thucydides alleges as the reason for this that the Peisistratidae (*οἱ τύραννοι*) had given it this appearance by artificial decoration (*τῶν τυράννων οὕτω κατασκευασάντων*). But the question arises now naturally, why was this arrangement adopted? It appears to me very probable that Thucydides, as is often the way with positive and rationalistic minds when dealing with the history of religious usages, has here inverted the true order of explanation, and that the decoration of the fountain added by the Peisistratidae was really caused by the fact that the spring was already popularly known as

Ἐννεάκρουνος, from its use to supply the nine libations of the Eumenidean and perhaps other rituals.¹ It may be added that as the number of apertures from which water flows in a rock spring varies widely in different states of the weather, there would probably be little difficulty in proving that any tolerably copious spring had 'nine founts,' if a predisposing religious practice commended the belief to the public; and therefore Kallirrhoe may well have been supposed naturally ninefold long before 'the despots had so arranged it.'

A. W. VERRALL.

¹ Compare the magical prescription from the *Δεισιδαίμων* of Menander (Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 303, 7), where the

patient is to be sprinkled *ἀπὸ κρουνῶν τριῶν*.

THE HESPERIDE OF THE OLYMPIAN METOPE AND A MARBLE HEAD AT MADRID.

PLATE XLV.

THE marble head (Pl. XLV. 2) in the Museum of Madrid has elicited considerable notice, especially because of its peculiar style; and its attempted classification in this respect has produced much difference of opinion. Hübner, who first¹ supposed it to be the head of Athene and then² of an Aphrodite, thought that it must be a marble copy of a bronze original belonging to the age of Pheidias. Friedrichs³ considered it to belong to the type of Aphrodite heads, but did not feel in a position to assign to it a definite date. He says: 'It decidedly gives the impression of an Hellenic work, but for the more exact dating we have no sound ground to go upon. We should only like to remark that it does not appear to us to be older than the fourth century, because it no longer contains traces of the severer style.'

We can well appreciate the difficulties that must have been felt in connexion with this head, before some well identified work was found with which it had some definite relation, and with which it could be compared. The peculiar treatment of the hair, especially the contrast between the undulations of the tresses at the side and the smoothness of the crown, the simple, almost severe character of the whole head with the breadth of later feeling commingled with the severity, are elements that would baffle the inquirer and the combination

¹ *Nuove Memorie dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* (Rome, 1865) pp. 34 seq.

² *Die Antiken von Madrid*, p. 247.

³ *Bausteine zur Geschichte der Griechisch-Römischen Plastik*, ii. pp. 271, seq.

of these in one work will be accounted for in the course of these observations.

The identified work which furnishes the needed point of comparison for the placing of this head is the so-called Atlas metope from the east side of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. The head of the 'Hesperide' standing behind Herakles in this metope¹ is here figured on plate XLV., fig. 1, and is placed beside the Madrid head for comparison.

Unfortunately the photographic negative for M. Dujardin's plate, taken from the casts in the Fitzwilliam Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge, was made during my absence, and my directions that both heads should be taken from exactly the same point of view were not quite carried out. The heavy cast of the metope is also somewhat high on the wall, which made the task of taking such a photograph more difficult. The apparent similarities between the two heads in our plate are therefore not so great as they are in reality. Furthermore I would remark that the peculiar breakage and smudging of the nose in the head from the metope, give a definite character to the head which it was far from having when complete.

It will be seen at a glance that the very uncommon arrangement of hair is the same in both instances, especially with regard to the mixture of sculptured ridges in the sides and a flat surface on the top. There can hardly be any doubt that the flat surfaces were painted over with the indications of hair. In the case of the metope head, the roll at the back of the head is also left flat, while in the Madrid head it is modelled. It is most interesting to note that Hübner, who first wrote on this head, remarked in his first paper² upon a certain similarity between the Madrid head and the head of another figure from the Olympian metopes. The fragment of this metope together with the upper part of the metope representing Herakles and the bull, as well as several smaller fragments, had been discovered by the French in the *Expédition de la Morée*, in the year 1829, and have since been in the Louvre.³ This head of

¹ *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia* vol. v.; Cf. Bötticher, *Olympia* &c. p. 285; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, i. p. 445.

² *Nuove Memorie d. Inst. I. c.*

³ Dubois and Blouet, *Expédition Scientifique de la Morée*, i. Pl. 74-78; Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, vol. ii. Pl.

the 'nymph' or 'Athene' possesses to a far less striking degree the points of similarity with the Madrid head than does the metope head with which we are comparing it. But it is remarkable that, while in the female head from the Atlas metope, the braids at the side are modelled with ridges and the crown and the braid at the back (modelled in the Madrid head) are smooth, the hair of Hübner's nymph from the other metope is worked smoothly, whilst it is here the mass at the back of the head which is the only modelled part of the hair. The fact that Hübner should have noticed the similarity of the Madrid head with another head from the Olympian metopes possessing far less marked points of similarity to it than does the head from the Atlas metope, seems to me a strong confirmation of the relation of general style which I see between the Madrid and the Olympian heads.

Were our illustration of the Olympian head taken more from the front of the figure, this general similarity of style would be much more evident. It would then be seen how similar is the treatment of the face, of mouth and chin, how the hair parts symmetrically from the middle of the brow and runs in parallel undulations towards the sides. It must also be remembered that the metope was meant to be seen from far below, while the Madrid head was no doubt calculated to be seen from relatively a much shorter distance, and that thus the metope head would have to be treated with less detail especially in the broader ridges of the hair.

Before proceeding to dwell upon some of the numerous points of difference subsisting between the two heads we are comparing, I should like to draw attention to a fact to which I have already alluded on another occasion (see this Journal, Vol. II. No. 2, 1881, p. 349). When two monuments with great points of similarity are singled out from the vast number of ancient monuments and are placed side by side, this isolation and juxtaposition (in itself, unconsciously to the observer, claiming a great degree of similarity) tends to bring out the points of difference to a marked and exaggerated degree to those who have not the vast number of essentially different monuments of

1058; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler d. Allen Kunst*, i. taf. 30; and in their complete condition: *Ausgrabungen zu*

Olympia, v.; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik*, i. 442; A. Bötticher. *Olympia*, p. 279.

ancient art to fall back upon. People are then (this similarity being already claimed and self-asserted by the very juxtaposition) only conscious of and engrossed by the points of difference. If the monuments compared will to any degree stand this test their primary similarity is insured. To appreciate the similarity between these two heads, it is best to compare them in a museum containing a large and varied number of monuments from all schools and times. The essential difference of all other monuments will bring out the inner relation of the two and will make up, to the non-specialist, for the acquaintance with the great number of individual monuments which are ever present in the mind of the specialist.

In their general aspect the two heads differ in that the work of the Madrid head is harder and more mechanical; and though the sculptor of the Madrid head endeavoured to give a broad and severe treatment, which is a general characteristic of earlier works, his knowledge of details led him to deal more correctly with the definite features of the human head, such as the eye and ear. While the brow and cheek are harder and less naturalistic in the Madrid head than in the head of the metope, the treatment of the eye evinces knowledge and study of the most delicate forms which the Olympian sculptor had not yet attained. The ridges of the hair are decided and sharp in the Madrid head, while in the head of the metope they are rounded off as is characteristic of both hair and drapery of all the figures, also in the pediments, of this Temple. The forms of the cheek-bone are clearly indicated beneath the surface in the metope head, and the depression between the cheek-bone and the *risorius* is more pronounced than in the harder and broader treatment of the cheek in the Madrid head.

The whole eye is more prominent in this head (as well as in all other heads from the Olympian Temple) than in the Madrid head. The eyelids join completely at either angle; while in the Madrid head is manifested a delicate study of life in that the upper eyelid projects and is prolonged over the under eyelid at their juncture at the side. All the heads from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia have the same characteristic treatment. In fact this detail seems to mark the line between the works before and after about the year 450 before our era. So far as I have been able to examine the point at present, the heads

from the metopes of the Parthenon have the same early treatment of the eye as the Olympian sculptures; while the extant heads from the frieze of the Parthenon have the later treatment of the eye.¹ On the whole, we must feel in the eye of the Madrid head, despite the attempted simplicity, certain characteristics which mark the works of the fourth century, and it is the effect of this detail which must have driven so excellent an observer as was Friedrichs to consider it impossible to place the head earlier than the fourth century. On the other hand, there are elements of hardness and severity in the head which direct us towards the early part of the fifth century, where Hübner would place the head. But this hardness is not only due to [attempted] simplicity of style, but also to the more mechanical working of the marble to which allusion has been made above.

Without being one of the late Roman shop-copies and imitations, turned out by the dozen during the decline of classical art, specimens of which fill our museums, the Madrid head bears traces of this more hasty and mechanical workmanship as compared with the individuality of modelling in the metope head. The general sentiment displayed in the treatment of the eye, as well as the fuller knowledge of details belies its origin in the fifth century; while its evident immediate relation to the head from Olympia, as well as the severity and simplicity of composition, belies its origin in the fourth century.

It thus appears to me to be a direct derivative from the heads of the class to which belongs the head at Olympia, made after the fourth century in the period of Graeco-Roman Renaissance by the sculptors in the first century before our era, who reproduced, or were influenced by, the works of earlier Greek art and to whom so much attention has been drawn of late years.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

¹ This detail may prove of some importance in determining the chronological relation between the sculptures of the Olympian pediment and those

of the Parthenon, as well as in determining the exact chronology between the Parthenon sculptures among each other.

PYXIS:—HERAKLES AND GERYON.

THE vase which is the subject of the present memoir is a *pyxis* or small round box of a light yellow clay with a smooth surface, decorated with designs in a blackish brown, which is here and there varied with a patch of purple laid upon the black, or with a detail occasionally incised. It was acquired by the British Museum in 1865, and forms one of a set of eighteen¹ which were 'guaranteed' as having been found at Phaleron near Athens.

The lid is decorated with a circular frieze of animals, representing five lions or panthers; the most important representation, however, is that upon the body of the vase, which is encircled with a single frieze of figures, consisting of four lions, a bull (recognisable by the shape of its hoof and its horn), and a group which is obviously a rendering of the well-known myth of Herakles and Geryon—beside Geryon is a further group of three bulls.

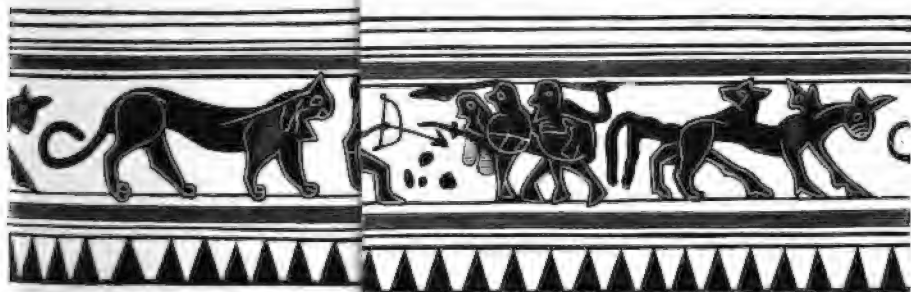
The painting appears extremely rude, and this rudeness might seem at first sight to be the result of carelessness rather than of archaic ignorance in the artist. I shall endeavour however to show from internal evidence that the scene before us may be assigned to the earliest period of the representation of myths in vase-painting.

It belongs to that class of vases technically known under the term 'Oriental,' of which the centre of fabric was probably Korinth, and to which the character of the clay, the technique, and the arrangement of the scene, would naturally assign it. A

¹ The remainder, except a *pyxis* similar to this, are of the so-called Phaleron type; if the provenance could be relied upon, the series would be of great im-

portance to our knowledge of this class, but unfortunately, evidence on this point is rarely trustworthy.

[To face page 176.]



B

reminiscence of this Oriental style is further shown in the patch of purple upon the flanks of the animals and in the rosettes introduced twice into the scene, both on the body and lid.

The subject here depicted, if, as I believe, it can be shown to be the earliest representation yet known of the myth, appears to have a special claim upon our notice.

First of all, I would call attention to the peculiar treatment of the subject by the artist. He has chosen as the field for his brush, a narrow horizontal band, such as would be only suitable for a continuous frieze of figures; but the central group, indeed the only important *dramatis personae* for his purpose, consists of but two figures, Herakles and Geryon, a group which would be unsuitable for any but a confined space like that of a metope. Having inserted these figures, what does he do to fill the remaining space? the bulls at the side of Geryon suggest a resource which he adopts in filling the vacuum with other bulls and lions,¹ in depicting which the painters of this style are clearly more at home than in the representation of defined myths, but which in the present case have no reference whatever to the action going forward; and I think this is a point in favour of the early date which I would assign to our vase. The artists of this style, accustomed only as yet to conventional friezes of animals, are beginning to feel the necessity of depicting something more than mere conventional ornaments, but as yet they have not learnt (as they do later in the so-called Protokorinthian style) to choose for their subjects those scenes which give them a sufficient quantity of figures to occupy the space at their disposal: such subjects for instance as that of Herakles and the Centaurs,² or the chase of the Kalydonian Boar, or the hunt³ of a lion or hare. The effort against conventionality is made in this case in the central representation, but the old tradition still survives in the animals introduced apropos of nothing, and in the two or three rosettes, traces of the *horror vacui* which lingered long both in the early Geometric and early Oriental vases as well.

¹ Such repetitions would not appear strange to those accustomed to the early relief vases where the impression from one cylinder is repeated *ad libitum*.

² See Furtwängler, in *Arch. Zeit.*, 1883, p. 153.

³ See Löschke, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 34.

The same difficulty had already occurred to the artists of the Geometric style, and had been in their case surmounted by the introduction of the principle of vertical division of the horizontal bands, a principle which suited the tall angular forms of these vases better than the more rounded lines of the Oriental shapes; but for some time, on account of the obstacles thus presented to the treatment of a *frieze* surface, *i.e.* a surface which has considerably more length than height, we find the representations upon Geometric vases confined, in the shapes most generally adopted, to the tall narrow neck, while the rounder body of the vase is left comparatively undecorated; and this was no doubt one of the causes which rendered the struggle against conventionality more difficult for the painters of the Oriental than for those of the Geometric style. Such a division of scenes became necessary from the moment when the interest of the representation was for the first time transferred from the action going forward to the actors themselves, that is to say, when first abstract ideas, such as ploughing, as on the shield of Achilles, give place to the definite incidents and personalities such as figure on the chest of Kypselos, in which process of development, the shield of Herakles as described by Hesiod seems to give us the intermediate stage; and in the recognition of this principle of the two main divisions of groups in relief we have, I think, an important clue to (1) the process of selection by which some scenes are preferred to others in early works of art of the Oriental type such as I have already referred to; (2) the development of a myth in order to adapt it to similar conditions; and (3), given this principle, the arrangement of the groups on certain works of art known to us only from description.

Of these last, the throne of Apollo at Amyklæ, as described by Pausanias, is a case in point. In all the suggestions for the arrangements of the decorations which I have seen there is one difficulty which seems to me very obvious, but which has never yet been fully recognized. I mean the plan of stringing together in one unbroken band a series of different scenes which present no connexion in relation with one another, an arrangement which it might be expected that Greek art, even of the most archaic period, would eschew. Now, when we examine the list of scenes which Pausanias gives us by the light of reproductions

of them in early art, we can guess with tolerable certainty what sort of space each would fill, and seeing on this plan how the scenes naturally fall into a symmetrical order, it seems to me that besides the horizontal divisions of the spaces on the Amyklæe throne there would also be a set of vertical divisions as well. It is much more natural to imagine the selection of groups as due to a tectonic necessity than to mere chance; and thus it comes that on the chest of Kypselos we find the scene naturally divided into two main groups, the one consisting of those which would give the metope type, the other of those which naturally suggest a frieze: a division which was probably due to some constructive peculiarity in the form of the chest, which consequently presented to the artist a variety in the spaces intended for decoration.

As an instance of what I mean the tripod vase from Tanagra, published by Löschcke, is worth quoting. There we have the artist dealing with just such a constructive necessity as I would argue the artists of the Kypselos and Amyklæe works may have encountered.

A somewhat parallel case to that of our vase is shown in the Capua bronze *lebes*¹ in the British Museum, which bears upon the shoulder a narrow continuous band containing a series of figures, among which at least one definite incident is mixed up with conventional representations. But there are peculiarities about this bronze vase which make it as I think a special case. First of all, the roughness and want of finish of this band of figures correspond neither with its conception nor with the remaining ornamentation, both of which are free and spirited. Again, the central scene, showing Herakles running towards some oxen, looking back at a figure who is tied to a tree, is a treatment of our myth which, in spite of Minervini's learned disquisition, baffles interpretation, and the jumbling up of this with other scenes which have no reference to it is at least unusual. But these difficulties disappear if we assume that the artist, probably an Etruscan, has derived inspiration from some Greek work, probably a vase painting. It is obvious that the continuous band of this *lebes* divides naturally into at least six different and distinct scenes, of which the Herakles scene is but

¹ *Mon. Ined.* v. 25. *Annali*, 51, 42.

one; we might almost go farther and say that these six scenes had been ranged one above the other on the original work of art, from which the bronze engraver drew his inspiration, so that we should have three friezes of animals, and three scenes of human life. Furtwängler¹ has already compared this bronze to an example which he publishes of the 'Proto-korinthian' style, on which the same animals occur, similarly treated in every respect. It may well have been a large vase of this style which inspired the artist of the bronze *lebes*, who, however, did not fully understand every particular of the work he was copying: thus for instance the hare hunt of the original has been on the bronze transformed into the unintelligible hunt of a gazelle, which is as feebly drawn as the pursuing hounds are spirited. The nearest parallel I know among vase paintings is the Tanagra 'tripod vase,' already quoted; a form to which the scenes of our *lebes* would most naturally adapt themselves.

On the other hand, rough though the representation on this *lebes* is, Herakles is there already depicted in the guise, which after various vicissitudes became specially characteristic of him, carrying bow and club and wearing the lionskin. Now on our *pyxis*, though the artist has, it is true, not been competent to provide his human figures with faces other than the primitive 'Vögelgesicht,' yet he has paid sufficient attention to detail to indicate even the arrows within the quiver, and would have been quite well able, had he been so disposed, to give at least a club and probably a lionskin also to the hero. But here he is clearly nothing different in type from the Herakles on the Olympian bronze relief,² a 'kneeling' (running) archer in a short *chiton* with quiver at back, and nothing more. This same archer has in early vases a history of his own: starting from the nude figure, sometimes of doubtful identity, as on the early island gems and stamped relief-ware, he gradually assumes a distinct personality, and this personality when once established may in most cases be attributed to Herakles. The fact is, Athenaeus' statement that the club was not assigned to Herakles in Greek art before about 600 B.C. appears to be fairly borne out in fact. The type with lionskin, which may have been of Tyrian origin, is found in Cyprus long before it is

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, p. 162.

² *Ausgrabungen*, iv. xx. A.

known in Greek art, though the individuality of Herakles is otherwise already marked in Homer; there he is specially the mighty archer who dares even wound the gods with his arrows (E. 392), and as archer he continues at any rate down to the chest of Kypselos and later. On a Kyrenè vase (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1881, Taf. xii. 1) his bow and quiver are hung at his back, and he brandishes a club, but not, I believe, until the early Chalcidian style does the actual lionskin occur upon vases.

And so again with regard to Geryon. Klein¹ has suggested that representations of this scene may be divided into two main types: (1) Those in which Geryon appears as a winged monster, with three heads and bodies on one pair of legs; (2) those in which, as on the chest of Kypselos, he is composed of three figures joined together, *τρεις ἄνδρες ἀλλήλοις προσεχόμενοι*. Now this winged type, which Klein takes to be the earlier, is found at present only on two early Chalcidian vases, but that it existed also in comparatively late times has been conjectured from a reference in Aristophanes, *Ach.* 1082. Klein's argument that this type is 'artistically higher,' seems mainly based on the fact that the winged conception would naturally approach more nearly to the 'Oriental' original from which presumably the type was borrowed; but seeing that the earliest types we know both in literature and art,² are not winged, it seems to me just as likely that the original type may be that of the chest of Kypselos, which may have undergone subsequently the strong Oriental influence which permeates Chalcidian art. Moreover, another claim which he advances for the prior antiquity of the Chalcidian type, viz., the introduction of the cattle of Geryon into the scene, is answered by their occurrence upon our *pyxis*.

There are in the British Museum three other representations of this myth which would be important additions to Klein's list.

1. *Amphora*, from Kamiros, with smooth handles: black figures with purple and white on red panel.

(a) Athene, Herakles, Zeus, Kyknos, Ares.

(b) Athene, Herakles (lionskin, quiver, club), dead herdsman,

¹ *Euphronios*, p. 30.

² Cf. the Cyprus statue Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 156.

Geryon (τρεῖς ἄνδρες type), Erytheia (?): apparently Chalcidian.

2. *Kylix*,¹ published *Mon. Ined.* ix. 11.

3. *Kylix*, from Kamiros; careless style, black figures with purple and white.

(a) Bearded figure with mantle on arm.

(b) and (c) (continuous frieze around exterior), Herakles in lionskin (beneath whom lie dead herdsman and dog), striding forward exactly in attitude of the similar figure in De Luynes *Vases Peints*, viii. shooting arrow at Geryon (τρεῖς ἄνδρες type). Behind Geryon is one bull, behind Herakles four. The field is filled with boughs with white fruit.

Now of these examples No. 1 at least is probably Chalcidian, though, of course, later than Klein's two vases. No. 3 seems to be clearly an Athenian work, but the close correspondence between it and one of Klein's Chalcidians (De Luynes *ibid.* viii.), make it probable that we have two interpretations of the same original type, the Chalcidian, or winged, and the Athenian, a type without wings. No. 1 shows us that in later Chalcidian art the wingless type is known, and, until we actually meet with a Γηρυόνης τετράπτιλος in art, I do not think the punning allusion in the *Acharnians* is sufficient proof of the late existence of such a type in Athenian art.

In Klein's discussion as to the 'typology' of this myth he takes the Cyprus relief in stone as being the earliest representation known, and argues for the earlier or later dates of other representations in proportion as they correspond more or less with this his archetype, his reason being that in this relief there is an obviously Assyrian treatment. But if this is really an Assyrian work of the eighth century how can we account for the existence of a completely formulated myth in Assyrian art at this period? We have there Herakles, a definite personality

¹ Heydemann, in his description of this scene (*Annali* 1869, p. 247), finds a difficulty in explaining the curved parallel lines beside the figure of Athene. They are not, as he con-

jectures, part of a circle, nor part of a badly drawn shield; but belong to the outline of the colossal eye which has formed the left hand boundary of this group.

with bow and lionskin; we have the bulls of Geryon amplified, Assyrian fashion, into a confused herd, and the three-fold character of Geryon, ill-suited to an Assyrian treatment, is transferred to his dog,¹ who is shown as a very clearly-marked type with three heads. It seems to me much more probable that we have here a comparatively late rendering, by a foreign artist accustomed to the sight of Assyrian art, of a scene more properly Greek, and of which the type is already definitely fixed in Greek Art. However this may be, it is quite possible that we may separate an Orientalising treatment of myth, such as we have it on the Cyprus relief and bronze *lebes* (which is further reflected too in the Chalcidian winged type), from the more purely Greek type, such as we know it from our vase and the descriptions of Pausanias.

Examining the list of Geryon vase-scenes collected by Klein, we shall find that our vase will very well take a place at its head as the earliest of the examples there known. After the triple Geryon and Herakles types are once fairly fixed there is little alteration, except the gradual substitution among the spectators (where spectators are necessary) of definite personalities such as Athene, Eurytion, in place of some of the cattle.

The fact is, in the case of a myth like this, which is employed sometimes for a narrow space like the metope, sometimes for a wide space like the frieze, it is impossible to lay down a definite process of development in asserting that, since one scene is fuller in detail than the other, the fuller is therefore the older type. We may consider that our vase represents the transition stage in the earliest development of our myth; the earliest treatment of the Geryon legend that we know is that on the chest of Kypselos, where the representation is confined to the duel between the two figures, Herakles and the monster; the adaptation of this myth to a frieze surface, such as we see in process here, was in all probability the primary cause of the introduction of other figures. A representation like ours would give first of all the bulls, and perhaps the dog, and some of

¹ The dog is surely a late introduction of Greek art into this myth. May it have come in perhaps through the

medium of some scene like this, where one of the conventional lions might easily be mistaken for a dog?

these would gradually make way for human figures such as Athene, Iolaos, &c. ; we see the same principle in hundreds of archaic frieze-representations. To quote a single instance, we have in the British Museum a vase showing the contest of Theseus and the Minotaur, where four or five figures stand on either side of the central group, to which they have no possible relation except as serving to fill up the vacant space.

CECIL SMITH.

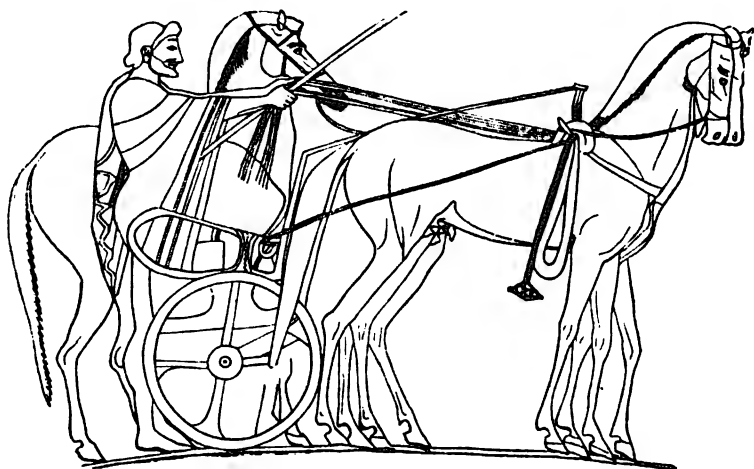
THE HOMERIC CHARIOT.

THE object of the present paper is not to give a full account of the Homeric chariot, but merely to call attention to a somewhat minute point, in which, as it seems to me, light may be thrown upon the words of Homer from the representations given us in the painted vases.

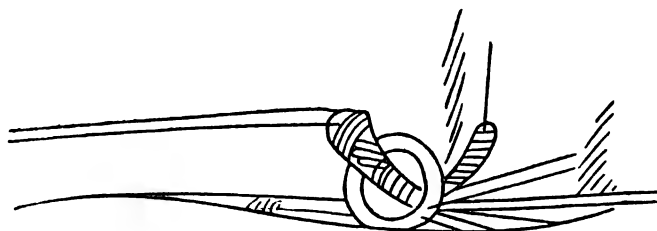
By way of preface it may be mentioned that the war-chariot was hardly known in Greece proper, at all events after the heroic age. The only occasion in Greek history when it played an important part was on the half-oriental soil of Cyprus. In the battle so picturesquely described by Herodotos (v. 113), the fortune of the day was finally decided by the treachery of the war-chariots of Salamis, whose desertion threw the island into the hands of the Persians (498 B.C.). On the rugged and broken mountains of the mainland, such an arm could hardly ever have been of practical service, and we may assume that the type familiar to the vase-painters of the fifth century B.C. must have been derived from Asia Minor. It is therefore not surprising to find that the red-figured vases of the fine period very rarely give us any picture of a chariot, at least if we leave out of the question the racing chariot, which, as will be seen, was probably of a slightly different pattern from that used in the army. On the black-figured vases it is a very favourite object, but the representations are conventional, and fall into two classes, which are given over and over again with little variety. Of these two, one, the full-front view, with its stiff and hard schematism, and its too ambitious attempt at foreshortening, is decidedly among the least successful efforts of the archaic draughtsmen, who evidently found the details with which we are concerned quite beyond their powers of

perspective.¹ We shall concern ourselves only with the second class, those giving us a side-view of the chariot at rest. The teams at full speed seen in three-quarter view belong entirely to the later and technically more accomplished period.

But however imperfect their execution, these artists seem to have had tolerably fixed ideas as to the nature of a



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part of the harness. If we look immediately over the horses' shoulders, we shall find a mass of gear which at first sight looks rather confused, but on examination shows such consistency

¹ A curious attempt to reproduce this in relief appears in one of the Selinus metopes.

that we can hardly suppose it to be anything else than a representation of a reality which was at one time familiar to the Greek warrior. The appended cuts (1) and (2) give a fair idea of the harness as shown on the vases.

The gear in question lies immediately over the point where the yoke crosses the pole. We can, in almost all but the most carelessly painted examples, make out, firstly, a *ring*; secondly a short peg, which we will for the present call the *pin*; thirdly a long projection, which for convenience we will name the *horn*. The relation of these parts is, as we should expect, not always very clearly given, but the usual arrangement is, that the pin seems to pass through the ring, while the horn stands up beyond. In (2) the opposite arrangement is shown, the horn passing through the ring; but this is less usual. In (1) it is only through bad drawing that the ring seems to cross the horse's shoulder. The loop and strap shown hanging from the yoke are the collar and trace for the *σειραφόρος* which is about to be harnessed.

But however this may be represented, there is one further detail which is almost invariably prominent, and it is to this I wish to call particular attention: it is a rope or strap which is fastened to the horn and passes thence to a tall projection on the front of the car itself, which for our immediate purpose may be christened the *post*. We generally find marks which indicate that the rope has been wound round the horn, and sometimes the knot by which it is attached is very clearly indicated.

Now we have in *Iliad*, xxiv. 265-274, a very full account of the process by which the yoke was attached to the pole. It is true that the words apply not to a war-chariot but to a mule-car; but there is no reason to suppose that this would imply any difference in the yoking, and I hope to show that the words of Homer agree both with the details of the vases and with the necessities of practical use

ὦς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πατὴρ ὑποδείσαντες ὁμοκλήν
 ἐκ μὲν ἄμαξαν ἄειραν εὐτροχὸν ἡμιονεῖην,
 καλὴν πρωτοπαγέα, πείριυθα δὲ δῆσαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς,
 καδ' ἀπὸ πασσαλόφει ζυγὸν ἤρεον ἡμιόνειον,
 πύξινον ὁμφαλόεν, εὐ οἰήκεσσιν ἀρηρός·

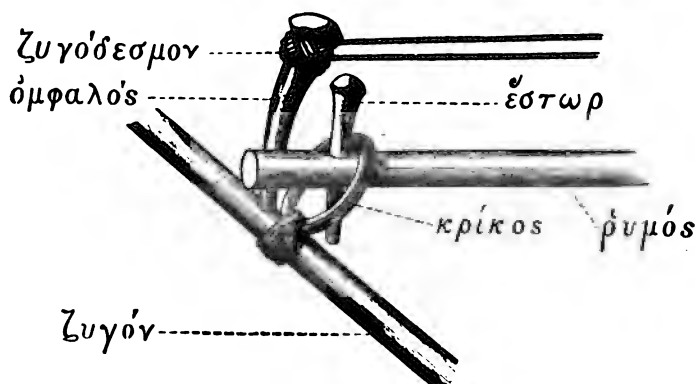
ἐκ δ' ἔφερον ζυγόδεσμον ἅμα ζυγῷ ἐννεάπηχυ.
καὶ τὸ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκαν εὐξέστω ἐπὶ ῥυμῷ,
πέξῃ ἐπὶ πρώτῃ, ἐπὶ δὲ κρίκον ἔστορι βάλλον,
τρὶς δ' ἐκάτερθεν ἔδησαν ἐπ' ὀμφαλόν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
ἐξείης κατέδησαν, ὑπὸ γλαχίνα δ' ἔκαμψαν.

Of the parts named by Homer we of course recognize the *κρίκος* in the *ring* of the vase paintings. The *ἔστωρ* is doubtless the *pin* passing through the ring, and fixed into the pole. The *ὀμφαλός* may then be safely identified with the *horn*. This, as we see from the epithet *ὀμφαλόεν*, formed a part of the yoke.

Now the following points seem to be clear. 1. The wheels were placed so far back that almost the whole weight of the two riders must have been thrown upon the pole. Some means must have been provided by which this downward thrust was transferred from the lower side of the pole to the yoke. 2. There must have been a provision for the lateral play of the yoke, or the unequal pace of the two horses would inevitably overstrain it and break either yoke or pole. The first of these objects would naturally be provided for by placing the yoke beneath the pole, the second by having the ring of considerably larger diameter than the pole. This supposition exactly agrees with what we find in the paintings where a very large ring is represented, while the pole is hidden behind the shoulders of the horses. 3. The third very important force remains to be provided for, the forward pull of the yoke. This was of course taken by the *ἔστωρ* or pin, which was passed through the ring and then through a hole near the end of the pole. This is described by Homer in the words, *ἐπὶ δὲ κρίκον ἔστορι βάλλον*, and leads to the conjectural restoration which I have given in the cut, No. 3.

We have now provided for the attachment of the yoke with due resistance to every interaction, but we have not reached the end of the process described by Homer. What is meant by the words *τρὶς ἐκάτερθεν ἔδησαν ἐπ' ὀμφαλόν* and *ἐξείης κατέδησαν*? The object of the two verbs is clearly the *ζυγόδεσμον*, τὸ μὲν, two lines above, being the *ζυγόν*, while the *μὲν* and *δέ* mark the change. It might have been expected that the object of *ἔδησαν* would be more clearly indicated, and

the neglect of the *F* of *ἑκάτερθεν* may possibly indicate a corruption concealing some forgotten word, which was either a synonym for *ζυγόδεσμον*, or was the name for some part of it. This however is not essential to the argument, and can hardly be considered even probable.



3

Now the *ζυγόδεσμον* which was thus tied to something was nine cubits—say thirteen feet—in length; it cannot therefore have been meant for merely tying round the pole and omphalos, for in that case, a length of three or four feet would have been, to say the least, amply sufficient: and besides, such an arrangement, without adding any real strength to the attachment of the yoke, where the end of the pole pierced for the *ἔστωρ* was the weakest part, would simply destroy the free play of the parts, without which the pole could not survive any but the slightest inequality in the pace of the horses. The explanation I believe to have been this: that the *ζυγόδεσμον* was taken in the middle, and fastened by three turns of each end to the omphalos or horn, which it will be remembered I take to be a part not of the pole but of the yoke: then the two ends, each having now a free length of some five or six feet, were led back to the body of the car and tied to the post.

We now have to explain the phrase *ἐξείης κατίδησαν*. This is commonly translated 'tied the Zygodesmon in an orderly knot,' laying the consecutive turns side by side in succession. This can perhaps be got out of the words, though it is rather forced;

but I feel little doubt that ἐξείης is here not the adverb at all, but the genitive of a substantive ἐξείη or something like it, which was the Greek name for what I have called the post. Such a word has an obvious derivation from the verb ἐχειν, because the primary use of the post was to afford something by which the parabates could hold on and aid himself in what must have been the far from easy task of keeping his balance. The vases themselves often enough represent this use of the post. Whether we have the exact original form in the word ἐξείης we can hardly say. I do not recollect any case of a substantive formed with the suffix -σειη, unless indeed the adverb ἐξείης be itself a genitive: but the loss of the original word would itself be likely enough, when the war-chariot with all its technical details had passed out of Greek memory; the resemblance of the more familiar adverb would be amply sufficient to cause a corruption when some sort of sense could still be made.

If this explanation be not accepted, I do not see on what hypothesis we can account for the inordinate length of the Zygo-desmon, which be it remarked, will even allow sufficient for any one who still wishes to take a turn or two round the pole and yoke before leading back the ends, though I regard such a precaution as likely to do more harm than good.

It is, moreover, certain that the Zygo-desmon, as I have explained it, was from the first an integral part of the Greek chariot, and not a mere freak of fancy on the part of an unconscientious vase-painter; for we find it, though rarely, even on coins of early workmanship.¹ In the best period it is omitted for the obvious reason that such a minute and purely realistic detail was inconsistent with breadth of artistic design; but we have also corroborative evidence, for there is no doubt that the Greek chariot, like the Egyptian, came from Assyria. The pattern is in essentials identical in all three nations, and in the case of Egypt at least there seems to be evidence enough, that the chariots, at all events those of the best class, were an article of import from Asia. Thus Weiss (*Kostümkunde*, p. 95), says, 'Unter den von Asien eingelieferten Waffen bildeten ferner auch die Kriegswägen von prunkvollster Ausstattung einen ganz

¹ It is very clearly represented in Prof. Gardner's *Types of Greek Coins*, the fine Syracusan drachma, given in Pl. II. 9.

besonders gesuchten Tributartikel.' As regards Greece, it is so obvious that the chariot cannot have been indigenous here that the only question that can arise is that of the exact means by which it was introduced from its birthplace in the Mesopotamian plains. Now very little observation of the Assyrian monuments is enough to show that in the Assyrian chariots such a Zygo-desmon as we are concerned with is extremely common. We find the post in the front of the chariot in two forms; sometimes it is a short and wide elevation of the front part of the car, which is itself of more solid construction than the Greek. In other cases it is very long and slender, bearing at the top a disc which contains a device, no doubt the standard of the captain who rides below. The Greeks, whose chieftains in Homeric times do not seem to have carried such devices, retained the slender pole, but shortened it, and so adapted it to the purely practical purpose of a support to hold on by. They also retained the rope or Zygo-desmon which we find connecting the post in both its forms to the yoke.

The Assyrian chariot often had another ornament, which I mention only to say that it seems to be independent of this Zygo-desmon, as each is frequently found apart from the other. This is the curious long oval, of uncertain material, often adorned with religious symbols, which extends in a vertical plane from the yoke to the car. What the use or significance of this was I do not presume to guess.

The fact of the existence of the Zygo-desmon in this sense being established, there remains the question of the purpose it was meant to serve. This is not very obvious, but two suggestions may be made. In the first place, by thus attaching the yoke directly to the body of the chariot, part of any violent shock might be taken off the κρίκος and ἔστωρ, while there would be no interference with the free play between them. Secondly, we see from Homer, that the pole was very apt to break πέζη ἐπὶ πρῶτῃ: that is, no doubt, at the point where a weakness was introduced by the hole in which the ἔστωρ was fixed. In such an event, the Zygo-desmon would possibly prevent the escape of the horses, though so far as I recollect whenever a pole is broken in a Homeric battle the horses run away; but this may be only from poetical propriety. As to the Omphalos, this may have been meant to keep the Zygo-desmon

clear of the *κρίκος* and *ἔστωρ*, which by their constant friction would soon wear it out. But such speculations are of little importance, inasmuch as the Omphalos and Zygodesmon were there, whatever their use. Possibly they may have only been a useless survival of some older means of harnessing by traces; in such matters man is apt to be irrationally conservative.

In favour of this last supposition it may be mentioned, that we elsewhere seem to find the same appendage reduced to a meaningless ornament. In the war-chariots of the Egyptians, according to Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* i. 238), 'a large ball placed upon a shaft projected above the saddle; there is reason to believe it was added solely for an ornamental purpose, and fixed to the yoke immediately above the centre of the saddle, or to the head of a pin which connected the yoke to the pole. The same kind of ornament, though of a different form is met with in Persian cars, and that it was not a necessary part of the harness is shown by the many instances of its omission in Egyptian curricles, and even in some of the chariots of war.'

In the later Greek racing chariot the post was of no use, as there was no parabates to hold on by it, and the charioteer always drove with both hands. It was however retained in a modified and adapted form, by being made double with a cross-rail at the top, at about the height of the driver's breast. This form we find on some of the later agonistic vases as well as on coins.¹ It evidently served the double purpose of saving the charioteer from the possible danger of being dragged over the front of the chariot, while at the same time it gave him greater guiding power by enabling him to lean far forward, in the attitude which is familiar on works of art, and thus to grasp the reins nearer to the horses' heads.

There is yet another passage in Homer which may be illustrated by what we know of the Egyptian chariot. It occurs in the second *locus classicus* for Homeric chariot-gear, *Il.* v. 722-732. We are told that the *δίφρος*

*χρυσέοισι καὶ ἀργυρέοισιν ἱμάσιν
ἐντέταται.* (727-8)

This is usually explained of the breast-work of the car, or *ἐπιδιφριάς*, which is supposed to be formed of interwoven

¹ *E.g.* Gardner, *Types*, Pl. VI. 25, 26; XI. 30.

straps of leather; it was rather the *floor* of the car on which the charioteer and parabates stood.¹ For the Egyptians actually used this device of a floor of interwoven straps strained tight, to supply the want of springs, which must have been a serious matter in fighting over rough ground (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, i. 227). We may then compare *Od.* xxiii. 201, when Odysseus employs precisely the same device in order to make himself a springy bed, ἐν δ' ἐτάνυσσ' ἱμάντα βοός.

If further argument be needed in favour of an interpretation which seems to be sufficiently recommended by its own probability, it may be pointed out that δίφρος means in the narrowest sense, the platform on which the riders stand, because the breastwork is called ἐπιδιφριάς (*Il.* x. 475), and that it is only thus that we obtain the full meaning of the word ἐντέταται, 'is stretched tight,' for this could hardly be used of a semi-circular breastwork of woven straps, where some at least must have been comparatively loose. It is of less weight perhaps, but still it may be mentioned, that vase-paintings do not seem to give any representation of chariots with such interwoven breastworks.

Since the preceding paper was written Dr. Helbig's highly interesting book *Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert* has appeared. It does not contain any fresh explanation of the point under discussion. He brings forward some evidence, however, to support the usual theory that the words εὐπλεκτος and εὐπλέκης refer to the breastwork, not to the floor of the car; this question therefore must remain open.

He also gives the following description of the manner in which the peasants in South Italy, especially in the Basilicata, attach the yoke to the pole (p. 107). 'Der Jochbalken hat in der Mitte der unteren Seite einen beweglichen eisernen Ring, die Deichsel unweit der Spitze ein vertikales Loch, in dem ein eiserner von unten nach oben bewegbarer Nagel steckt. Nachdem man das Joch zwischen der Deichselspitze und dem Loche auf die Deichsel aufgesetzt hat, wird der Nagel emporgezogen und der Jochring zurückgelegt. Hierauf lässt man den Nagel in die Oeffnung des Ringes hineinfallen, dergestalt, dass der letztere nunmehr mit seiner unteren, Wölbung an den

¹ So also *Il.* xxiii. 335, 436, εὐπλέκτην ἐνὶ δίφρῳ, δίφρους εὐπλεκέας.

Nagel anliegt. Auf diese Weise befestigt, kann sich das Joch, soweit es der Durchmesser des Ringes gestattet, nach vorwärts schieben, aber nimmermehr von der Deichsel abgleiten. Schliesslich werden Deichsel und Joch, damit das letztere beim Ziehen nicht hin und herschwanke, noch durch ein mehrfach geschlungenes Seil verbunden.' I am afraid that I do not understand the arrangement exactly; at all events it does not seem to give any explanation whatever of the nature and function of the ὀμφαλός. Dr. Helbig claims that it gives a more natural explanation of the words ἐπὶ κρίκον ἔστωρι βάλλον than that adopted by Grashof, and in another way by myself, where the ring is put over the pole before being secured by the ἔστωρ. In any case the phrase must mean 'put the ἔστωρ through the ring,' if the ἔστωρ is, as we all assume, a peg made movable in order that it may be lifted up, in order to be passed through the yoke-ring. The inversion of thought which expresses this as 'putting the ring over the peg' is surely very slight. Dr. Helbig rightly notices the necessity of supposing that the end of the ζυγόδεσμον must have been fastened to a point at some distance from the yoke, as 'nach dreimaligem Umbinden gewiss ansehnliche Enden übrig blieben.'

Mr. C. D. Durnford has recently published in the *Athenaeum* of Aug. 2nd, 1884, a very plausible and ingenious theory, according to which the long fish-shaped or oval connexion between the car and the yoke of Assyrian chariots served as a spring. This however lies too far from the present question to permit of discussion.

WALTER LEAF.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA

AND THE WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON.

IN proffering this attempt at providing a new principle for the interpretation of the Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, founded upon the recognition of the general principles of pedimental compositions as they manifest themselves after a careful study of the extant monuments of this class, and, more especially, upon a comparison between this Olympian pediment and the western pediment of the Parthenon, the writer fears that he may meet with prejudice on the part of those who have already fixed in their minds an essentially different mode of approaching the subject. He fears this the more as it is entirely beyond his power on this occasion to give a full account of these general principles, or rather of the traditional forms of rendering mythological scenes in compositions of this class, as they have manifested themselves to him in studying a considerable number of ancient representations of mythological scenes for the purpose of elucidating the composition of the pediments of the Parthenon. He is obliged, therefore, to refer the reader to the treatment of this subject in his forthcoming volume of *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, more especially to the *Essay on the Eastern Pediment of the Parthenon*. Another cause of initial opposition will no doubt lie in the fact that his proposed interpretation will, in some of the details, run counter to the direct statements of Pausanias. But though it is a dangerous proceeding in archaeology to discredit the direct statement of an ancient authority, there is one authority more

conclusive than the statement of any ancient eye-witness, that is, the direct evidence of the remains themselves. When in addition to this we have reason to know that this particular writer was apt to be misled in the recognition of subjects of the very nature of those in question, and that his sources of information were often of the most illiterate and untrustworthy kind, we are then more than ever justified in turning, nay, called upon to turn to the unbiased study of the monuments themselves and their relation to all works of that class, with a view to the solution of the problem.

Every reader of Pausanias will soon notice that there was a certain bias in the mind of the traveller, a certain *tendenz* pervading the whole of his writings, modifying the character of his book, and sometimes the correctness of his statements. It might be called a religious, or rather mythographical, bias which arose in him in great part out of the spirit of his age (an age marked by the death-struggle of Greek paganism against rising Christianity), and which drove him to look for illustrations of myths and mythical personalities in every monument. He will never lose an opportunity of recounting some out-of-the-way myth with a definite mention of names, and will often introduce them where no apparent opportunity was offered. The first thing he seems to look for upon entering a new town or sanctuary is some local mythical story which he recounts at great length with all the *on dits* of ignorant people, while he gives but short space to the description of facts which it would often be valuable to know. It is moreover most unfortunate that this credulous myth-seeker was most uncritical and indiscriminate with regard to the sources of his information. There is no doubt that a large number of the myths and traditions he recounts and of the interpretations he gives of the monuments with which he met in his travels, were gathered from the ignorant people he chanced to meet, more especially from the *ciceroni* who flocked about Delphi and Olympia, and obtruded their services upon the tourist with a persistency only equalled by their ignorance, and a corresponding readiness to invent facts and names where their knowledge was at fault. Luckily Pausanias often alludes to his source of information and to the fact that 'the ἑξηγητής said so,' and thus gives us fair warning to receive with some reservation the statement thus backed.

This is so in the very tenth chapter of the fifth book in which he describes the Eastern Pediment of the Temple of Zeus, and ends up with the announcement that the Troizenians call the groom of Pelops who is represented in the pediment Sphairos, while the exegetes who is showing him about said he was called Killas.

But that he or his guide or both are not to be implicitly followed in the interpretation they give of the figures in the pediment, has become completely demonstrated by the results of the excavation. Pausanias enumerates and interprets the figures as follows: *Τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰτοῖς, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἢ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἄμιλλα ἐτι μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μύλιστα τὸν αἰτόν, ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπικειμένος κράνος τῇ κεφαλῇ, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη, θυγατέρων καὶ αὕτη τῶν Ἀτλαντος. Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἤλαυνε τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὸ ἄρμα, κάθεται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων· οἱ δὲ εἰσιν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσιν ἄνδρες δύο· ὀνόματα μὲν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατὰκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἡλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γε Ἀλφειόν. τὰ δὲ ἐς ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἱπποδάμεια καὶ ὁ τε ἡνίοχος ἔστι τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι, δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἵπποκόμοι δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὐθις ὁ αἰτὸς κάτεισιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροιζηνίων ἔστιν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὁ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἔφασγε Κίλλαν εἶναι.*

There are thus twenty-one figures (including the horses) in the pediment. Zeus is in the centre, on his one side Pelops with Hippodameia, on the other Oinomaos with Sterope. Then follow on either side the charioteers (Myrtilos and Sphairos) crouching before the horses, then the four horses, then follow on either side two men, and then at the left corner the river Alpheios, at the corresponding right corner the river Kladeos.

The real uncertainty of interpretation for us attaches itself to the 'two men' between the river-gods and the horses, and this uncertainty was evidently also felt by Pausanias himself. In dealing with the first set of two he merely calls them two men;

he then goes on to say that they have no names, and that their function was to take care of the horses of Oinomaos; the other two he simply calls grooms (*ἵπποκόμοι*) of Pelops. Considerable fragments, making the nature of each one of the figures enumerated by Pausanias intelligible, have been unearthed in the recent German excavations, and have made it possible to reconstruct the whole pedimental composition seen by Pausanias. The three principal restorations are those made by Treu,¹ Curtius,² and quite recently, by Kekulé.³

These restorations differ only with regard to the distribution of the crouching figures. The one here reproduced (Fig. 2) is that of Curtius, chosen by the present writer because it conforms more to the laws of composition which, from analogous cases, appear to have prevailed in such works.

It seems more than unlikely that the four figures between river-gods and horses should be grooms. Despite Welcker's⁴ ingenious explanation 'that the artist was wise in throwing the chief figures into prominent relief by placing these unimportant personages instead of inferior deities at either side,' we cannot help feeling that this would be a very clumsy contrivance on the part of the artist for the purpose of filling up space, and that the introduction of such figures into such compositions is contrary to the custom of Greek art. Furthermore, it is evident that Pausanias and his guide did not examine the figures in the pediment very carefully, for one of the 'men' or 'grooms' turns out to be a woman. Another one of them, the bearded old man seated on the right side, can hardly be held to represent the type of the groom, nor have the modern writers on the

¹ *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1876, pp. 174 seq. Taf. 18; and 1882, pp. 217 seq. taf. 12. See also Boetticher, *Olympia, Das Fest und seine Stätte*, p. 285 seq.; and Overbeck, *Gesch. der Griech. Plastik* (3rd edit.) i. pp. 420 seq.

² *Die Funde von Olympia* (Berlin, 1882) pp. 71 seq., taf. vi. vii.; see also Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 365; Mrs. Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 262 seq., Fig. 127.

³ *Rheinisches Museum f. Philolog.* N. F. xxxix. pp. 481 seq. taf. iii. This has just come to my hand. Taf. iii.

contains outlines of the three restorations mentioned above. For earlier remarks on this pediment by other authors, see: Ulrichs, *Bemerkungen über den Olympischen Tempel*, &c. (Würzburg, 1877) pp. 20 seq.; G. Hirschfeld, *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1877, pp. 309 seq.; Adler, *Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, ii. p. 16, taf. xxxv.; Milchhofer, *Im Neuen Reich*, 1877, pp. 206 seq.; Robert, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 31.

⁴ *Alte Denkmäler*, i. pp. 178 seq.

subject, despite the statement of Pausanias, ventured to call him by that name. He generally goes by the name of 'The Pensive Old Man' (*Sinnender Greis*). But if we examine a large number of ancient monuments, especially later reliefs, we shall repeatedly come upon this type of an old man reclining in a contemplative attitude, watching the scene which he, sometimes in company with similar figures, serves to frame, and by their presence such figures fix the locality in which the scene takes place. The crouching male figure between him and the Kladeos again corresponds exactly in his attitude to the type of a youthful river-god, more especially to the fragment of the Ilissos crouching at the right side of the western pediment of the Parthenon. The same applies to the two figures on the other side. All the three figures at either angle are evidently not immediately concerned in the action which is preparing in the centre of the pediment. They are in the background, or, as I should like to say, they are the background, and belong to a different sphere of beings from the figures in the centre. The figures in the centre are of one class; and the figures at the angles, separated from them by the horses, are of another. What the nature of the latter group of figures is, is clearly indicated by the river-gods Kladeos and Alpheios at the end of either side; they are personifications of the localities in which the scene takes place.

But to feel thoroughly convinced of the correctness of this interpretation one must needs have examined from this point of view a large number of later monuments, especially reliefs, bearing the evident traces of the earlier pedimental compositions, and the eastern and western pediments of the Parthenon, and must compare these pediments with them. One then comes to recognise a whole system of mythological composition; and of this recognition our interpretation of the figures of the angle of the Olympia pediment is but a necessary consequence.

As I have said at the beginning of this paper, I cannot on this occasion enter upon the discussion of this principle of pedimental composition as borne out by the careful examination of a large number of ancient monuments. I have done this at considerable length in the *Essays on the Pediments of the Parthenon* in the forthcoming book. But the due recognition of any individual pediment depends to such a degree upon the recognition of the traditional forms as we see them pervading

the chief works of this kind, that I feel how comparatively weak will be the convincing power of these observations to those who have not gone through, or have not had presented to them, all the facts upon which these statements are based. Still I shall venture to point out some of these general traditional forms and shall refer the reader to the book for their more complete verification.

The customary method in which the sculptor represented a mythological scene, especially in pediments, was for him to follow in the broader mode of arranging his composition the general constructive indications of the space assigned to him for his composition. In the case of a pediment this space is a triangle with the highest and most important point in the centre. The height and importance of this space are not, as in the case of a frieze, the same throughout, but grow gradually towards the centre as the sides rise from either angle at the base, and diminish gradually as the sides descend from the centre to either angle. The effective narration of any story by means of a plastic composition demands that there should be a visible unity in the composition with a culminating point of interest, otherwise we shall have monotony and diffusion. The sculptor thus follows the simple suggestion of the construction of the pediment in placing the most important and central part of the scene depicted in the highest central point of the pediment, the parts most essential to the central action on either side nearest the centre, and the figures lose in their importance in the central action the more they approach either angle. Or, beginning at either angle, the figures by their nature and action will manifest less interest and participation in the central scene at the beginning of the composition, and these will grow as the pediment rises until we approach the central climax. In the best of these compositions a further element of variety is introduced in that the whole scene as represented is subdivided into different phases or groups, without robbing the whole of its unity. This subdivision would correspond to the foreground or the background. It is generally indicated by the line between the reclining and the erect figures, and by a corresponding distinction in the nature and meaning of the figures and their relation to the central action. The figures forming the central scene, generally in erect attitudes of action, form the one group

of beings belonging to a definite sphere, and are distinctly separated from the other figures seated or reclining in contemplative attitudes, generally manifesting the greater interest in the scene the nearer the place assigned to them is to the centre. The proportion of space assigned to each one of these classes is about the same in the pediments of the Parthenon and this eastern pediment of Olympia. In the western pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia was represented the Centauro-machia; and this subject led the sculptor to give greater space to the scene of actual conflict, while but a small space is assigned to the local nymphs.

The class of figures on either side of the centre, distinct from the immediate participators in the action, I maintain to be traditionally personifications of nature and localities in which the scene is supposed to have taken place. To Brunn belongs the great merit of having first ventured to maintain that the figures filling the sides of the western pediment of the Parthenon up to the Nike and Amphitrite driving the chariots (where the lines are drawn in Fig. 1), are personifications of Attic localities; and though I cannot subscribe to the definite interpretation of the individual figures, the principle as evinced in the interpretation as a whole I have found confirmed by the examination of all similar monuments. In the eastern pediment of the Parthenon (representing the birth of Athene) where, I maintain, the centre was occupied by Athene and Zeus and the admiring gods, and the seated and reclining figures now extant were personifications of nature like Helios and Selene at the extreme angles, an intermediary figure (the messengers Iris and, probably, Hermes) was introduced between the two larger classes on either side. These erect figures show by their action towards the figures in the angles that, though erect and of the nature of the gods in the centre, they also hold some relation to the figures of the other sphere; they form a transition from one group to the other, and by the fact that they convey the news of the central scene to the seated figures at the angles they clearly indicate that the two classes of figures belong to different spheres.

In the western pediment of the Parthenon the transition is more abrupt. The lines drawn in our illustration show this marked division. Beginning from these lines the figures are all turned towards the centre; both by action and composition

it is made manifest that they are immediately concerned in the central event (the strife between Athene and Poseidon for the Attic land). The figures on the other side of the line, however, all belong to the same sphere, which differs from that of the central figures; and their nature is made clear by the character of the two figures nearest either angle, which is beyond dispute. It is admitted by all that in the left angle there is Kephissos with a nymph (now missing) as in the right angle there is a nymph with Ilissos. The other figures up to the lines are personifications of the same nature.

If we compare the eastern pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia with this western pediment of the Parthenon, we realise a thorough correspondence in the general composition and arrangement of the groups which calls for a similar interpretation of the figures at the sides.

In both pediments the horses with their drivers complete the central group containing the action. In the Olympia pediment the horses form a more intrinsic part of the central scene, inasmuch as the moment represented is that of preparation for a mythical chariot race, while in the Parthenon pediment they are mere accessories to the acting figures, Athene and Poseidon; and they here serve to indicate the fact that the judgment confirming the supremacy of Athene has been passed and that the gods will in the next moment retire from the Attic locality where they have performed their miraculous deed. Thus in the Olympia pediment the horses stand at rest awaiting the beginning of the race, and those who will mount the chariots (the most important element of the scene), Pelops and Oinomaos and their charioteers, are placed together near the centre and in front of the horses; while in the Parthenon pediment it is clearly indicated that the horses have just arrived in that they are vigorously advancing, Athene and Poseidon form the really prominent centre, and Nike and Amphitrite are separated from them and are behind the horses. In the Parthenon pediment the centre ends with the figures driving the horses, in the Olympia pediment with the horses themselves. The figures after the horses in the Olympia pediment hold no further immediate relation to them. Even though in Treu's restoration the crouching figure placed by Curtius in front of the horses on the right is placed behind the horses on the left, and might thus be restored as

holding the reins, the corresponding old man on the right in a contemplative attitude with his hand to his chin can in no way be considered to fulfil any definite function with regard to the horses, and the symmetry pervading the whole of this composition would demand that there should be no essential difference between the corresponding figures on either side. I cannot refrain from remarking that, as far as symmetrical composition is concerned, the restoration of Curtius has far more in its favour than either of the two other restorations; for the seated and draped old man on the right, occupying a comparatively wide space, is well balanced on the other side by the seated and draped figure which of all the remaining figures possesses to the highest degree these characteristics; and the monotony of line in the direction of their feet is counterbalanced to a certain degree by the fact that the one is looking forward, the other turning backwards, and still both are turned towards the centre. In Curtius's restoration the next two crouching figures towards the angle are turned away from the centre, until at either end the river-gods have a decided movement towards them and towards the centre.

In the Parthenon pediment there are seven figures in the angles at either side, in the Olympia pediment there are only three; yet even here there is the most striking resemblance of composition. Beginning at the right angle the reclining Kladeos with the crouching youth correspond in composition to the reclining nymph with the Ilissos in the Parthênion pediment; the larger profile lines of the seated old man correspond to the lines of the only figure seated in profile in the Parthenon pediment, namely, the seated female figure with the nude girl in her lap on the same side of the pediment. At the other angle of the pediment we have the reclining Alpheios whose similarity to the Kephissos has been universally remarked; the figure corresponding to the crouching girl is wanting in the Parthenon pediment, yet the seated half-draped figure next to her and turned towards the centre is in composition most strikingly like the next figure in the Parthenon pediment, namely, the seated and draped male figure looking towards the centre.

Both in the general arrangement of composition, the chief acting figures in the centre, bounded on either side by the horses and their drivers, with the personifications of the locality

in either angle, as well as in the details of the seated figures, the correspondence of these two pediments is so great that we are driven to acknowledge an immediate relation between these two pediments. Whether the older artist Paionios on his way from the north to Olympia saw and studied the Parthenon pediments without for all that being able to produce in any way the superiority of their modelling; or whether, as is now maintained by Loeschke,¹ Pheidias was at Olympia before the completion of the Parthenon, and was there influenced by the composition of the North-Grecian artist, I do not venture to decide. I am only concerned with establishing this strong inter-relation.

I must not omit to remark that Treu, in his first paper,² pointed to the resemblance between the crouching figure on the right of the Olympian pediment and the Ilissos, as well as between the seated figures on the left in both pediments and the general arrangement of the composition. Furthermore, Curtius has gone so far as to consider the figure beside each one of the river-gods to be personifications of localities. But the interpretation here proffered for all the figures not forming the centre of the scene is the result of a comparative study of pedimental compositions in general, more especially in connexion with the Parthenon pediments, and the question must thus be viewed as a whole in order to discover its true bearing. To Brunn will ever remain the great merit of having broken ground in the right direction with the general spirit of his interpretation of the western pediment of the Parthenon.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

¹ *Phidias Tod, und Chronologie des Olympischen Zeus; Historische Untersuchung.*
² *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 179.

AN UNDESCRIBED ATHENIAN FUNERAL MONUMENT.

PLATE XXXIX.

VISITING last year the house of Mons. des Tombes, an accomplished amateur and collector of pictures at the Hague, I observed over a chimney-piece a small sculptured relief in marble, of which the Grecian lineaments contrasted forcibly enough with the taste of the Dutch paintings that surrounded it. In answer to my inquiries, the owner informed me that he had seen this piece of antiquity one day in the hands of a countryman, covered with paint and about to be broken up, and that he had rescued it from destruction, and after cleaning the surface caused it to be placed where I then saw it. How it originally came into the hands in which he found it, or into Holland at all, he had been unable to learn. At my suggestion M. des Tombes had a cast of the work made, a copy of which he has been so good as to present to the new Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge. From that cast the present illustration (Pl. XXXIX) is taken.

The sculpture bears obvious marks of its character and origin. It is, as the student will be at no loss to perceive, an Athenian sepulchral relief of the fine period, and forms a somewhat interesting addition to our known store of examples of that attractive class of monument. The relief is framed as usual by a projecting plinth at the bottom, and at the top by a plain pediment without akroteria; there are no antae to complete this framing at the sides. The extreme height from the top of the pediment to the bottom of the plinth is $26\frac{1}{2}$ in., (m. '672); the height of the relief itself $21\frac{1}{2}$ in., (m. '555); the breadth

18 in., (m. '458) ; so that the figures of the sculpture are between a third and a quarter of life-size. The design shows it to be a lady's monument, but there is no inscription to indicate her name. She is represented seated in profile facing to the left, in a chair of the usual shape, and nearly in the attitude of Hegeso in the well-known and beautiful monument that bears her name. She wears a long chiton with half sleeves ; her head is bare ; her feet sandalled, the right slightly extended and resting on a footstool, while the left hangs nearly free, the toes touching the footstool and the heel the chair-leg. She lifts her two hands to receive a child which a nurse, standing opposite to her, holds out in both arms. The nurse, in the majority of such cases distinguished by the *κεκρύφαλος*, wears in this instance no head-covering ; but it may be noticed that her hair is carved in parallel running lines, while that of her mistress is differently treated, not in lines but in masses. The dress of the nurse is a plain chiton with *diplōidion*. The child in her arms (apparently a little girl of three or four years old) is naked but for a loose drapery, not very distinctly visible, which passes over its left shoulder and under the left hand of the nurse, from whose grasp the child leans out eagerly towards its mother with the left arm fully extended. The face and right arm of the child and the hands of the mother are broken off ; so are the upper part of the nurse's face and portions of the chair-legs ; allowing for a slight general abrasion of the surface, the remainder of the work is well preserved. The relief is rather high than low, the extreme projection being $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (m. '04), and the faces, arms, and one or two other portions being slightly undercut. The execution both of flesh and drapery is vigorous and expressive, but somewhat rough and undetailed (see particularly the incisions characterising the flesh surface of the feet), and the work is no doubt that of an ordinary monumental mason towards the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Though in execution by no means one of the most finished monuments of its class, yet alike by the character of the composition, the gravity of the sentiment and frankness and simplicity of the attitudes, the shape and type of the heads, and the style and flow of drapery, it proclaims clearly enough the still undecayed influence of the Pheidias tradition in Athenian workshops.

With regard to the special subject of the representation, it is well known that the intercourse, or the parting, of mother and child is a theme of no infrequent occurrence in the funeral monuments of Attica. This theme is generally treated in one of two ways. Either (*a*) the child is one of some years' growth, in which case it is shown standing, sometimes naked and sometimes dressed, at the knees of its parent; or else (*b*) it is a new-born infant, and in that case is shown tightly wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and held in the arms of a nurse who presents it to its parent. It has been suggested that the monuments designed according to the latter of these two schemes are those of women dead in childbirth. An example of *a* in its simplest form is the monument in the Central Museum at Athens inscribed with the name of Asia (Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, 108). Examples of scheme *b* in its simplest form are the monuments in the same museum inscribed with the names Akis and Eirenè respectively (Sybel, 120, 134). Each scheme is often complicated by the introduction of accessory figures: thus the monuments of Polyxenè and of Archestratè (Sybel, 52, 69), are examples of *a* each with the addition of a servant in the back-ground; and in a monument of class *b* in the Varvakion (Sybel, 2922) the lady whose child is held in swaddling-clothes by the nurse is seen clasping hands at the same time with another lady. Scheme *a*, again, is sometimes varied by the grouping of several children, instead of one alone, about the knees of its mother; see for example the monument of Phrasikleia (Sybel, 54). And sometimes the features of *a* and *b* are united, in family groups wherein the figures of elder children standing about the knees of the mother are combined with that of a nurse holding out to her a child in arms: of such groups early art affords us a conspicuous example in the so-called Leukothea relief of the Villa Albani. But our present specimen is singular in that it exhibits a child, of the growth usually represented standing at its mother's feet according to scheme *a*, held up to her embrace by a nurse according to the fashion of scheme *b*. Professor Conze (to whom also I am indebted for some of the references above cited), is good enough to inform me that the drawings collected by the Vienna Academy for their projected Corpus of Athenian funeral monuments contain no other

example of a nurse holding up to its mother a large and active naked child like this, but only small children stiffly swaddled. For the sake of this point of originality, as well as for the general charm and interest of the class of sculptures to which it belongs, I hope that the publication of this waif of Attic art found in Holland may not be unwelcome to readers of our Journal.

SIDNEY COLVIN.

ON THE RAFT OF ULYSSES.—OD. V.

THIS was a raft, and not a boat, or even a rude imitation of a boat. Many of the difficulties connected with the well-known description of its construction in the fifth book of the *Odyssey* have been increased by the confusion of these ideas.

Homer, 'qui nil molitur inepte,' is evidently well acquainted with ships, and with a seafaring life, and all its technicalities. In this respect he differs from Hesiod, who (possibly glancing at the manifest *σοφία* about ships displayed by the older bard) expressly tells us that, unlike his father, he is

οὔτε τι ναυτιλῆς σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν
οὐ γὰρ πώποτε νηὶ γ' ἐπέπλων εὐρέα πόντον.

Erg. 647.

We may therefore consider that in this minute description of the construction of the raft, Homer is accurate in his details, and that his hero is represented as doing (*ἐπισταμένως*) all that a skilled shipwright (*εὐειδῶς τεκτοσυνάων*) of the Homeric age might be imagined as doing under the circumstances.

In the council of the gods recorded at the beginning of the book, Athene, in pleading for her favourite, lays stress upon the impossibility of his escape from the island of Calypso (v. 16).

οὐ γάρ οἱ πάρα νῆες ἐπήρετμοι καὶ ἐταῖροι,

and the same lines are a little later repeated by the nymph herself (141), when somewhat in pique she declares that she for her part will not send him any whither. But she adds, as if recollecting that the commands of Zeus are not to be trifled with, 'I am quite ready to suggest to him, and I will not conceal from him, the way in which he may come safe to his fatherland.' This way had already been indicated by the Cloud-Compeller

himself. Ulysses was to leave Ogygia upon a raft, ἐπὶ σχεδίνῃ¹ πολυδέσμου² (v. 33).

Accordingly, after the departure of Hermes, the nymph finds the hero, and bids him give over fretting, for she will let him go. And she continues :

ἀλλ, ἄγε, δούρατα μακρὰ ταμὼν ἀρμόξεο χαλκῷ
εὐρεῖαν σχεδίνην· ἄταρ ἱκρία πῆξαι ἐπ' αὐτῆς·
ὑψοῦ, ὥς σε φέρησιν ἐπ' ἡεροειδέα πόντον.

'So, come, cut down long spars with bronze and fit together a broad raft. And upon it construct a deck high up, so that it may carry thee over the misty sea.'

The proposal seems so wild to the man of many counsels as to suggest the idea of treachery, 'Something else it is, goddess, that thou art thinking of, and not of a safe conduct, when thou biddest me on a *raft* to cross the great breadth of the sea, dreadful and difficult, over which not even gallant ships, swift-faring, do cross rejoicing in the breeze of Zeus.' It requires an oath by the Styx to reassure him. On the morrow the work of construction begins. The nymph supplies him with the tools, and shows him where to get the material. The passage is *Od.* v. 233—261.

'She gave him a great axe, well fitted in his hands, of bronze, sharpened on both sides, and in it a helve very beautiful, of olive wood, well fitted in; and then she gave him an adze, good for cutting smooth, and led the way towards the extremity of the island, where tall trees grew, alder, and black poplar, and there was fir reaching to heaven, withered of old, and very dry, which would float lightly for him.....So he began to cut the spars, and quickly his work was accomplished. Twenty he threw in all, and then trimmed with the bronze, and smoothed

¹ σχεδίνῃ. The derivation seems doubtful. It may be (1) connected with ἔχω, σχε-δί-η. That which holds together, cf. σχε-δόν, tenendo; or (2) σχεδ-ι-η collective to σχέδ-η, scheda, billet, plank. Curt. *Et. Gr.* 246, 617. Cf. scandula, shingle, split stuff for roofing. Cf. our rafter, and its collective raft. This last will agree with Hesychius. ξύλα, ἃ συνδέουσι καὶ οὕτω

πλέουσι. The word is also used of the planking of a bridge, and of a wooden roof constructed over a theatre (Athen. l. iv.).

² πολυδέσμου. Characteristic epithet, recurring l. 338, the 'many fastenings' are the chief problem of the construction, cf. Hdt. ii. 96. περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιέλουσι τὰ διπλήχεα ξύλα.

them with skill, and made them straight to the line. Meantime Calypso brought borers. He then bored all, and fitted them one to another, and next with trenails and dowels he knocked his raft together. As large as is the floor of a wide ship of burden, which a man skilled in the shipwright's craft lays out in curved lines, so large did Ulysses make his wide raft. And he set up deck timbers by fitting them on numerous uprights, and so wrought and finished them with long gunwales. And in his raft he set a mast and a yard fitting to it; and beside he made a paddle that he might steer it. Bulwarks also made he all throughout, with osier wattles, to be a fence against the wave, and piled in beside much brushwood to back them. Meanwhile Calypso, bright goddess, brought robes for the making of sails. And he contrived them also well. And braces and halyards and sheets he made fast in the raft, and then with levers he moved her down to the bright sea.'

In four days all had been completed. He takes in his stores on the fifth, and starts with a fair breeze, steering with his paddle. On the eighteenth day when in sight of the land of the Phœacians, he is spied by Poseidon, and his troubles begin again. A great storm wave, 'ingens a vertice pontus,' comes right down over upon him, the raft is whirled round, and he himself is washed off and loses his paddle. The mast breaks off short, and the sail and yard fall far away into the sea. He himself with convulsive effort swims after his raft and sits down in the midst of it shunning the fatal end. The raft, still holding together, becomes the plaything of the waves, tossed about, up and down, just as in autumn the north wind blows along the plain the acanthus wreaths that cling close together. At this crisis Leucothea appears and gives him her headdress to wear as a lifebelt. He, afraid as usual of treachery, determines to stick to the raft—

ὄφρ' ἂν μὲν κεν δούρατ' ἐν ἄρμονίῃσιν ἀρήρη,

so long as ever the spars hold together by the dowels. Then comes the great wave, which breaks up the raft, just as the wind scatters a heap of chaff. Ulysses mounts astride on one of the spars, strips him of his garments, and ties round him the headgear of the goddess, and so strikes out for the shore.

Such is the story of the raft and its fortunes. A seagoing raft or catamaran, with a raised deck upon it, is not unknown in modern times in the Pacific, in the Torres Straits, and off the coast of New Guinea. A model of a craft of the kind, of which a representation is here given by the kindness of General Pitt Rivers, may be seen in his collection at South Kensington. *Vide* also M'Gillivray's *Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, vol. ii. p. 256.



It remains for us to consider the details of construction. First as to the tools, *πέλεκυς* (Rt. ΠΑΡΚ ΠΑΛΚ) *πληκ-ζω* Skt. *paraçus*, the striking axe, of goodly size and well fitting to the hand (*ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσι*). The same expression is used (*Il.* 18, 600) of the potter's wheel. The material is *χαλκός* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* xi. 656, '*aerata quatiens Tarpeia securim*,' where *aerata* does not necessarily = *aerea*, but may refer to the fact that two temperings are required in an axe, whether of steel or of bronze, one to make the cutting edge,

and the other to make the mass of the body, which if of the same hardness as the edge would be apt to fly in pieces). The question of the shape of the Homeric axe is interesting, as upon it turns the decision of that other much-vexed question in the twenty-first book of the *Odyssey* as to the shooting through the twelve axe-heads. If we can believe the Homeric axe to have been similar in shape to that which the Egyptian shipwrights are seen handling in the tomb-pictures of Sakkarah, the solution



is easy. The axe there portrayed is in the form of a hoop, and consequently the feat of shooting through the axe-heads would be one easily suggested (*vide* Duemichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, Pl. xxi.). Set up perfectly level like the *δρύοχοι*¹ (which I believe to have been strong timbers, set up, at short intervals, on a true level, to form the basis or slip on which the keel of a vessel to be built was laid), the twelve axe heads would at once test the skill of the archer in aiming, and the strength of the bow in the flat trajectory of the arrow.

The axe was (*ἀμφυτέρωθεν ἀκαχμένος*) sharpened on both sides, as axes always are. Not so the adze, which is sharpened only on the inner surface of the edge. The one makes a wedge-like cut. The other chips off pieces leaving a smooth surface below.

The helve (*στειλειόν*, cf. *στέλ-ε-χος*, stalk) of the axe was of olive wood which is tough and pretty in grain (*περικαλλές*) and takes a good polish.

The adze (*σκεπ*, cf. *σκάπ-τω*) (cf. Germ. *schaben*, our shave) has the epithet *εὔξοον*. It is difficult to give this any but the active meaning. This really suits the passage and explains

¹ *Od.* xx. 574, and compare the phrase also *δρυόχους τιθέναι δράματος*.
Polyb. i. 38 *ἐκδρυόχων ναυπηγείσθαι*,

the use of the tool, which in skilled hands does the work of the plane perfectly. *ξέσσε δ' ἐπισταμένως.*



The goddess points out the place where the material for the raft was to be found in the shape of trees, standing long withered and dry, which would float lightly.

Of those named, the floating power is very different, viz. :—

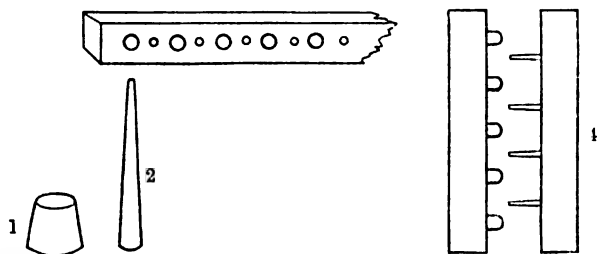
Alder	·20	specific gravity,	·80
Poplar	·62	"	" ·38
Fir	·53—·40	"	" ·47—·60

Alder is a very heavy wood, and not fit for shipbuilding. It might, however, be used for the *σταμίνες* and the dowels. Poplar and fir, but chiefly the latter, would furnish the floor of the raft. Twenty trees are thrown, and trimmed with the axe, the branches and knobs hewn off. Then the adze comes into play. And the skilful shipwright makes two smooth surfaces which are straight to the line. The timbers, thus shaped, will touch all along their inner surfaces when laid together. (*ἀντίξοα*, *vide infra*.)

Next comes the process of tying them together. For this the goddess brings him borers, or augers, *τέρετρα*, plur. doubtless of different diameters.

In tying heavy timbers together, where metal is not available or suitable for the purpose, two kinds of fastenings are necessary, commonly called trenails, *γόμφοι*, and dowels or coaks, which are here represented by the *ἀρμονίαι*. The trenail (tree-nail) is a long peg of tough wood tapering from an inch or inch and a half in diameter, to three-quarters of an inch

at the thin end. The holes into which this is driven run through both pieces of timber, and of course they must correspond exactly on the inner surface when the two timbers are laid alongside of each other. Trenails, however, are not thick enough in diameter to stand a vertical strain tending to wrench one timber from the other. To make them of a greater diameter



1. Coak or dowel, ἀρμονία.

2. Trenail, γόμφος.

3. Timbers bored.

4. Ditto, with coaks and dowels, ready to be knocked together.

would weaken the timbers themselves dangerously; and so in order to meet a vertical strain, such as the rise and fall of the waves under the bottom of a raft, shipwrights join the timbers not only with trenails but with dowels, or coaks, as they are also called. These are short pieces of hard wood from three to four inches in diameter and four to five inches long according to the size of the spars. These are let in at intervals between the trenails with shallow holes bored to correspond in each timber. Being short and of hard wood they will take a great vertical strain, as long as they remain fast. Hence Ulysses makes up his mind to remain on the raft—

ὄφρ' ἂν μὲν κεν δούρατ' ἐν ἀρμονίῃσιν ἀρήρη.

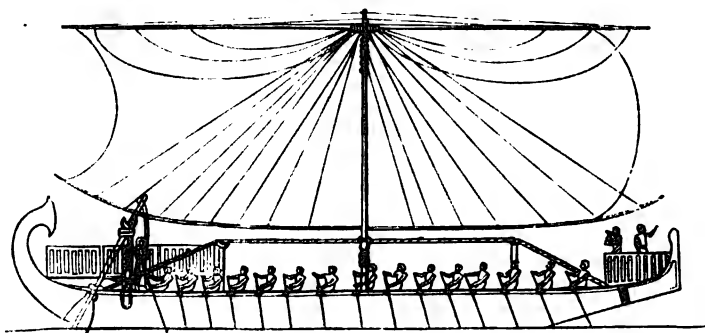
When once the timbers had slipped outside the dowels, the trenails would not be of much use in holding the raft together.

As for ἀρμονίαι, the word occurs in Ar. *Eq.* τῶν θ' ἀρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν, where if a flute is the instrument spoken of it would mean the joints gaping, i.e. the sockets opening from the pieces that fitted into them. A little above the expression τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων occurs, so that it is probable that

the metaphor of joiners' work is being kept up. The joints of the flute are not unlike the dowel and its socket. The passage in Herodotus ii. 96, ἐσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ᾧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλω, seems at first sight to mean they caulk the joints, *i.e.* openings between the timbers through which any water can come in with byblus, but perhaps, seeing that a contrast to Greek usages is being stated, it is the byblus truss, *within* (cf. Ap. Rhod. i. 367), that is opposed to the νομείς, waling pieces, applied by the Greeks *without* the vessel. In this case the meaning of ἀρμονία would be the same as in our passage, and ἐπάκτωσαν mean make firm or fast (as Eustathius interprets κατασφαλίζονται), cf. Larcher 'Ils affermissent en dedans cet assemblage avec des liens de byblus.' Vide also Duemichen. The word ἀρμός is also noticeable in this connection meaning a peg or stop, cf. Eur. Fr. Erecth ἀρμός πονηρὸς ὥσπερ ἐν ξύλῳ παγείς.

In the case of a ship with a rounded bottom, the strain would be less than with a raft. But still various expedients were in use to prevent the parting of the timbers, for instance, trussing. Cf. Ap. Rhod. Arg. i. 367:—

νῆα δ' ἐπικρατέως Ἄργου ὑποθημοσύνησι
ἔζωσαν πάμπρωτον εὐστρεφεῖ ἐνδοθεν δπλφ
τεινάμενοι ἐκάτερθεν ἰν' εὐ ἀραροῖατο γῆρφοις
δούρατα καὶ ῥοθίοιο βίην ἔχοι ἀντιώσαν.



The hawser, called ὑπόζωμα, stretched from stem to stern, over crutches, kept up bow and stern and prevented 'hogging.'

This is seen very clearly in the representations of the Egyptian ships given in Duemichen's *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*. Possibly the difficulty about the ὑπόζωμα, Plat. Rep. Bk. x. finds its solution in this straight truss amidships. But the ὑποζώματα in the case of triremes seem generally to have been applied outside, stretching from stem to stern on both sides of the vessel. These hawsers, put on dry, would shrink when wet, and so tighten up the timbers of the lightly built vessel.

Another device was the waling (i.e. walling) piece, ρομεύς, commonly in use among the Greeks, but not used by the Egyptians in the construction of the boats described by Hdt. ii. 96, the ancestors of the modern Nile 'nugger.'

But we must return to our raft, from the construction of which we have wandered.

Ulysses having planed his spars with the adze and bored them all and fitted them exactly, then (read ἄρασεν,¹ with Aristarchus) knocks them together, so that trenails and dowels fit into their respective holes and the inner surfaces of the spars meet together. This work of knocking the timbers together is well described by Apoll. Rhod. Arg. ii. 79:—

ὡς δ' ὅτε νῆϊα δοῦρα θοοῖς ἀντίξοα γόμοις
ἀνέρες ὕληουργοὶ ἐπιβλήδην ἐλάοντες
θείνωσι σφύρησι.

The raft thus constructed is compared as to size and shape to the setting out of the floor of a wide merchant vessel in design by a skilled shipwright.

The word *τορνώσεται* seems to imply the curvature of the lines of a vessel in plan rather than of those in section, which would not be so applicable to a raft. The breadth of the raft is that to which attention is chiefly called, though from the expression *τορνώσεται*, we might perhaps infer the rounding off of the ends.²

The floor completed, the next work was the raising of the deck according to the goddess's suggestion. This was a matter of some time and labour as the imperfect *πολεῖ* implies. First of all he had to set up his *σταμίνες* many in number and pretty

¹ Cf. Ap. Rhod. ii. 615 ἐδρέμιν
ἄργος γόμοισιν συνάρασεν.

² Cf. Il. xxiii. 255.

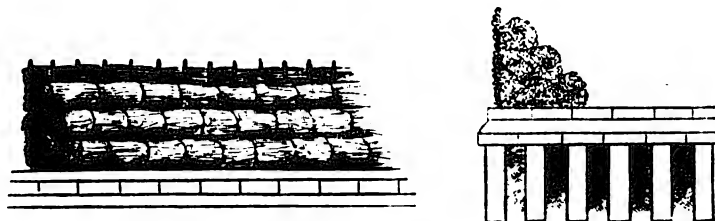
close together. The *τέρετρα* would here come into play again. The *σταμίνας*, uprights, would be let into holes bored in the floor of the raft, and the deck timbers also bored and fitted on to the tops of them. With regard to the word *σταμίς* there can be hardly any doubt as to its meaning. Hesychius gives τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς σχεδίδης ὀρθὰ ξύλα. Eustathius, οἱ παλαιοὶ, ἐρμηνεύοντες ἐπιμήκη ξύλα, τὰς σταμίνας φάσιν, ἃ στημόνων τρόπον ἔχοντα, παρατιθέμενα τοῖς ἱκρίοις ἐκάτερθεν ἐστάναι αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν.

But they must not be confused with the ribs of a ship, with which they have nothing in common, being straight and not curved. Compare *στημόνιον*, the upright sticks in wicker work round which the osier twigs were turned. Hence Aristarchus interpreted *σταμίνας* as being ὀρθὰ ξύλα οἷον στήμοσιν εὐκότα.

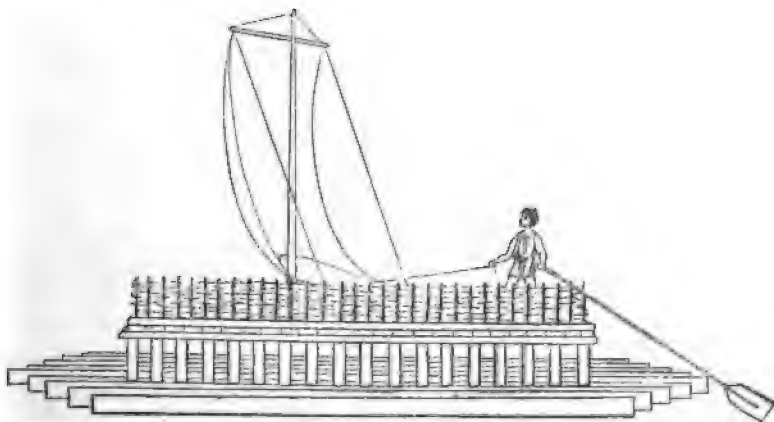
Upon these uprights the deck timbers were laid and fastened. There can be no doubt as to *ἱκρία* meaning 'deck, platform.' The attempt to translate it as 'bulwarks,' seems perverse in the face of the well-known passage of Herodotus, v. 16. Eustathius gives clearly *κατάστρωμα νεώς*. (Curtius, No. 623, gives Rt. III Lat. ic-o. The old κ appears to be preserved in *ἱκ-ρία*, scaffold, deck.) After setting up his platform or deck by fitting these cross-beams upon the uprights, he finishes off and makes fast his *ἱκρία* by long gunwales *ἐπηγκένιδες* (*ἐπηνέγκιδες* cf. *διηνεκῆς* — *ἤνεγκα* — *ἀναγκή*). These laid lengthwise on either side would prevent the timbers of the deck from jumping, and would so finish the deck as such (*τελεύτα*). The interpretation of the word given *Et. Mag.* τὸ ἐπὶ μῆκος παρατεταμένον μακρὸν ξύλον is misleading if taken to imply a planking alongside of the *σταμίνας*. The raft is open and the water would wash freely through the front and sides of the stage carrying the deck.

The carpentering is concluded with the fashioning of mast and yard and paddle for steering. There still remained the construction of a bulwark to protect the sailor from the wash of the wave. This is effected by a wattle work of osiers set up upon the *ἱκρία* as a fence all round. Not being very strong in itself it is backed by piles of brushwood, *ῥλη*, which bound up in the shape of fascines or faggots, would be light and at the same time offer a good resistance. The idea of 'ballast' for the raft seems absurd, and out of place altogether.

The hero then constructs sails and braces and halyards and sheets, and makes all fast on board. Then with levers he moves his handiwork down to the bright sea. The word *κατερπυσεν* must here be used not quite strictly, but as a general term applicable to launching. For the usual method *vide* Ap. Rhod. i. 367—389, the launching of the *Argo*. In this last



respect Homer's hero was more successful than Defoe's, who, when he had completed his 'very handsome periagua' by dint of three months' hard labour, found himself utterly unable to move it, and was obliged to leave it where it lay.



EDMOND WARRE

FOUR ARCHAIC VASES FROM RHODES.

PLATES XL.—XLIII.

THE so-called 'Chalcidian' class of vases, in spite of their great technical and historical interest, have as yet received less of the close attention which has been applied to other better known classes, chiefly on account of the lack of definite material and definite information regarding them. No one has as yet treated of them comprehensively as a class, if we except the cursory survey of Klein,¹ although a fair number have been separately published: pending therefore the maturing of the more complete study which seems desirable, the introduction of four new specimens of vase painting which we may call Chalcidian will not be without interest to archaeology; especially as the two at least which are figured on Plates XL.—XLIII. have each a further intrinsic value as contributions to the study of mythography.

These vases exhibit clearly all the characteristics which we are accustomed to consider as distinguishing the 'Chalcidian' style; as to the question, whether this definition of the class is a satisfactory one, I propose to say a few words later on; but first it will be well to give some short account of the two on Plates XL.—XLIII., and of two others which seem naturally connected with these both in the circumstances of their discovery and in the character of their decoration. All the four are from Rhodes, the first three from excavations upon a site called Siana, probably the site of the ancient Mnasyrion, the fourth from the excavations of Mr. Biliotti at Kamiros.

¹ *Euphronios*, p. 31.

*A. (Plates XL.—XLII.). Kylix. 1 (interior).—*Within a circle of tongue pattern, alternately purple and black, which is inclosed between two circles of fret pattern, a bearded warrior, Ajax, seizing *Kassandra*, whom he is about to despatch with his sword: she crouches at the feet of the *xoanon* of *Athenè*, round which she has thrown one arm; her other arm is grasped by Ajax as if to drag her away: behind the *xoanon* stands a *Siren*, which, with two *lotos* flowers, seems inserted merely to fill empty spaces in the design. In the exergue is a band of alternate *lotos* flowers and buds.

2 (*exterior, obv.*).—*Herakles*, escorted on one side by *Hermes* and *Athenè*, on the other by *Artemis* and *Ares*, is conducted into *Olympos*, which is represented by the figures of *Zeus* and *Herè* seated on richly decorated thrones. Beside the footstool of *Herè* stands *Hebè*, upon what appears to be a separate footstool or pedestal.

3 (*exterior, rev.*).—Combat of two warriors, on either side of whom stand a female figure armed with a spear and a warrior on horseback with a second led horse at his side.

In order to fill in the space beneath the handles, and to form a division between the two scenes, figures have been inserted which seem to have no relation to the subjects depicted. Thus on the right of Scene 2 is a *Sphinx*, and beneath the opposite handle a warrior crouching on one knee. These scenes are inclosed within two bands of ornament: above, a double ivy wreath, below, a band similar to that around the interior.

Height 13·4 centimeters. Diameter 25 centimeters.

*B. (Plate XLIII.). Kylix. 1 (interior).—*Within a circle of patterns similar to that of *A, 1*, a warrior charging to the right, and in the act of throwing a spear.¹

2 (*exterior, obv.*).—*Perseus*, *Hermes*, and *Athenè* fleeing to the right, pursued by two *Gorgons*; on the left *Medusa* follows her sisters, her own head replaced by that of a horse; between the two *Gorgons* stands a boy, and a similar figure is repeated on the extreme left behind *Medusa*.

¹ The spear is here thrown by means of the *μεσάγκυλον*, which, as on the *Aegina* bronze disk is looped round the index and second fingers; as in that instance also the weapon is discharged in a line

with the waist. On this question see *Daremberg, Dict. des Ant.*, article 'Amentum,' and a Gaulish instance in *Rev. Arch.* 1884, i. p. 104.

3.—A procession of five warriors who walk in single file to the left, each leading a pair of horses.

In this case the scenes have been carried on beneath the handles, so that these spaces are respectively filled by a figure out of either scene. As a result of this, the foremost warrior in 3 is unnaturally curtailed, the forepart of his horses being broken by the insertion of the handle which intervenes. Both scenes are inclosed as in the preceding case within two bands of pattern which decorate the entire circumference of the vase; the upper band is a wreath of ivy, the lower a band of alternate lotos buds and blossoms.

Height probably about 13·4 centimeters. Diameter 25 centimeters.

C. Kylix. 1 (*interior*).—Within a circle of tongue pattern, Seilenos, ithyphallic, his face turned towards the spectator, dancing to the right; beneath him a lotos flower springs from the ground.

2 (*exterior, obv.*).—A marriage (?) procession: in a *quadriga*, which moves to the left accompanied by two female figures and a male figure, stand two figures side by side; the male figure holds the reins, the female figure holds out the edge of a garment which covers her head in an attitude similar to that of Herè in *A*, 2. Beside the horses has stood another figure, most of which is broken away.

3 (*exterior, rev.*).—A combat of two warriors, both in kneeling attitude; on either side, a horseman. Above their shields an illegible inscription. Beneath each handle is a swan.

Diameter 24·3 centimeters.

D. Kylix. 1 (*interior*).—Broken away, but seems to have been unpainted.

2 and 3 (*exterior*).—Both *obv.* and *rev.* a Gorgon running to the right, exactly similar to the Gorgons in *B*, except that their black *chitons* are ornamented only with large purple rosettes, they have no snakes around the waist, and their arms are extended on either side of the body.

Beneath each handle is an inverted lotos flower surmounted by a leaf, from which a long tendril extends on either side, terminating in a small *anthemion*. These are the only ornaments upon this *kylix*.

Diameter 20·5 centimeters.

All of these vases have suffered more or less from breakages : *A* is complete with the exception of one small fragment of the lip, *B* has lost the foot, *C* part of the sides, the stem and foot, *D* one handle, the stem with part of the insertion, and the foot ; but in every case enough remains to decide clearly what the general original form and decoration must have been.

The three paintings on *A* have been separately reproduced as far as possible so as to give an idea of their actual size and colours, while Plate XLIII. gives the scenes of *B* reduced by the autotype process from coloured copies of the original. These two vases are so nearly identical in *technique* and their method of decoration, as they are in size and style, that it would seem as if they must be from the same hand. Unfortunately there seems little information to be gained from the evidence of the circumstances of their discovery ; though accurate details have in each case been chronicled by the excavators themselves. From these we learn that *B* and *C* were found together in a tomb which contained nothing else : *A* was found with a series of objects which suggest no definite inference as to its date ; these were, two *lekythi* and a large *kylix*, all with paintings of the early black-figured style, a bronze *oinochoë* of the form familiar in the early pottery of Rhodes, with two circular bosses beside the upper insertion of the handle, and a bronze *simpulum* or ladle : while *D*, though numbered by Mr. Biliotti, appears unfortunately to have no corresponding entry in his *Diary of the Excavations at Kamiros* ; at least, I have been unable to identify it with any vase therein specified.

All are of the same form of *kylix* which is figured in the Kyrenè set published in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, Taf. 12, 2a, with the handles set horizontally to the sides, and with a moulding half way down the body ;¹ *A* and *B*, the only two, unfortunately, in which the stems are preserved, have a peculiarity which I have not noticed anywhere else ;² in both these cases, at the insertion of the stem into the body of the vase, there springs from the body a delicately modelled spike, inclosed within the stem like the pistil of a flower within its calyx ; judging from the metallurgic tendency everywhere apparent, it would seem as if the potter

¹ In the case of *D* the body is plain, without moulding.

² The *kylix*, *Musée Blacas*, Pl. v.,

vi., which in other respects is closely allied to ours, has a similar smaller spike.

were intending here to imitate the rivet or nail which in a metal *kylix* would fasten the stem to the body; and, in keeping with the richness and minuteness of ornament displayed throughout on these two vases, the artist has even gone so far as to inclose these spikes within three tiny concentric circles of black colour.



A

The *technique* is in every case the same: the groundwork of the figures is black laid upon the natural red colour of the clay, and surrounded with an outline of incised lines; on this is laid a yellowish white and purple in large masses, and the whole has the details afterwards picked out with incised lines. In parts where the vases have suffered injury or have been insufficiently baked, the black has become a brownish colour, or has flaked off altogether. In accordance with a practice which obtains on many vases of this type and on the later vases of Exekias and his school, the white, where it is laid on in large masses, *e.g.* for the mane of a horse or for a cuirass or garment, is covered with incised lines; the plaited appearance of the horses' tails, the long wavy lines marking the toes, and the indication of the human knees and elbow-joints are common to most vases of the early 'Chalcidian' style. The ornaments also upon the dresses of the figures are similar to those common in vases of this class,

and such as appear for instance upon the François vase ; they also resemble those which we see in the figures upon the cuirass published in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1883, Pl. I.—III., and are executed, in the case of *A* and *B* at least, with a minuteness which would seem more appropriate to a work in metal than to a flaking surface like that of terra-cotta.

Throughout, we observe the curious mixture of tendencies which is usual in the Ionian art of the Chalcidian style ; the preference on the one hand for frieze compositions, so suitable to the more rounded forms of the vases of this style, which is modified on the other hand by a tendency to the symmetrical 'heraldic' method familiar to us from Asiatic art.

At the time when Chalcidian vase painting was to the fore, there is no doubt that Greek art was feeling throughout its whole system a powerful impetus from the new revelations disclosed by its growing intercourse with Asia Minor ; and it is natural that the vases of the time should bear the impress of this new influence. Now, previously to this period, Greek vase painters, working principally in a conventional groove of geometric compositions, had been accustomed to limit their representations to patterns and forms geometrically treated and arranged ; and hence we may account for the fact that, among the shapes dating from pre-Chalcidian times, no *kylix*, so far as I know, occurs : indeed, I am not aware that we have any painted *kylix* of the form definitely fixed which is earlier than our example *A*. It is therefore particularly interesting to observe how the artist has set to work to decorate this shape, which we may assume to have been new to him. We shall see, I think, that *A* at least shows some of the difficulties which the early painters had to master before the system of decorating a *kylix* became stereotyped ; nay, more, that these four vases, which in other respects seem to represent successive stages of development, show us successive advances towards the surmounting of these difficulties.

A *kylix* naturally offers two main fields for decoration : a circular space in the interior, and the exterior surface of the body. Now, of these, the circle of decoration in the interior may be of any size, but it will always present a space for few figures, inasmuch as its height always approximates to its breadth, and therefore we have in the interior more usually

metope groups. On the exterior, however, considering that a narrow band around the lip is the only part really visible when the vase rests on its foot, we have necessarily a surface of considerably greater breadth than height, which obviously demands a frieze treatment; and hence it is in the arrangement of the Oriental frieze-space of the exterior, as yet somewhat new to the artist, that we shall expect to find him least at home, and falling back more readily upon Oriental ideas.

Now in considering the band on the exterior of his vase, the artist meets at once with a tectonic difficulty in the position of the handles, which fall necessarily upon the space available for decoration, and which break up the free circular band which he otherwise would have; so we find that in *A* and *B*, though he recognises the natural division of his field, and places two distinct scenes upon it, yet he has not discovered how to accept these divisions as a necessity, but allows each of his scenes to overlap the handle in order that the space beneath the handles shall be decorated. In *C* we have a further development, where the division of the two scenes by the handles is more distinctly recognised, the spaces beneath them being filled with conventional figures of swans which have no connection with the scenes and are intended merely as ornaments; while in *D* we see the principle obtaining which becomes henceforward a fixed practice among *kylix* painters, where the space beneath the handles is decorated with buds of lotos, from which branch tendrils on either side, terminating in the *anthemion*, which is of the form afterwards regularly adopted by the *kylix* painters such as Hermogenes and his contemporaries.

To this principle, no doubt, we owe in *A* the insertion of a kneeling figure of a warrior, and also of the repetition of the boy beside the Medusa in *B*, neither of which demand, I think, any further explanation in reference to the scenes to which they belong. In *B*, 3, the procession of warriors has been carried on beneath the handle, and the Sphinx in *A* belongs to the merely conventional type of ornament.¹

These four vases indicate successive stages of development, not only in composition, but also in various points of *technique* and treatment: we can trace them for instance in the usage, at

¹ For this principle of repetition of motives upon vases, see *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 49.

first very frequent, but gradually diminishing, of incised lines. These lines, as I remarked just now, belong more naturally to the decoration of metal, and involve considerable difficulty when applied to terra-cotta: as they were added after one baking or even (as when laid over the white) after at least two bakings, when the vase is fairly hard, it would require the finest possible tool to secure lines which should not be jagged and uneven. When, therefore, an artist like the painter of *A*, with whom richness of ornament is a primary object, sets to work as he has done upon the mantle of the King of Gods, the labour and care which he bestows must be enormous. It is natural then that improvements in this direction should tend towards the economy of labour, and so we find a diminishing proportion of incised lines in our four examples. The earliest Chalcidian vases, as well as some of the earlier vases of probably Korinthian fabric, have this peculiarity, that the outlines of the human face, and often that of the entire figure also, are incised: in *A* and *B*, where the richness of the incised inner markings is specially noticeable, this characteristic is universally prevalent; in *C* the outer incised outline is already disappearing, and is in fact only adopted for the beard and chin; while in *D* it scarcely occurs at all.

Again, whereas in the first two of our *kylikes* we have the purple and white laid on in large masses, and these colours themselves often covered with incised lines, distributed impartially with the black, in the second and later pair these colours are distinctly subordinated to the black, and, where used, they are generally inserted rather with a view to save the trouble of incising; for instance, in the dresses in *C*, and more especially in the case of the Gorgons in *D*, instead of the minute elaborate incised patterns of the preceding examples, we have these colours only laid on in small plain masses, or else a sprinkling of large painted rosettes upon the black—a principle which henceforth marks the so-called ‘Chalcidian’ style.

All the earliest styles of vase-painting on which subjects occur, start with the principle of *horror vacui*, and advance no doubt from this towards the ideal of a free figure in a free field; now in *A* it is obvious that the artist is still thoroughly imbued with the necessity of filling every available space with ornament, so that in 1 we have a Siren inserted, in 2 and 3, as well as

in *B*, we have the spare field filled with lotos tendrils and buds;¹ in *C* a much smaller number of figures serve to occupy the design; while in *D* the entire band is left empty except for the space occupied by the one Gorgon on either side.

Lastly, as regards the portion of the exterior which is not occupied by the band of the design: whereas in *A* and *B* this space from the frieze to the stem of the vase is left red and decorated with an elaborate system of patterns, in the remaining vases the same space is merely covered with black glaze.

If then I am justified in my assumption that these four vases represent successive stages of one type of art, we can plainly see in them two main tendencies, firstly the elimination of extraneous and unnecessary ornament, and secondly the growing importance of the figures, and therefore of the *action* of the figures, as the only decoration for the vase.

Turning now to the treatment of the individual scenes on the exterior of our vases, we cannot but see how distinctly the frieze treatment proper, as we get it here, conduces to working in conventional 'heraldic' grooves; the artist in *A* and *B* has a long space to fill and appears at a loss for figures with which to fill it: where in similar cases a definite myth is represented, the usual practice is to add impartially male and female figures on either side of the central group until the space is filled; and it may be that to this necessity we owe originally the thrice repeated Gorgon, and perhaps the introduction in *A*, 2, of the unusually large number of gods: while, for the reverse compositions, the artist in the one case falls back on the ordinary duel theme which we find so frequently upon Korinthian *aryballi*, and in the other is content merely to repeat five times the same group of a warrior and his horses. At a later period the same *horror vacui* is not felt and so we get a treatment which, if it loses in 'Epic' fulness of detail, gains considerably in freedom of arrangement.

If the evidence thus obtained from our special instances admits of a more general application, we shall find, I think, that in all the vases of this class a similar development may be traced.

¹ Cf. the same principle in the painted sarcophagus from Clazomenae, published in the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. iv. p. 5, figs. 5, 6. It is curious that,

whereas in *A* the lotos comes straight out from the border, in *B* every stalk has the upper extremity finished off with a spiral.

In that case a conjecture may be allowed which, if correct, would dispose of a difficulty which meets us in the decoration of these early paintings. In several cases, especially among the *kylikes* of this *metallurgic* style, we have the outer band ornamented with colossal eyes, two on either side of the vase. Now we have seen that the artists were frequently at a loss to provide for the decoration of the long frieze-spaces here presented, and hence it would seem they were led in one of two directions; either, as in *D*, to the insertion of a single figure or group of figures in the centre of the band, the remainder being left empty; or, to the construction of a pseudo-tectonic division of the field by the insertion of these eyes, which with the handles split up the band into spaces suitable for small metope groups. Thus in the large *kylix*, *Mon. Ined.* ix. 11, the artist has by this device saved himself the labour of constructing a second enormous frieze, and has instead four spaces admirably adapted for small groups. Why the particular ornament of eyes should be chosen does not seem clear; the cups on which they occur show traces of imitation from metal; now in a metal cup the handles would as a rule be decorated at their insertion with a moulded leaf, the outline of which is exactly that of an eye; bearing in mind that on the painted vases the eyes are generally close to the handles, it is possible that this similarity may have suggested the device adopted by the vase painter.

The most usual form, so far as we know, adopted by the painters of Chalcidian vases is that of the *amphora*, of which only one side can be seen by the spectator at a time, and where therefore one of the two designs is more important, the other usually a mere conventional scene. With this fact in view, it is curious to observe that whereas in later painted *kylikes* no distinction is generally made in the relative importance of the two sides; in the case of *A*, *B*, and *C*, on the other hand, only one side has a definite interest, the reverse sides in all three cases showing groups which belong to the stock 'properties' of the vase painters' repertory. No less a mark of the style is, as has been always remarked, the strong predilection for exhibiting figures in full face, a feat which a later and wiser generation for the most part eschewed, whereas we find, in the vases before us, no less than ten examples of the full face, inclusive of the Gorgoneion. We have, moreover, with

the Gorgons in *B* the usual type of wings peculiar to the vases of this time, wherein each wing seems to consist of two portions: above, the recurved pinion often attached in Eastern art to the figures of deities and monsters such as Sphinxes, and below it, the ordinary birds' wing which remains constant henceforward in Greek art: these two together form one wing, and it may well be that they would themselves have given rise, among those unaccustomed to the form, to the idea of a *Γηρνούης τετράπτελος*.

There are two peculiarities in the dresses of the figures on our vases which seem worthy of notice; the first is the unusual treatment of the hem of the talaric *chiton* which is in several cases here represented as longer behind the feet, where it hangs nearly to the ground: this is specially remarkable in the case of the seated figure of Herè, whose dress, though clinging around the legs, hangs down at the back of the footstool; a similar treatment is observable in the reliefs of the Harpy Tomb, where the dresses of the seated figures are brought back behind the footstool exactly in the same way: it may be that there is in this actually some foundation in fact,—a recollection perhaps of the Ionic ladies 'ἐλκεχίτωνες,'¹—or that in both cases we have merely mannerisms of the artists. The other peculiarity occurs in the costume of the warriors upon our vases: the ordinary metal cuirass does not occur at all, and the only covering generally for the body is the ordinary short *chiton*: in some cases, however (e.g. Ares in *A*, 2, and the warrior in *B*, 1) the skin of an animal is knotted over the *chiton*, the paws hanging down, and though I do not know of any passage in literature where such a custom is represented, it would appear that this was not, as has been supposed, a characteristic only of types connected with rural ideas,² but frequently a real addition to the costume of war.

The term 'Chalcidian' has been adopted as including a class of vases which falls in point of time at the earliest beginning of the black-figured style proper; following close upon that earlier

¹ *Il.* xiii. 685; cf. Helbig, *Homerische Epos*, p. 132.

² Cf. Gerhard, *Aus. Vas.* i, Taf. xvi. and see *ibid.* p. 61. It is frequently worn by ordinary warriors, e.g. *Cata-*

logue of Vases in British Museum, 421; sometimes, specially on Chalcidian vases, under a cuirass, e.g. *ibid.* 566, 566.

art of Corinth, where we find paintings upon a **drab** ground, and partly contemporary with it, they **precede**, and no doubt influence not a little, the later **Korinthian** paintings upon a red ground.

So much is clear, **but** our first problem in dealing with this class of **so-called** Chalcidian vases is to determine **what** their relation is to the vases of other fabrics which we **may** presume to have been contemporary, and above all **what** is their relation to the fabric of Athens. In the products of that early seat of Ceramic art, as also in the Chalcidian fabric, the texture of the clay is exceedingly light and fine, the colour is the red more or less bright with which we are familiar as the result of the admixture of some metallic oxide, and the designs are laid on in a fine black glaze with incised lines and accessories, employed more or less freely, in purple and white.

When we examine the vases of the earlier Korinthian fabric, those of Kyrenè, and the series of *pinakes* and *oinochoai* from Rhodes, whatever fabric they may represent, we find that they are usually made of a light drab clay, whereas at Athens from a very early period, the potter certainly employed red clay; we have in fact a regular series of vases which may for the most part be with certainty referred to Athens, and of which the clay is always red or reddish brown. These early vases exhibit successive stages of Keramography, which precede the more matured style which we call black-figured.

Thus, to take examples of the fabric of Athens; in the Burgon *lebes* in the British Museum,¹ we see an art almost wholly under the influence of Oriental tradition. On the bowl from Aegina (*Arch. Zeit.* 1882, *Taf.* 9, 10) the design is treated in a style still markedly geometric, but in which the influence of Oriental cut may be clearly traced; and in the Burgon Panathenaic vase and the François vase at Florence, we have representatives of later stages of Keramography—still antecedent to the regular black-figured style. Assuming the examples here cited to be of Attic fabric, we are justified in asserting that a school of Keramography with motives derived from Oriental art was developed at Athens very early. Are we to range these Athenian vases under the general class Chalcidian, or are we to regard them as the product of an independent school of Fictile Art?

¹ *Guide to First Vase Room*, p. 21, No. 3.

Here I must refer to the arguments of Klein in his *Euphronios*, in regard to this alleged Chalcidian class. He gives in that work (p. 31), a list of vases which, partly on palaeographical grounds, partly from the peculiar characteristics of their style, he claims as representatives of this class. First, as to the epigraphical evidence. Kirchhoff (*Geschichte d. Gr. Alph.* 2nd edition, p. 110), attributes these vases to the colonies of Southern Italy, in which the alphabet was certainly in use, which we find in the inscriptions of the vases now under consideration. But in his third edition, p. 104, he admits that the same alphabet may be recognised, at Chalcis, in Euboea. He observes in the rich ornaments of these vases a strongly marked Ionic character, and sees the same *naïveté* and realistic tendency, the same life and freedom of movement which characterises the designs of the early coins of Chalcis and its colonies. He further points out that the important place which this city occupies in early history, and its widespread influence through its numerous colonies, are grounds for supposing that it was from Chalcis that the Etruscans derived not only their alphabet, but also their early art, where again we may trace the influence of Asiatic tradition.

A further characteristic of the so-called Chalcidian vases is to be noted in the reminiscences of metallurgic art which are to be found in the design and execution of their paintings. Results which in metal were attained by technical processes appropriate to that material are feebly and inadequately rendered in clay. Again, we see in the design a predilection for frieze compositions and certain quaint conventionalities which we may call heraldic. The ornaments, too, are often of a character foreign to the spirit of later Greek art.

We may at once admit that all these peculiar features in the design and treatment are such as would naturally result from the influence of an Asiatic school, but it does not follow, as Klein contends, that they are characteristics found exclusively in the so-called Chalcidian vases.

In the François vase, which though found in Northern Italy may be classed as a product of the Attic school, we have the same Epic *naïveté* and fulness of detail, the same lively action, the same reminiscences of a metallurgic style, and of heraldic conventionalities as we have already noted, and later on in the vases of Nikosthenes we can clearly trace the same characteristics

Moreover, if the four *kylikes* here published, which according to Klein's reasoning should be Chalcidian, are closely studied, it will be seen that when compared with the *kylikes* from Kyrenè, collected by Puchstein (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 215), they present marked similarities in the shape and also in the treatment of such details as the eye, the mane and tail of the horses and in the system of ornamenting the exergue. As the so-called Chalcidian vases enumerated by Klein are none of them *kylikes* and nearly all *amphorae*, they do not so easily admit of comparison with the four vases from Rhodes now under consideration, as the peculiarities of treatment in the design appropriate to one shape of vase were not so suitable to another shape, and the four Rhodian vases, we must remember, are all *kylikes*.

Reviewing Klein's argument once more, the only evidence which seems to me of decided weight is that of the epigraphy, and even this, strong as it is, can hardly be accepted as final, when we remember the strange anomalies which have sometimes found their way into the writings on vases, and the comparative scarcity of vases so inscribed. Unless, therefore, we can persuade ourselves that the influence of Chalcidian Fictile Art was so strong and pervading, as to infuse its characteristics into the contemporary Athenian and Kyrenian schools of Keramography, we can only at present affirm thus much: that before the general adoption of the black-figured style, there existed in various places centres of Fictile Art which all showed certain common features, characteristic of their age. The most marked of these features are the metallurgic reminiscences and traditions in their forms, ornaments and technical treatment, the survival of Oriental types and motives, and a peculiar *naïveté* in the treatment of the subjects depicted.

The intimate connection between the vases of Nikosthenes and the metallurgic art of Phoenicia has been already remarked (*Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 37); and when we consider the peculiarities of the 'Chalcidian' style as represented on our *kylikes*, we shall find in them quite as striking an analogy to the Phoenician metal bowls and the early painted vases of Cyprus. In Perrot, *Hist. de l'Art*, iii. Fig. 482, we see the same gigantic lotos blooms, and in Fig. 506, the same form of throne and an ivy leaf pattern such as occur on the vases before us. While in the ornamentation of the vase on Fig. 507, we have the prototypes

of the Greek lotos pattern, the 'Chalcidian rosettes,' and the elaborate decorations of the drapery, in which the early traditions of the Geometric style for a long time survived.

The three representations of myths which are figured on our vases are so important in the evidence which they offer of the early artistic history of these myths that they will each no doubt in time find their proper share of attention in comprehensive studies of the individual myths which they illustrate. Meanwhile I should wish to offer a few remarks which have occurred to me by the way.

A, 1.—The dragging of *Kassandra* from the shrine of *Athenè*, where she had taken refuge, by *Ajax Oileus*. The mythography of this, one of the most favourite scenes from the *Iliupersis*, has been collected by Klein in an article in the *Annali dell' Inst.* 1877, p. 246. Of the great number of instances of this scene which he has there collected,¹ seventeen occur on vases of the black-figured style, but, as far as one can judge, none is so early in point of date as the composition on our vase. From a comparison of these it would appear that the representations are naturally divisible into two main classes, viz. those in which *Kassandra* is shown as in our vase, already crouching at the feet of the statue, and those where she flies from her pursuer to the shrine. The composition most usually chosen upon these black-figured vases is the former of these, and it is probably the same as was seen by Pausanias upon the chest of *Kypselos* (Paus. v. 19, 5), *Κασσάνδραν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος Αἴας τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔλκων*: but whereas there, as on the later vases, *Ajax* is actually dragging away his victim, in the present case, and in similar scenes clearly inspired by one and the same original type, *Ajax* appears not so much dragging her away as in the act of killing her at the shrine. It may be that Pausanias mistook the action which he saw on the work of art which he describes, but at any rate it would seem that the *killing* motive must have been the earlier. It is curious that our artist has adopted the unusual device of obscuring the head of *Kassandra* behind the figure of *Athenè*; later painters, in striving to bring

¹ To his list an important addition must be made in the fictile *lekkythos* with a group in relief lately purchased by the British Museum at the Castel-

lanisale at Rome (*Sale Catalogue*, No. 140), and which is almost identical with the Borghese relief of the same subject.

her whole body into view, have often been obliged to represent her as of diminutive size, in order to crowd the figure into the limited space beneath the shield of the goddess. In keeping, probably, with the original type from which this is copied, *Kassandra* is represented as completely nude, in spite of the obvious preference of the artist for elaborately draped figures, and which leads him without any apparent reason to decorate her thigh with an incised spiral.¹ The upper garment of *Ajax* is, contrary to all precedent,² coloured white and decorated with elaborate incised patterns; we cannot help being reminded of the linen *thorax* dedicated by *Amasis*, and of the epithet *λευθώραξ* specially applied to the Lokrian *Ajax* in the Catalogue of the Ships; at any rate the peculiar cut of this garment about the neck would seem to distinguish it from an ordinary *chiton*, and would not be unsuitable to the presumptive form of a cuirass of linen; especially as the remains probably of such a garment have actually been found in a tomb at Corneto (*Mon. dell' Inst.* x. x^b. 3).

A, 2.—*Herakles* introduced into *Olympos*. The delightful *naïveté* and freshness of this group look almost as though they must have been inspired by *Homer* himself. The scene might perfectly represent the court of any one of the poet's kings, into whose presence, seated beside his consort, an embassy is

¹ The spiral, a mere ornament here, is I think suggested by the similar one on the warrior's thigh in *B*, 1, where it probably has an origin in fact; it represents a protection for the thigh, most likely of metal, corresponding to the greave which it naturally would resemble in form. It is visible on numerous vases of this style (e.g. *Mus. Greg.* ii. liii.), and is nearly always decorated with a spiral pattern; on a vase of a private collection from Rhodes it is worn by an Amazon, and coloured black, like her greave, to distinguish it from the white colour of her flesh. It may be the *παρὰμπίδιον* of *Xen. Anab.* i. 8, 6.

² Cf. the vases of *Exekias* and his style, and Mr. Leaf's remarks on this subject, *Hellenic Journal*, vol. iv p. 83. See also *Helbig, Homerische Epos*, p.

203. Plate xl. does not clearly show, what is evident upon the vase, that this cuirass is of a form which is rarely found upon black figured vases, but which is the usual form upon those of the later style. It consists of a broad belt around the body, to which two broad shoulder-pieces are attached behind; these are brought over the shoulders and fastened to the belt in front. As in many red-figured vases, these two portions are here distinguished, the belt being decorated, while the shoulder-pieces are left plain. It is obvious that a cuirass so constructed would, as in the case upon *A*, 1, leave a portion of the chest bare. For other instances upon black figured vases, besides those of *Exekias*, see *Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. xlviii., and *El. Cer.* i. Pl. viii.

being introduced by the court herald. It is an excellent example of the Chalcidian manner at its best, the work of artists who are beginning to feel their way out of the stiff conventionality of Oriental tradition: the scene is instinct with the life which breathes throughout every line of the Greek Epics.

The crowning episode in the hero's career is put before us here with a clearness which there is no mistaking. Having finished the labours brought upon him by the wrath of Herè, he is at length permitted to dwell with the gods in Olympos—

μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην
παῖδα Διὸς μέγαλοιο καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοσπεδίου.

Odyssey, xi. 602.

This passage has been distrusted by the Scholiasts on the ground that the apotheosis of Homer and his marriage with Hebe—two episodes always closely allied—do not properly belong to the Homeric era, but to the *mythologema* of later times. In any case the myth was in existence as early as Sappho; and though we have at present no representation of it in art earlier than that upon our vase, we have the description of a similar scene among the reliefs upon the throne of Apollo by Bathykles at Amyklæ (*Paus.* iii. 18, 11), and also upon the altar there (*ibid.* iii. 19, 5); and so far I can see no reason for sharing the doubts of the commentators as to the authenticity of the Homeric passage.

The type of this scene which obtains most generally in later art is somewhat different to ours: it shows, as a rule, Herakles in a triumphal *quadriga*, escorted by Athenè or Nikè as charioteer; it is quite possible that this other type may be of a later origin, no example of it, so far as I know, dating from before the later black-figured style.

At any rate it seems probable that the Bathykles type and that on our vase were both inspired by some pre-existing type, which, from the apparent similarity between these two, must have been already definitely fixed, and may quite possibly have dated as far back as the Epic cycle.

Herakles, then, is here ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων . . . ἀγόμενος ἐς οὐρανόν. The mysteries of 'snow-capt Olympos'

are revealed to us, and we see the Cloud-Compeller himself seated in state—

ἔζετο δ' ἐν κλισμῷ, ὑπὸ δὲ θρήνυς ποσσὶν ἦεν,¹

his sandaled feet resting on a footstool; in his left hand the thunderbolt—a very different form to the elaborate winged type of later art—his ambrosial locks falling low upon his shoulders, and robed in a gorgeous dress not unworthy of the king of gods. The procession of deities who approach him have all their special distinguishing attributes: Hermes, his *kerykeion*, *chlamys*, *petasos*, and a curious type of *endromides* with double wings, before and behind; Athenè, her snake-fringed *aegis* and helmet, and buckler with the Gorgon face; Artemis, in either hand a bow and arrows, *ιοχέαυρα*; and Ares wears the ordinary costume of a warrior, with a skin knotted over the short *chiton*, and a cross-belt which has probably been intended to support a scabbard which is not shown; curiously enough, the artist, as if the Perseus of *B* were in his mind, has assigned to Ares the *talaria* and the wallet, *kibisis*, hanging from a second cross-belt, which certainly do not seem to belong naturally to the god of war. Like him, Herakles is empty-handed, as if the artist, hesitating between the earlier and later types, had discarded the bow, but has not yet assigned to him the club; at his back, however, his quiver still is hanging, and the lion-skin is sufficient to mark his individuality. All these figures have the right hand uplifted, as if in supplication to Zeus.

All except Artemis have naturally their place in the scene: Athenè and Hermes as the faithful companions of the hero's labours, Ares as the child of Zeus and Herè. Why Artemis should be specially chosen is not clear, except that as a specially Eastern deity and as one constantly figuring upon the Oriental class of vases, she would naturally be at hand with an artist of such strongly Asiatic sympathies as ours. If we may as early as this connect her with Eileithuia,² she would have a closer connection still as the sister of Ares and daughter of Zeus and Herè; for in Hesiod, *Theog.* 922, the children of the king and queen of gods were "Ἡβην καὶ Ἀρηὰ καὶ Εἰλεΐθυϊαν; and in that case we

¹ *Odyssey*, iv. 136.

² May not this be the reason why we have not here the ordinary archaic type

as on the chest of Kypselos, with *paradalis* and lion in either hand?

have the triad complete, for behind Zeus sits λευκώλενος "Hρη, and on a pedestal at her side stands καλλίσφυρος "Ηβη. The close connection between these two goddesses is a tradition that was preserved in all stages of Greek art. In Argos, Pausanias tells us, stood the statue of Hebe beside the Hera of Polykleitos; in Mantinea, beside the throned Hera of Praxiteles, stood Hebe and Athenè. And the same group occurs on the frieze of the Parthenon and numerous vase pictures.¹ It seems peculiarly appropriate to this scene that she should specially supplicate her mother, for when the wrath of Hera was turned away it was Hebe whom her mother gave as the bride of the newly admitted God.

The figure of Herè is what we are familiar with as the early type of the goddess, such as we have it on the François vase and on the metope of Selinus. Suggested perhaps, originally, by the nuptial group of the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Zeus and Herè, where the pair ride side by side in the *quadriga*, and where the gesture of the hand raising the mantle is specially useful as bringing more of the figure in the background into view, this type became adopted as the usual mode of representing a bride in Greek art—and the same gesture was still employed, as here, where the necessity for it was no longer apparent.²

In the thrones of Zeus and Herè our artist has allowed his love of ornament full scope; it is somewhat difficult to make out what is exactly their form, because the seat is covered with richly embroidered hangings:—

ἔν τε θρόνοις εὐποιήτοισι τάπητας
βάλλετε πορφυρέους..

(*Odyssey*, xx. 150).

It would seem, however, that there is no hand-rail, as occurs for instance on the Harpy Tomb, but a horizontal rail below the seat, and that the uprights are decorated, in the space between these two horizontal pieces, with spirals; in place of the hand-rail, however, and balancing, as it were, the high back, is a lotos bloom which springs upwards from the front legs at their insertion into the seat; and probably with a view to fill the field,

¹ See Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* and cf. the cup of Sosias, Gerhard, *Trinksch.* vi.—vii.

² This bridal character of Herè has been noted by Murray, *Greek Sculpture*, i. p. 265.

the artist has exaggerated the size of these, giving them the same proportions as those which already decorate the field, near the handles. The back of the chair of Zeus is in the form of a snake, similar to those upon the *aegis* of Athenè; a swan's head and neck in this connection are usually employed, and I know of no other instance exactly similar: but perhaps we may compare the snakes modelled on early Dipylon and Cyprus vases, and the snake which climbs the handle of a Chalcidian *oinochoë*, recently purchased by the British Museum, and which has two heads which lie on either side along the lip of the vase.¹

Puchstein (*loc. cit.*) remarks upon the Eastern origin of most scenes with seated figures in Greek art, and the marked Egyptian character of the Arkesilaos vase; and his remarks would specially apply to this scene, in which the procession of striding deities with their stiff attitudes, the seated figures and the angular arms, the clinging dress and circular earrings of the female figures, all remind one of an Egyptian frieze. But though the artist uses still an Oriental model for certain details of treatment, the spirit of his work is essentially Greek.

B, 2.—The myth of Perseus and Medusa is of such frequent occurrence in Greek art that it hardly seems to require any special comment here. There are, however, two points which have a special interest, the introduction of the horse-headed Medusa and the two naked boys. The entire scene is exactly that described by Hesiod in the *Scut. Her.* l. 216, &c., with these exceptions:

Medusa, deprived by Perseus of her head, still follows her sisters in their pursuit of the hero; it is curious that, though in other respects the passage of Hesiod just quoted exactly coincides with our scene, yet he makes no mention there of Pegasos and Chrysaor; and yet the myth is not unknown to him, as it appears to be to Homer; for in the *Theog.* 280, he says:

τῆς (M) δ' ὅτε δὴ Περσεὺς κεφαλὴν ἀπεδειροτόμησεν
ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ τε μέγας καὶ Πήγασος ἵππος.

The connection of the horse with Medusa, though of rare occurrence, is variously indicated at different periods in Greek

¹ See Helbig, *loc. cit.* pp. 282, 283, *d. deutsch. Inst.* vol. 2, pl. xx.—xxv. and cf. the Spartan reliefs in *Mittheil.* p. 461.

art; in a vase of black ware in the British Museum,¹ ornamented with a frieze impressed in intaglio, we have the latest and most complete development of this myth, where a winged horse flies upward from the decapitated body of the Gorgon: in the Selinus metope she holds a horse in her arms; considering the story of Pausanias of the horse-headed Demeter at Phigalia (viii. 42, 1), and the prevalence in earliest Greek art of semi-human forms, among which the head of a horse is a favourite element,² it seems not improbable that we have here an example of the earliest type in which the myth assumed a definite artistic shape.

How Chrysaor comes in, it is difficult to say: the figure as here given is one which is sometimes to be found among the bands of animals upon Oriental vases, where it is, like the other animals, no more than a mere ornament; we may perhaps compare the similar conventional employment of human figures in the *Odyssey*, vii. 100—

χρύσειοι δ' ἄρα κούροι . . . ἕστασαν,—

and from this point of view, the repetition of the same figure in our scene between the two sisters of Medusa does not appear wholly unreasonable.³

The entire scene, even down to the horse-headed Medusa, is almost identically reproduced on a *kylix* in Gerhard, *Trinksch.* ii.-iii.; the figures of Athenè and the two boys are there wanting, but the field is in consequence less crowded; for this and other reasons it seems later than our vase, though the form, system, and *technique* are identical; the figures of the Gorgons⁴ exactly resemble those upon our vase *D*, a fact which is important because Gerhard's *kylix* is closely allied to the style of Nikosthenes, to whose period *D* might very well be attributed.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ *Mon. dell' Inst.* 1855, ii. p. 17.

² See Milchhöfer, *Anfänge der Kunst*, p. 62.

³ The same principle of repeating a figure from a composition, in order to fill an empty space, is shown in the Geryon scene on the *pyxis*, *ante*, and also in the vase in Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vas.* p. 106, where the vulture

which attacks Prometheus is thrice represented in the same scene.

⁴ In neither of these cases have they snakes around the waist. Those in *B*, however, correspond exactly in this respect with the description of Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 233—

ἐπὶ δὲ ζώνῃσι δράκοντες
δοῖδ' ἀπ' ἡμπερὺντ' ἐκυκρῶντ' ἀκάρηνα.

SEPULCHRAL CUSTOMS IN ANCIENT PHRYGIA.

THE monument represented on the accompanying plate (No. XLIV.), is situated near the village of Liyen,¹ and is familiar to the natives of the surrounding district under the name Arslan Kaya, Lion Rock. It is about seven miles west-north-west of the cluster of monuments at Ayazeen,² described in this Journal, 1882, p. 1 ff, and several less important archaic tombs exist at Bei Keui and other places between Liyen and Ayazeen, so that this whole series may be grouped together and distinguished from the other series which surrounds the tomb of Midas. It is probable that the two groups belong to two distinct Phrygian cities of great antiquity—two of those cities whose former existence was known to Strabo (p. 567), but which had ceased to exist long before his time. It will be convenient, in want of the ancient names, to distinguish these two ancient cities by reference to the Roman towns which stood near them—Meros at Kumbet, near the Midas-tomb, and Metropolis south of Ayazeen.

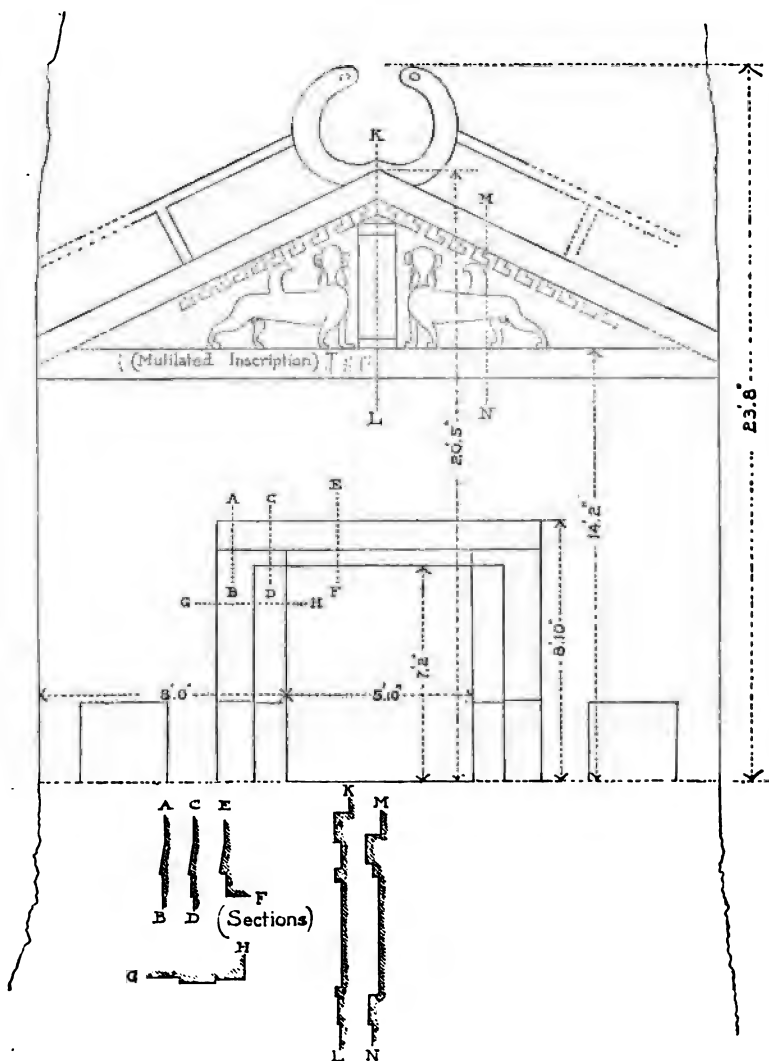
Arslan Kaya is a tall conical rock, of sugar-loaf shape, standing quite isolated on a steep grassy slope.³ The mass of the rock, higher than ten feet from the ground, is a fine soft conglomerate, the same in which the majority of the Phrygian tombs are carved. Between ten and five feet above the ground

¹ Liyen is not marked on Kiepert's map, where the whole district in which the Phrygian monuments are situated is almost a blank. It is a village on the road from Afium Kara Hissar to Kutayah, seven hours from the former, eleven hours from the latter, and about two hours south-east of Doghan Arslan

which is indicated on Kiepert's map.

² The total height is probably about fifty to sixty feet; but it is difficult to judge. The drawings on Pl. XLIV. have unfortunately been made too tall. My sketches on the spot were restricted to the sculptured part of the rock.

is a layer of sandstone, horizontally stratified. Below this again is a soft conglomerate. The monument is carved entirely in the upper conglomerate.



The rock has been cut on three sides, so as to present three smooth vertical faces at right angles to each other, looking

respectively east, south, and west. The southern or central face is the most important. It is similar in style to the class of monuments of which the Midas-tomb is the type. A flat rectangular surface, ornamented in a geometrical pattern, and having a doorway in the lower part, is surmounted by a pediment, with a quaint acroterion over the apex. The geometrical pattern has suffered so much from the weather that it cannot now be properly understood: but an occasional fragment shows that it was an arrangement of squares or mæanders and crosses, such as is usual in these monuments.¹ The whole is carved in exceedingly low relief. On the band that divides the pediment from the rectangular surface, an inscription in the tall narrow Phrygian characters was engraved: but it is not decipherable at the distance from which a spectator who has no ladder must contemplate it.²

The pediment is not plain, as in the other monuments of this type, but is sculptured in relief, like the pediment of the tomb at Kumbet, engraved by M. Perrot, *Explor. Archéologique en Galatie*, &c., pl. vii.

Two sphinxes of very archaic character stand in the two angles, turned towards each other, but separated by the supporting column which always occupies the middle of these pediments. Their faces are directed outwards, the ears are very large, but the features are now hopelessly obliterated.³ A long curl hangs down in archaic style over the shoulder of each. On the day which I spent drawing the monument I did not observe that the sex was indicated; but on the following morning, when we returned to compare each detail of the drawings with the original, it appeared to me, and I think also to Mr. Sterrett, that the left-hand sphinx was characterised as male. Such a detail was visible only in a favourable light, and in the worn state of the surface is very uncertain.

A band of mæander pattern runs along the two sloping sides of the pediment.

¹ Arslan Kaya has suffered more from the weather than any other of the great monuments in Phrygia: the others are protected by projecting parts of the rock overhead.

² On a later visit I observed that the

inscription is hopelessly obliterated.

³ The sphinx on the right is much more dilapidated than that on the left. It seemed better in drawing to restore it exactly on the analogy of its better-preserved neighbour.

The acroterion is very remarkable: it is distinctly intended to represent two serpents' heads.

The doorway in the lower part of monuments of this class has in the examples hitherto met with been shut. In the present case however the two valves of the door are thrown wide open, and merely represented in relief against the sides of the little chamber into which the door gives admittance. On each wing of the door there is a horizontal row of little round knobs near the top, showing that it represents a wooden door studded with iron nails. On the right wing is a defaced ornament which may be a lock or possibly a knocker.

The form of the doorway should be compared with those of the Midas-tomb and of the monument at Delikli Tash. M. Perrot¹ has already observed the peculiar form of the lintel in these cases. I know no analogy to the curious projecting members in the lower part of the door, nor to the faint lines above the pediment.

I have already suggested (*Journal*, 1882, p. 27), that the outer face of the monuments of this class is intended to imitate the oriental carpets which were sometimes in Greek temples hung in front of the holy figure of the temple-deity to conceal it from profane eyes: thus, in the temple of Cora at Mantinea, the priestess ἐσκέπασεν τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια, hanging in front of them an oriental carpet. 'The dead man too is a god, and his sanctuary is hidden from view behind the carpet of rock.'

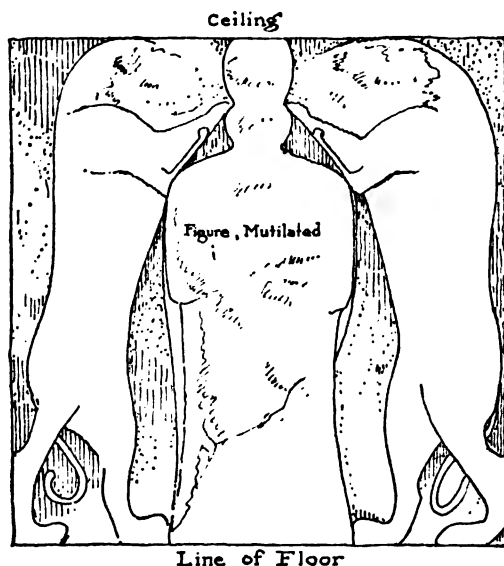
The present monument appears to me to justify completely the words which I used two years ago. Through the open door we penetrate behind the veil into the sanctuary. Carved in relief on the back of the little chamber, we see the two rampant lionesses,² which are the favourite device in Phrygian monuments. But in this case they do not rest their paws against a column: they lay them on the shoulders of the goddess herself, and place their heads lovingly against hers: εὐφρων καλὰ δρόσοισι λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεόντων. This position constitutes a new variety of the well-known hieratic *schema* called the 'Persian Artemis.'

The lionesses are represented in profile, and only one of the

¹ Compare his account of Delikli Tash and his note on the Midas-tomb.

² The sex is doubtful, owing to mutilation of the surface.

forepaws is visible. There is a curious marking on the fore-leg, perhaps intended to indicate muscles. Both hind legs and the long curling tail are visible. The image of Cybele was carved in very high relief on the back of the chamber. It was similar



in style to those archaic terra-cotta idols, the upper part of which imitates the human figure, while the lower part is a mere cylinder growing wider towards the bottom, so as to afford a broad and secure basis for the idol to stand. This figure was represented in relief fully a foot high; but the soft conglomerate was unsuited for a relief standing out so boldly, and the front part has fallen off, leaving an uneven surface. On the other hand the two lionesses are in very low relief and are therefore in excellent preservation except the heads, in which the relief is rather higher, and the surface of the abdomen.

A similar idol, much ruder and smaller than this one, stands in a little niche about three feet high, near the Lion-tombs.

The figure of Cybele occupied the whole height of the wall, *i.e.* seven feet two inches. The arms were pressed against the

sides, the elbows were bent and the hands placed in front of the body, the right hand over the bosom, the left hand over the middle;¹ the attitude is familiar from Oriental idols and Greek statues of Aphrodite. On her head she wore a *polos*, the outline of which on the wall is barrel-shaped. A long veil or garment seems to hang on both sides of the body. This rude image is the Mother-Goddess, who is indicated by her attitude as the producer and nourisher of the life of earth. We know her name in this old Phrygian home of hers. Only a few miles away, close to the other lion monuments, is an altar cut in the rock, and above it is an inscription written *boustrophedon* in Phrygian characters. The middle of the inscription has been broken away, but the beginning fortunately remains—*Matar Kubile*.

Matar Kubile was the name by which the Phrygians invoked the goddess. It is interesting that the nearest city of the Roman time to these old monuments was named Conni Metropolis; in the Byzantine time the heathen name of 'Meter' was changed to that of the Christian saint Demetrius, and the city is called in lists of bishoprics Conni Demetrioupolis. This observation gives the long-sought site of the northern Metropolis of Phrygia, which has been placed in many different situations. It stood on the Roman road from Nacoleia to Eucarpia, near the modern village Beuyeuk Tchorgia.²

But though Conni was nearer than any other city to the Lion-tombs, it is probable that they were in the territory of the important city of Prymnessos.³ Midas appears on coins of Prymnessos, which may be taken as a proof that these old monuments were in the Roman time associated with the ancient kings of Phrygia.

The face of the monument which looks to the east is entirely occupied by a large rampant lion. He stands quite upright, and

¹ This detail can be gathered from the difference of angle at the two elbows, though the bad preservation of the image makes it difficult to be certain.

² I formerly attempted to identify Metropolis with Angustopolis, a site nine miles S.E. of Tchorgia: I wish here to correct the error. See *Mittheilungen Instit. Ath.* 1882, p. 187.

³ Conni seems to have been an insignificant town under the empire; no coins are known, unless some ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ belong to it. Prymnessos was at Seulun, three miles S.E. of Afium Kara Hissar. It was certainly a city of importance, and perhaps exercised some authority over the neighbouring Metropolis.

places his fore-paws on the angle of the pediment on the southern side. The lines of the figure, like those of the two lionesses in the shrine, are exceedingly fine and spirited. The sex is certain, whereas that of the animals in the shrine remains uncertain. Analogy points to the opinion that the latter are female: this is the case with the pair of animals on the Lion-tomb near Ayazeen and with those over the Lion-gate at Mycenae. In later monuments the case is different: at Kumbet (see Perrot, Pl. vii.) and at Ayazeen (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, Pl. XXVI., XXVII.) the pair consists of a male and a female. I was exceedingly careful in drawing the toes of the lion's left hind foot, the forms of which are peculiar: the paws of the two lionesses are different, less carefully cut, and more like the form usual in archaic sculpture. Only one forepaw is shown in each of the lionesses, a true archaic characteristic, whereas both forepaws of the lion are distinctly visible: but the marking on the forepaws of the lionesses does not appear on those of the lion.¹ This marking may be compared with that on the hind-leg of a deer found in a tumulus near Kertch, a product of Ionian art of a later period.²

On the western face of our monument there is a gryphon, *passant* to the right. His head is much injured, but was probably a simple eagle's head without ears or any other prominent feature, and with the mouth closed (Type C of Furtwängler, *Bronzefund*, p. 47). The wings, like those of the sphinxes, are curled round in the archaic style.

I hope to take an early opportunity of discussing the bearing of this and other monuments on the history of Ionian and generally of Greek art, but I will here state my opinion as to the date of the Arslan Kaya. As I have stated in previous papers, I believe that Phrygian art stands in the closest relations with the Ionian colonies of the Euxine coast. Now if we compare the gryphon and the sphinxes with the earliest known specimens of Ionian decorative art, the general resemblance is obvious, while the exceedingly ancient character of the Phrygian monument is equally clear. Every detail in these

¹ On a second visit I convinced myself that these are the facts: the lines on the forepaw of each lioness do not indicate a pair of paws.

² Furtwängler, *Goldfund von Vellersfeld*, p. 16, who refers to *Antiq. du Bosphor.*, Pl. 26, 1.

two types on the Arslan Kaya is early archaic, and a careful examination proves that they can hardly be later than the early part of the sixth century, and are probably earlier. But the lions of the Arslan Kaya are quite different in character from those of the Vetttersfeld ornaments.¹ The latter show the type of the lions on the tomb at Kumbet and on other later Phrygian monuments (see especially the single Vetttersfeld lion on Pl. iii. 1), whereas our lions are of a far grander type, bolder and finer in outline, more natural and life-like. This type is quite lost in the later monuments. Artistic considerations therefore force back the date of our monument to the seventh century. Now on historical grounds it is improbable that any very great monument in Phrygia belongs to the period 670—600. During this time we know that the Cimmerians overran the country, and that in Phrygia alone they achieved complete success, being finally expelled by Alyattes between 610 and 590. The Arslan Kaya is therefore earlier than 670, while on the other hand the presence of the inscription in characters, which as I have elsewhere shown were learned from the Greek colonists of Sinope, proves that the monument is later than 730.

The only trustworthy way of representing a monument like this is by photography, and I hope to be able soon to publish a photograph. But it would be almost necessary to publish a drawing along with a photograph, as it is so difficult to see every detail from one point of view. It seemed, however, advisable to make known a monument so important as this, even by the imperfect and insufficient medium of drawings, and trust to the future to supplement them by photographs. I knew that I should never be able to make better drawings than when inspired at first by the discovery of the monument, and it was exceedingly doubtful whether I should ever have the opportunity of taking a trained draughtsman to the place.²

The measurements were made, with Mr. Sterrett's help, by means of a rope thrown over the shoulder of the rock.

I do not at present intend to make any general remarks about the art of Phrygia. I will only say that each new monument

¹ Furtwängler, *l.c.*

delicacy of the drawing is due to a more skilful hand than mine.

² I am responsible for every curve and every other scientific detail: the

affords new and more striking resemblances to archaic Greek art. Hitherto no example was known in Phrygia of the composite animals, such as the sphinx and the gryphon. In Phrygian art we are not impressed as in Phœnician art with isolated points of resemblance to Greek amidst a general diversity of character. We see substantially the same race, affected by similar influences from the East, and producing works whose whole spirit and character have something of the true Greek feeling.¹

Amid the diversity in details, what a close resemblance in spirit is there between the Phrygian tale of Marsyas and the Greek tale of Orpheus! There is the same melancholy tone, the same devotion to music, the same close relation to an orgiastic worship, and finally a terrible death.

The question arises—what was the purpose of this monument? There is no appearance, no possibility of supposing that a grave ever existed in the chamber: but I feel convinced that the monument is sepulchral. In that case the actual grave was in the ground, and the monument is merely the tombstone, so to speak. In support of this view we must remember that almost all the many hundreds of rock monuments known in Phrygia, are obviously sepulchral. Moreover, I shall here place together some facts about Phrygian graves and sepulchral inscriptions which make it probable that even the doubtful rock-monuments are sepulchral, and which will throw some light on the ideas of death and the future world entertained by the persons who made those graves.

As almost all my arguments are drawn from inscriptions of the Roman period, it is necessary to state beforehand that I believe these late authorities may with proper caution be used as evidence for the true ancient beliefs of the Phrygian people.

A varnish of Graeco-Roman civilisation was spread over the country in the second and third centuries after Christ; western Phrygia was affected fifty to a hundred years earlier than the eastern country. Especially Hellenic mythology took the place of the native legends: I have given examples of the tendency to substitute Greek names and tales for the native Lydian or

¹ With the Phrygian use of the macander pattern compare *Arch. Zig.* 1884, Pl. ix., Figs. 2, 5.

Phrygian in this Journal, 1882, p. 64, 1883, p. 64. But the old religion continued unaffected in substance, though Hellenised in name, and customs sanctioned by religion, especially funeral usages, must have been very slow to alter. For example, in the valley of the river Tembris,¹ which runs along the western border of the district in which the old Phrygian monuments lie, the regular decoration of gravestones in the Roman period is the old heraldic type of the pair of lions facing each other in a pediment. Again, Moritz Schmidt rightly recognised in some barbarous formulas appended to Greek sepulchral inscriptions of the Roman period, a curse in the native tongue against violators of the tomb. Why should this one part of the inscription be in the native tongue, and the rest in Greek? Either the belief was that the old Phrygian tongue was more holy, and more efficacious with the gods of Phrygia, or the fact was that the Phrygian language was more generally intelligible than Greek. Either alternative shows the strength of the old native feeling in the country; in spite of Graeco-Roman dress and foreign language, the Phrygian character is not hidden.

Two kinds of sepulchral monument were commonly used in Phrygia in the Roman time. One is a slab of marble or other stone carved to imitate a doorway. The doorposts, the two valves, the lintel, and generally a pointed or rounded pediment above, are all indicated: one or two knockers are usually carved on the door, and symbols referring to the ordinary life of the deceased person are often represented on the panels, a basket, a strigil, a mirror or something of the kind. The door is often surmounted by a pediment, triangular or semicircular, which is sometimes plain, sometimes sculptured. In the Tembris valley the sculptural decoration, as has just been stated, is almost always the ancient heraldic device—a pair of lions. The inscription is placed sometimes above the pediment, sometimes beneath it, rarely on the door itself. I have seen many hundred gravestones of this kind, in every part of Phrygia, in Galatia, and in Pisidia. This class of tombstone recalls to mind the ancient monuments in which a door is a prominent part.

¹ Tembris on a coin of Midaion, Pliny (*N.H.* vi. 1) and in an unpublished inscription. Thymbres in Livy, Tembrogius in

The second kind of tombstone is equally common and widespread. It is a square pillar with very simple pedestal and capital. In many cases the epitaph on such a tombstone is expressed in the form—ὁ δεῖνα τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν. The regular name of the monument was therefore 'the Altar.' It is probable that several old Phrygian monuments, in which nothing is apparent except an altar with or without an inscription, are really sepulchral.

 No. 1.¹

At Ishekly, the ancient Eumeneia, on a tombstone of the βωμὸς type in the modern cemetery :

ΘΥΡΑ

There has never been any other inscription.

No. 2.

At Eumeneia in the court of the Konak : on a tombstone similar to the last : on one side

ΖΩΤΙΚΟΕΑΝΤ
ΩΝΙΑΘ ΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚ
ΙΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΜΝΗΕΧ
ΑΡΙΝ

Ζωτικὸς Αὐτ-
ωνία τῇ [ιδ]ία γυναικ-
ὶ καὶ ἐαυτῷ μνή[μη]ς χ-
άριν.²

on another side

ΘΥΡΑ

No. 3.

At Eumeneia, in the modern cemetery, on a tombstone of form like the preceding : on one side

¹ Nos. 1 and 3 were copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company, No. 2 by me alone.

² The engraver has omitted two letters in line three.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΕΛΥΘΗ	Ἰουλία ἐαυτῇ
ΚΑΙΤΩΑΝΔΡΙΔΑ	καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Δα-
ΜΑΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑ	μᾶ καὶ Ἰουλια-
ΝΗΤΗΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ	νῇ τῇ θυγατρὶ
5 ΚΑΙΓΑΙΩΤΩΓΑΙ	καὶ Γαίῳ τῷ γα[μ-
ΡΩΚΑΙΣΕΒΗΡΕΙ	β]ρῷ καὶ Σεβηρεί-
ΝΗ ΗΘΥΓΑΙ	νῇ [τ]ῇ θυγα[τ-
ΡΙΜΝΗΜΗΧΑ	ρὶ μνήμης χά-
ΡΙΝ ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΕ	ριν. Εἰ δέ τις ἕ-
10 ΤΕΡΟΝΕΠΙΧΕΙ	τερον ἐπιχει-
ΡΗΣΕΙΘΙΝΑΙΤΙ	ρήσει θῖναί τι-
ΝΑΘΗΣΕΙΙΣΤΟ	να, θήσει ἰς τό-
ΝΦΙΣΚΟΝΧ'ΑΦ	ν φίσκον (δην.) αφ.

on the other side

ΘΥΡΑ

The second and third inscriptions probably belong to the first (or the beginning of the second) century after Christ: this date is gathered from the Latin names, Julia, Juliane, Antonia, &c. They belong therefore to a comparatively early time among the inscriptions of this district.

No. 4.

At Kara Hodja, a village in the Haimaneh, about an hour and a half south-east of the hot springs of Myrikion, now the Merkez of the Haimaneh,¹ in ancient Galatia. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself.

¹ Merkez in Turkish means 'head-quarters': the seat of government of the Haimaneh was established here two years ago, having previously been at the village of Sivri. There was no

village at the baths, till the spot was selected as the Merkez of the Haimaneh, and when we visited it, in 1883, there were only about fifteen new houses around the government offices.

ΕΤΟ Ε Μ ΝΟΕΞ
 ΑΙ ΔΙΚΟΥ
 ΟΓΕ/ \ΙΟΥΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙ
 ΙΔΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΝΕΣΤΗ
 ΝΒΩΜΟΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΘΥΡΑ
 ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝ
 ΜΝΗΜΗΕΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΣΤΑΤΙΛΙΑΖΩΣΑΠΡΟ
 ΝΟΥΣΑΠΑΡΑΘΗΚΗΝ
 ΕΔΩΚΙΤΙΝΙΕΡΕΑΝΤ.
 ΕΙΝΟΝΚΑΙΥΕΛΛΙ ΔΥ
 ΟΑΡΓΥΡΑΚΛΙΜΗΑΠΟ
 ΔΙΔΗΟCΙΟΝΔΙΚΕΟΝ
 ΗΛΙΕΚΥΡΠΙΕΥΜΕΙCΕΚΑΙ
 ΚΗCΑΤΕΑΥΤΗΝΝΕΚΡΑΝ
 ΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΖΩΝΤ

Like all the inscriptions which we found in the Haimaneh, this is merely scratched in a rude way on the stone: it is the work of an unskilful engraver and an uneducated writer. Graeco-Roman civilisation had not thoroughly established itself at Myrion when the epitaph was composed, and the native customs of burial and worship of the Pessinuntine Cybele remained unaffected. It was exceedingly difficult to decipher the faint and ill-formed letters, and equally difficult to understand the meaning.

Ἔτο[υ]ς . . . , μ[η]νὸς Ξανδίκου [.]ος Γε[λλ]ίου Στατειλ[α] ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ ἀνέστη[σε τὸ]ν βωμόν καὶ τὴν θύρα[ν] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν μνήμης χάριν.

Στατειλία ζῶσα [φ]ρονοῦσα παραθήκην ἔδωκε[?] τινι (?) ΕΡΕΑΝ π[ρά]σινον καὶ ψέλλι[α] δύο ἀργυρᾶ, κα[ν] μὴ ἀποδιδῆ, Ὅσιον Δίκεον, Ἥλιε Κύριε, ὑμεῖς ἐκ[δ]ικήσατε τὴν νεκρὰν καὶ τὰ τέκνα ζῶντ[α].

Ὅσιος Δίκαιος is a standing epithet of the deity in Anatolian inscriptions; here it appears to be used as a proper name, and, regardless of grammar, two deities are invoked to avenge the dead Statilia and her living children, if the pledge which she deposited with some unnamed person is not returned. ἡ πρᾶ-

σινος is an emerald : the word before it has not been deciphered : *προνοῦσα* is probably due to Galatian pronunciation. *ἔδωκε* is certainly the reading on the stone.

The four inscriptions published above are all engraved on simple *βαμολί*, yet in one case the monument is called *ὁ βαμολί καὶ ἡ θύρα* : and in the others, the name *θύρα* is placed on the monument apart from the regular inscription, as if to specify a point that was not clear to the beholder.

The last inscription explains the others. The son of Gellius places the altar and the door for his dead wife. It appears then that according to Phrygian ideas there were two necessary elements in the sepulchral monument, an altar and a door. When a plain altar was placed as a tombstone, it was sometimes thought necessary to add expressly the word 'Door.' Even where only the one name is given, we may understand that the fundamental idea was the same. The door was the passage of communication between the world of life and the world of death : the altar was the place on which the living placed the offerings due to the dead.

It is unnecessary to follow this idea through the elaborate funeral monuments with numerous parts, each called by a special name, which were often used by rich men. A sarcophagus is commonly used at Hierapolis and in Ionia and Lycia ; but the sarcophagus is only the receptacle in which the body is placed, and we often find the door and the altar indicated besides.

These two elements, the door and the altar, occur regularly in the early monuments. In many cases the altar indeed is not expressly carved in the rock ; but when the monument has the form of a temple or a shrine, the altar is an implied accompaniment. In other cases the rock-altar is the most important part of the whole monument.

Among the early monuments one class, of which the Midas-tomb or the Arslan Kaya is type, especially attracts our attention as being so peculiarly characteristic of Phrygia : in it we see the door and the veil in front of the shrine. In one case alone the door is opened, and we are admitted to contemplate *τὰ ἑρὰ μυστήρια*. We see here, not a sarcophagus, no place or room for a dead human body, but the Mother-Goddess and her favourite animals.

May we not infer from this that the mere custody of the body was not the sole nor even the chief intention of the funeral monument in Phrygia? The intention is to show that the dead has returned to his divine mother. It is a similar idea when the Lydian chiefs and kings are buried on the shores of the Gygaean lake Coloe; and we know from Homer that the Maeonian chiefs are the sons of the lake or of the Naiad Nymph who bears them beside the lake.

The natural inference is that the Phrygian religion considered the dead as identified with the divine nature: the sepulchre of the dead was a monument or shrine of the Mother-Goddess. In that case the construction of a grave was an act of piety and of homage to the deity, with whom the dead person was identified. Can we find in inscriptions any test to prove or disprove this inference?

I shall give first an inscription, imperfectly published, C. I. G. No. 3810; the editor has wrongly altered the copies, accurate so far as they go, of Pococke and Kinneir.

No. 5.

Dorylaion, in the bridge over the Porsuk Tchai, the ancient Tembris: on a marble slab imitating the front of a temple or *heroon*. Copied by me.

MENANΔΙΟΥ	ΠΩ	Μένανδ[ρος "Ιπ]πω-
ΝΟΚΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΙΑΣΤΕΙ		νος καὶ Ἀμείας Τεί-
ΜΩΝΙΘΡΕΠΤΩΚΑΙ		μωνι θρεπτῶ καὶ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ		Ἀπολλώνιος
ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟCCYN		καὶ Διονύσιος συν-
ΤΡΟΦΩΠΕΡΤΩΝ		τρέφω ὑπὲρ τῶν
ΙΔΙΩΝΔΙΪΒΡΟΝ		ιδίων Διὶ Βρον-
ΔΤΩΝΤΙΩ		τῶντι.

This inscription is, to judge from the nomenclature, probably not later than the first century after Christ. It has been engraved on the tombstone of Timon by his master and his mistress,

and by his fellow-slaves, Apollonius and Dionysius.¹ These four persons make the grave of the dead man, and consider this act as a homage to Zeus Bronton on behalf of their own family.

No. 6.

At Kara Bazar, on the road from Dorylaion to Nacoleia, on a marble *βωμός*. On the capital is carved a vine-branch with a bunch of grapes, and over the inscription is a wreath. Copied by me.

ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣΚ-ΠΛΟΥ	Περσεύς κὲ Πλού-
ΣΙΟΣΦΑΙΝΙΠΠΩ	σιος Φαινίππω
ΠΑΤΡΙΚ-ΜΗΤΡΙ	πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝΤΙ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶντι
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχὴν.

This is the epitaph on a tomb erected by two sons for their parents. The sons consider that the act of erecting the tombstone is equivalent to discharging a vow to Zeus Bronton. To judge from the names the inscription is of a *comparatively* early time; but, as the district is one remote from civilising influences, it can hardly be earlier than the second century after Christ.

No. 7.

Near Kara Bazar, at the Devrent, on a *βωμός*: on the capital is carved a star, and over the inscription three bulls' heads. Copied by me.

ΑΥΡΑΙΟΔΩΡΟ	Αὐρ. Διόδωρο-
ΣΜΕΤΑΓΥΝΒΙ	ς μετὰ συνβί-
ΟΥΤΥΧΗΖΩΝ	ου Τύχη ζῶν-
ΤΕΕΛΑΥΤΟΙΣ	τες ἑαυτοῖς
Κ-ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	κὲ Διὶ Βροντῶν-
ΕΥΧΗΝ	τι] εὐχὴν.

This inscription is placed over the grave which Diodoros and his wife prepared for themselves. They regard this act as the

¹ Menandros and his wife had therefore three *θερετοί* or *θρέμματα*.

payment of a vow to Zeus Bronton. The inscription belongs to the third century after Christ.

On the analogy of these and similar inscriptions, which I need not quote here, it may be unhesitatingly maintained that a large number of dedications in the district round Nacoleia and Dorylaion, in which the sepulchral reference is not so explicit, are in reality gravestones. Of such inscriptions, published and unpublished, I know about a hundred. They are generally addressed to Zeus Bronton, or to Zeus Papas, or to Papas simply. Papas, as Arrian says, was the Bithynian name of Zeus; it occurs frequently in inscriptions of Nacoleia. The following is a specimen.

No. 8.

On a small stele of common stone found in a field near Nacoleia. I copied the inscriptions from six similar stelai, all found in the same field: the owner said that the ground around was full of them. They are all evidently gravestones of common people: the top is ornamented in the style of a pediment, and there is a plain pedestal ending in a projecting spike to stick in the ground. The one which is here published differed from the others in having a representation of the god on it: the god is apparently intended to be androgynous, like the Carian Zeus, but in such rude work, the point can hardly be asserted positively.

ΟΥΛΠΙΑΣΑ

ΒΙΣΠΑΠΑΕΥΧΗ

N

Οὐλπία Σά-

βις Παπᾶ εὐχῇ.

ν.

The other inscriptions from this field are similar in style: the field was doubtless a cemetery of the poorer classes.

In this Journal, 1882, p. 124, I spoke about Zeus Bronton or Papas, the god of Nacoleia. I have no alteration to make in the views there expressed, except to lay much greater stress on the Chthonian character of the god. Almost every inscription in which he is mentioned is a gravestone. The area within which he is worshipped is a narrow one, including only the

district between Nacoleia, Doryl¹on, and Trocnada or Tricomia.¹ Outside of this district, I know only of three, one at Cotyaion, one at Ancyra of Galatia, and one in Rome erected by a Greek named Aur. Poplius. Poplius clearly belonged to this district of Phrygia, and went to Rome either as a visitor or a settler.²

The district in which Zeus Bronton was worshipped, lies along the east and north edge of the mountainous country in which the ancient Phrygian monuments are situated. On the west side of these mountains, we find that Zeus Bennis is worshipped. Numerous inscriptions in his honour occur, and the important town of Bennisoa was named from his worship. A curious inscription in the Phrygian village of Serea shows what the people themselves thought of the relation between Zeus Bronton and Zeus Bennis.

No. 10.

On a stele at Kuyujuk, a village three hours north-west of Nacoleia; copied by Mr. Sterrett.

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ	Μάρκος
ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Μάρκου
ΔΙΙΒΡΟΝΤΩΝ	Διὶ Βροντῶν-
ΤΙΚΑΙΒΕΝΝΕΙ	τι καὶ Βεννεῖ
ΣΕΡΕΑΝΩΤ	Σερεανῶ στ-
ΕΦΑΝΟΝ	έφανον.

¹ The word Tricomia shows that the country of the Trocnades or Trocmades, Rege-trocnada, contained three villages: the use of the word in an unpublished inscription from a different district is decisive as to the sense.

² The following is a memorial of the visit of another Nacoleian to Rome.

No. 9.

In the *tekke* of Seidi Ghazi, on a little slab of marble. It has been published unintelligibly by Mordtmann (*Sidi Ghazi und Nacoleia in Münch. Gel. Anz.*, 1861). Copied by me, and afterwards by Mr. Sterrett.

ΘΕΩ	ΥΨΙC	Θεῶ ὙψίC-
ΤΩ	ΕΥ	τω εὐ-
ΧΗ	ΝΑΥ	χὴν Αὐ-
Ρ-ΙΛΙ	ΟC	ρήλιος
ΑΣΚΛΑ	ΑΠΩ	Ἀσκλάπω-
ΝΗΝ	ΟΜΟ	ν, ἣν [ὦ]μο-
ΛΟΤΗC	ΕΝCΙ	λό[γ]ησεν εἶν
ΡΩΜ	Η	Ῥώμη.

Here it is evident that Benni-s, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side, and Papas or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.

The numerous inscriptions of which these are specimens show clearly that the making of a grave was regarded as the payment of a vow to the god of the district. I do not maintain that every stone in the district which records a vow of the god is sepulchral: *e.g.* the votive tablet of Aur. Asklaion, quoted above, has not the appearance of a gravestone. But the gravestones which I have seen in the district where Papas was worshipped, are, with scarcely an exception, inscribed in this style. One stone, which I believe to be sepulchral, explains the meaning of the custom.

No. 11.

On a marble cippus at Kutayah, in the possession of an Armenian stone-cutter who had brought it from Karagatch Euren, near Altyntash. Above the inscription there are carved in relief a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiated head of the sun-god. Copied by Mr. Sterrett and myself in company.

ΔΗ ΒΕΝΝΙΩ	Δὴ Βεννίῳ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣΥΠΕΡ	Διογένης ὑπὲρ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΠΑΠΠΟΥ	Διογένους πάππου
ΚΑΙΚΛΗΡΥΣΙΟΥ	καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου
ΜΑΜΜΗΣΚΑΙΤΩΝ	μήμης καὶ τῶν
ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΩΝ	κατοικούντων
ΕΝΙΣΚΟΜΗΚΑΘΙΕΡΩ	ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρω
ΣΕΝ	σεν.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΙΣΓΕΡΕΑΝΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσγερεανὸς ἐποίη.

This inscription belongs most probably to the second century after Christ. The reference to the inhabitants of the village is a specially common feature in inscriptions of this district; the name of the village seems to be Iskome. The artist is a native of Isgerea.

I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennis. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus. Diogenes might have expressed the epitaph in the formula, *πάππῳ καὶ μάμμῃ καὶ Διὶ Βεννίῳ*: the meaning would have been the same.

It is not always easy to determine in these inscriptions who is buried in the tomb. For example

No. 12.

On a stele similar to No. 8, and found in the same place. Copied by me.¹

ΔΑΔΑΚΑΝ	Δαδα Καν-
ΚΑΡΟΥΝΟΥΝΑ	καρου Νουνα-
ΔΟΚΟΥΕΚΡΟΚ	δος Ούεκροκ-
ΩΜΗΤΙΣΣΑ	ωμήτισσα
ΔΙΗΠΑΠΑ	Διὶ Παπᾶ
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχῆν.

The names on this stele are so purely Phrygian that it is hard to tell how they are to be divided. Probably Dada was daughter of Kankaros Nounas, who had according to Phrygian custom, two names, and her native village was Vekrokome. It is impossible to determine whether she was burying one of her relatives or preparing her own last resting-place. The latter is more probable: more than half of the Phrygian epitaphs known to me include a provision for the burial of the erector.

In all the epitaphs which have been quoted, the dedication is to a god. The following is to the Mother-Goddess.

No. 13.

On a marble *βαμὸς* at Doghalar, a village two hours north of Altyntash, on the western edge of the Phrygian mountains. Defaced reliefs on the back and on one side of the altar. Copied by me.

¹ As I remarked above, this stone is quite certainly sepulchral.

ΠΑΤΡΟΚΛΙ-Ε	Πατροκλῆς [Ἀπυλ-
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΜ-ΙΤ	λωνίου Μητ[ρὶ Θε-
ΩΝΖΙΝΓΟΤΙ-Ν-Κ	ῶν Ζινγοτηνῇ κατ-
ΑΚΕΛΕΥCΙΝΤΙ-CΩ	ὰ κέλευσιν τῆς Θε-
5 ΑCΥΠΕΡΕΑΥΤΟΥ	ᾱς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ [κὲ τ-
ΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΚ-ΤΕCΚΩ	ῶν ἰδίων κὲ τῆς κώ-
Μ-ΕΖΙΝΓΟΤΟCΕCΩΤ-	μης Ζίνγοτος σωτη-
ΡΙΑCΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝ	ρίας τὸν βωμὸν [ἀ-
ΝΕCΤΕCΕΝ ¹	νίστησεν.

I believe that this stone marks the grave which Patrokles intended to be occupied by himself and his family. He dedicates the spot to the Μητῆρ Θεῶν, just as the maker of the ancient tomb described in this paper made it a shrine of the Mother-Goddess.

The idea that the dead person has thrown off his own nature and become identified with a divine or heroic personage, can be traced in some rare cases in Greek inscriptions, while it apparently underlies certain classes of archaic sepulchral reliefs. I do not refer to cases where the dead man is worshipped as a hero, but where his personality is merged in that of an independently existing hero or god. Such is the explanation of a relief and inscription from Pergamon, now in my possession, which I described before the Archaeological Society in Berlin, February 5, 1884. The monument was interpreted, as I believe quite wrongly,² by Dr. Belger in the *Berl. Philol. Zft.* March 1st. The relief is of a common sepulchral type. The left and the centre are occupied by a horseman, turned to the right: the man has the reins in his left hand and with his right holds out a patera towards a serpent which drinks from it. The serpent is coiled round a tree in front of the horse. On the extreme right stands an adorant of the usual type. Beneath the relief is the inscription

ΛΝΙΟΥΝΕΚΟΡΟΣΑΘΗ
ΟΥΗΡΩΙΠΕΡΓΑΜΩ³

¹ In 5 ΠΕ, in 6 ΤΗC, in 7 ΤΗ
lids.

² As a votive relief belonging to a shrine of the Hero Pergamos.

³ It is probable, but not certain, that the *iota adscriptum* was expressed in Γεργάμω. The name Ἀσκληᾶς is of course supplied merely *exempli gratia*,

Ἀσκληᾶς? Ἀπολλωνίου νεωκόρος Ἀθη[νᾶς Νικηφόρου] Ἡρωὶ Περγάμῳ. Another method of supplying the gap was suggested by Dr. M. Fränkel, but it does not seem to me satisfactory: Ἀσκληᾶς? Ἀπολλωνίου νεωκόρος Ἀθη[ναίῳ Νικαί?]ου Ἡρωὶ Περγάμῳ. The person to whom the grave belongs is treated as identified with the eponymous hero of the city, and his original name is not mentioned.¹ The relief belongs probably to the latter part of the third or beginning of the second century B.C.²

A similar case occurs in the Sabouroff Collection, and has been correctly interpreted by Dr. Furtwängler (Pl. xxix.: Κ]αλλιτέλης Ἀλεξιμάχῳ ἀνέθηκεν), who expresses the doubt whether Aleximachos is the original name of the deceased or a new heroic name.

W. M. RAMSAY.

as being nearly of the length required for the gap. The first line ends with H.

¹ Dr. Fränkel's interpretation of the

relief seems otherwise the same as that given here.

² A came into use quite as early as 200 B.C.

SOPHOCLEAN TRILOGY.

THE Greek dramatist of the best age, as we read on unquestionable authority, was wont to produce his tragedies in sets of three together—in trilogies; the addition to such a set of a comic—a so-called satyric play—completed a tetralogy, a combination of four arguments. It is much if we have in the *Cyclops* of Euripides a single example of a satyric drama. Among the numerous tragedies that have survived, with the exception of the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, consisting of the three tragedies, *Agamemnon*, the *Choephoroi*, the *Eumenides*, not a single certified trilogy has come down to us complete. The satyric drama that belonged to this was entitled *Proteus*, but the name only has been preserved. Its argument and bearing on the original artistic whole are too absolutely matters of conjecture not to remain matters of ardent dispute. The *Seven against Thebes* of Aeschylus is a single play remaining out of a tetralogy of which the titles are preserved:—*Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Seven against Thebes*, *Sphinx*; titles from which it is clear that the subjects of this set—the *Oedipodeia*—followed on in sequence and connection as intimate as the preserved tragedies of the *Oresteia*. Such may also easily have been the case between a pair of dramas, the *Edonae* and *Bassarides*, which are recorded as pertaining to the trilogy of the *Lycurgeia*; and a *Prometheus Unbound* supplied originally the proper sequel of the *Prometheus Bound* that is preserved. Nor is such sequence absent virtually from the tetralogy of the *Persica* to which the preserved play of the *Persae* belongs, comprising in order; *Phineus*, *Persae*, *Glaucois Potnieus*, *Prometheus purphoros*, though

it is effected in a manner abnormal and recondite. In my *Age of Pericles* I have set forth in detail the reference of the three successive tragic dramas to the great victories of *Artemisium*, *Salamis* and *Plataea*, and of the concluding satyric play to the sequel of those victories in the restoration of civil life and the arts of culture. The action of the *Persae* however, alone, is on proper historical basis; the other combined subjects become significant and are justified in their relation to it, on the strength of accepted poetical and mythical associations.

The Athenians recognised their obligations to the north-wind, to Boreas, son-in-law of the city, for his help at Artemisium and afterwards; it was to the sons of Boreas, the winged Zetes and Calais, that Phineus owed his rescue from the harpies. Potniae, the seat of Glaucus, and the scene of his disaster from his infuriate horses, was on the very battle-field of Plataea, the scene of the fatal overthrow of the Nisaeen cavalry of Mardonius. Lastly, the services of Prometheus who brought fire to destitute mortals, were easily recognisable at the time as allusive to the ceremonial relighting of the hearths and altars of desecrated Hellas, by the fire which was sought from the holy altar at Delphi.

The *Lycurgeia* of Polyphradmon and the *Pandionis* of Philocles are titles of other trilogies recorded without enumeration of the several dramas they comprised, but sufficiently indicative of a close inter-connection of subjects.

A tetralogy is ascribed to Xenocles, but not under a collective name, and it is so far consistent that the titles of the several component dramas repudiate chronological sequence. They are given as *Oedipus*, *Lycaon*, *Bacchae*, and the satyric drama *Athamas*. Much the same may be said of an incompletely recorded tetralogy by Aristias, which comprised dramas entitled, *Perseus*, *Tantalus*, *The Wrestlers*, the last probably the satyric play.

That neither trilogy nor tetralogy is ascribed to Sophocles under either collective or distributive titles, is in itself remarkable, and the more so in consequence of a notice of an innovation of which more is to be said.

Of Euripides as many as three enumerated tetralogies and one trilogy are on record, but no one of them is referred to under a collective title. The list is as follows:—

Cretan Women ; *Alcmaeon in Psophis* ; *Telephus* ; *Alcestis*.
Medea ; *Philoctetes* ; *Dictys* ; *Theristae*, sat.
Alexander ; *Palamedes* ; *Troades* ; *Sisyphus*, sat.
Iphigenia in Aulis ; *Alcmaeon in Corinth* ; *Bacchae*.

In one of these sets alone can an argument be plausibly maintained for pragmatistical continuity. The *Alexander* would fit the opening story of the Trojan war ; the *Palamedes* may easily have comprised an episode of its progress, and the *Troades* which is preserved signalises its conclusion. It is a fair conjecture, while conjecture is afoot, that the satyric play of *Sisyphus* may have given further point to the reflections on the character of Ulysses, which are salient in the *Troades* and involved in the story of the fate of Palamedes.

With respect to Sophocles, in place of detailed notices which would have been so welcome, we have an obscure statement of Suidas, that he was the first to enter upon contests by drama with drama and not a tetralogy ; *δρᾶμα πρὸς δρᾶμα ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ τετραλογίαν*. This brief memorandum must be made the most of without being taken for more than it is really worth. The limit of its worth however is exactly what is most difficult to decide. Taken in itself simply, it might appear to imply that he entirely abandoned the system of producing trilogies of plays, and confined himself to bringing out each of his tragedies independently—one only at a time. There are no notices of dramatic history to make it absolutely impossible that he may have introduced and adopted such a practice occasionally, but that his renunciation of the established system was complete and uniform can scarcely be allowed. His usual practice must of necessity have been conformable to that of his competitors, and as it certainly did not govern, must have been governed by theirs. He contested and gained the first prize over Aeschylus, of whom no such innovation or concession to innovation is recorded. Moreover we have the notice that the first prize was assigned to him on an occasion when Euripides gained the second with one of the four enumerated tetralogies, and he can scarcely have competed against the *Cretan Women*, and its three associate dramas with only a single play.

It is just possible that the phrase of Suidas may represent

no more than a distorted inference from the story of the composition of *Oedipus in Colonus*, but otherwise the better and perfectly legitimate interpretation is open to us, that to Sophocles was due the innovation of producing as trilogies, triplets of plays which did not follow out one particular and continuous story, perhaps did not even adhere in the succession of their fables to chronological order, and that he set an example which afterwards prevailed. It seems pretty certain that while this license so to call it, if it were not indeed and more probably a refinement, was sometimes, but quite exceptionally adopted by Aeschylus, it must have been almost the rule with Euripides, amongst whose numerous preserved plays it could otherwise be scarcely possible that sets and sequences should be beyond recovery.

The very multitude of the works of these prolific dramatists invited critics and copyists of later times to make selections; and selection in such hands as Greek poetry of the best age ultimately fell into, was certain to involve dislocation if not dismemberment. Again, the Greek tragedians as time went on were likely to suffer as severely by stage profanation as Shakespeare; by inevitable consequence their artful combinations were separated, shuffled, and all original order lost to memory, or only preserved in the scanty accidental notices which we now so thankfully glean out of rubbish heaps of antiquity.

The consequences of this state of things is to be well weighed and taken to heart. Every dissociated member of an original artistic whole must be afflicted with characteristic inconclusiveness. The completest catastrophe will in such cases come upon us as absurdly abrupt and unprepared for, or the drift and purport of the fable, as essentially transitional, will lead up to nothing more than a puzzle—a paradoxical moral suspense.

Of the seven preserved plays of Sophocles, there are three which as regards mere story are pragmatically dependent, and display the course of fortune of a single family as consecutively as the Greek trilogy of Aeschylus; these are the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus in Colonus*, and *Antigone*. The truly trilogic connection is, however, in this case contested, and as respects the last of the series at least seems rightly overruled. The historical sequence, we have seen, was no indispensable condition

of such connection, and still less taken alone can it be a conclusive proof of it. Traditions which are probably more than traditions, of the production of *Oedipus in Colonos*, concur with internal evidence to the effect that its catastrophe is a full and natural close, not to be improved in any sense by the *Antigone* as a sequel, nor indeed requiring or admitting any other.

On consideration then, of all the evidence in point, the negative no less than the direct which is scanty enough, no grounds appear to warrant the opinion that Sophocles, unless exceptionally, renounced the trilogy, the production of tragedies in threes. Again, as regards the principles of trilogic composition current during his career, it appears to be clearly established not only that continuity in story was not held essential, but that absolute discontinuousness, his own innovation as we read Suidas, was freely admitted even to the extent that no two of the plays should have a single character in common, and to the neglect, nay, to the reversal of chronological sequence. To a grammarian, pragmatistical connection might easily enough appear the very essence of trilogic composition, and the renunciation of it be taken as equivalent to the supersession of all that was important in the principle. Even Aristotle manifestly failed entirely to appreciate the value of the large scope of dramatic composition it involved, and that even when it was so conspicuously displayed as in the continuous trilogies of Aeschylus.

From a worthier point of view it must be manifest that when personal and historical dependence came to be dispensed with, so much more important must have become an emphatic pronouncement in continuity of moral interest, a continuity on which it is indeed that the preservation of interest in the fortunes of an individual mainly depends, but that may still proceed when a given individual is lost sight of.

When the unity of a fable of the highest class, dramatic or epic, is contingent on the dependence of its incidents on a single personage, it is because that personage possesses such a unity of moral and intellectual motive, such a self-consistency even in tendencies to irregularity, as to define an important and remarkable character, to constitute it in fact, heroic. By such heroic constitution it is that an individual character becomes a

constant quantity, supplies a standard for the force and bearing of those impacts of fortune and currents of affection and impulse on which success and failure, happiness and misery, depend.

Hence a central character of heroic scale is a condition of unity in a tragedy, but still it requires contrast of others to afford the fullest illustration of a moral interest, whether the contrast be evolved in the course of highly complicated and concurrent actions in Shakespearian fashion, or be provided, as by anticipation we venture to say, in Sophoclean, by the several heroes of a succession of disconnected or lightly connected fables.

Tragedy engages our interest and commands our convictions, when it presents with vivid energy the spectacle of fellow man in conflict with difficulties, such as we ourselves are exposed to; in conflict with them under circumstances of greatest conceivable enhancement, as colliding with the highest sensitiveness, and challenged by vigour of mind of the most amazing at least, if not always, of the most admirable order.

The picture of life is opened before us, the living illustration of the direst dilemmas, the most perplexing paradoxes by which we can be possibly beset; the greatest enigmas of existence are displayed most pungently, most touchingly, and it is open for us to contemplate with all the elements of consideration before us and brought home to us, what head can be made by man against the difficulties of his state, what aid perchance is to found in promptness, in courage, in dexterity, what in patience and what compensation at last in better founded hope, when reliance on all other rescue founders in the storm? These are comprehensive subjects indeed if they are to be treated in sufficient comprehensiveness. But a single life however interesting, however complicated, will often fail to carry forward the main problem that its incidents bring into discussion, to its final or proximate conclusion. Even Homer, in the wider epic range, divided his subject into proem and sequel, into the delineation of a primary and a supplementary career. Such a problem of the largest moral scope therefore, it is clear, may be worked out in a succession of lives, of histories, of tragedies, nay, it may even be said that to embrace a competent development of a scheme so large—especially so large relatively to the traditionally established brevity of a Greek tragedy, and to the

legally restricted numbers of protagonists and interlocutors, a single lifetime's history—much less an anecdote out of a lifetime—may not be sufficient; and even if necessity were not in such manner urgent, some special poetical advantage might accrue to fully warrant the broader treatment. Thus with the fairest artistic advantage, the adventure, the catastrophe of one hero may be set against that of a second, as an indispensable illustration, and again, a third be added as common contrast and supplementary to both. Thus may be fully covered the large scope of tragic interest and thus unfolded all the intricate bearings of the most involved problems by even such simple provisions for dialogue and plot as were placed by traditional restrictions at the command of the Attic poet.

Such a development of composition in the poetry of the Greeks, is only consistent with what we know of the vigorous extension of their other arts. In their sculpture, it was not alone that single figures early united to become groups, and groups became members of large compositions, but the very largest single composition, complete and symmetrical as it might appear to be in itself, was constantly held to be only susceptible of highest effect when contrasted with another, only so much less elaborate as not to be its rival in supremacy. The complex, if not crowded subjects in the opposite pediments of a Greek temple, separated widely as they were, were still correlative, diverse yet correspondent, and in painting, Polygnottus confronted large pictures on opposite walls of the Lesche at Delphi, with a profound significance which the suggestiveness of contrast in Rafael's Stanze of the Vatican rather rivals than surpasses. From the Greek vases again abundant examples might be adduced of associated subjects on single vases, again to be united in pairs, subjects that are correlative by a manifest artistic and ethical principle, but destitute of the slenderest historical connection,

There is scarcely a limit to the refinement of which art is susceptible in this direction; here it is indeed that art has its very highest susceptibilities of refinement, and if art, then above all other the art of the Greeks. What then has not been lost by the dismemberment of Greek dramatic poetry, brought down to us for the most part in the condition of fragments, that only mock us and may mislead by a fallacious appearance

of completeness. The loss of the records of the titles of associated compositions is too extensive, too nearly total, to enable us to work out with all desirable conclusiveness even the full theory of their combinations. Nevertheless it is the purpose of this essay to set forth, and not unconfidently, that we may at least decide in some cases from internal evidence, the original place of a play now isolated, as first, second, or third of a set, nay, that we may even repair the injuries of time by re-uniting into trilogies some of the plays that are preserved.

In reading therefore any isolated Greek tragedy the question must be entertained, and usually it must be due to our carelessness or insensibility if it is not forced upon us—is it a beginning, a middle, or an end? The best enjoyment, to say nothing of the fairest vindication of the poet, will depend on an approximate solution of this question. How is this to be at least attempted and contended for?

There is but safety in one resolute course, along one single line of analysis; we must bravely and without flinching apply to these poetic works as we possess them, the sternest canons both of taste and moral theory which we can make ourselves masters of. When we are encountered by the poet with a divergence that manifestly impeaches our standard either of poetic or of moral harmony, the question is opened at once whether the poet or the canon be in fault, and severe indeed does it behove the judgment to be that presides at such a contention. That the poet may have lapsed is as little to be held an impossibility as that his work may have received damage in transmission through the centuries; but the critic must be watchful against suggestions of his own self-complacency. It is well seen when works of genius of the highest order are in question, how very rarely it is safe to assume limits to its profoundness or its subtlety. Close indeed must ever be our search for some possible secret of concord lying hid near the non-coincidence that startles by its very conspicuousness—some harmony of resolution for which it is but the artful preparation. So often does it prove that the dreams of the artist are wiser than the critic's deliberations,—that our difficulty will dissolve at last in recognition of our own misconception or ignorance. So it is that a first movement of natural pride at recognising a flaw comes in time to be wisely valued, chiefly as a warn-

ing that we have stumbled on a clue to latent truth and beauty.

A work of genius is in a certain sense a work of nature of the very highest order, and in the study of it we shall be wise to pause upon the occurrence of an anomaly—an anomaly relatively to our predominant thought,—with the same keen apprehension that it may be an index to new discoveries, with which the physicist recognises an unexpected and unexplained disturbance of his experiment.

Various anomalies in the dramas of Sophocles then, which stand out in glaring inconsistency with the best characteristics of the poet, are to be accounted for, I believe, by the disappearance or disruption of the trilogic systems in the continuity of which such discordances were originally resolved. They are of far too serious a nature and have far too direct a bearing on the tone and feeling under treatment to have been admitted in negligence or without a distinct purpose. Every such anomaly involves a pregnant hint which duly studied will correct our appreciation of the poet, and even may be the means of recovering from the injuries of time the vital principle of a lost composition.

Between the *Trachiniae* and the *Ajax* of Sophocles there is a resemblance in distribution of plan that unites them the more remarkably because it sets them in common contrast not merely with most other tragedies, but, as it would at first appear, with the essential idea of any highly-wrought dramatic composition whatever.

In neither play is interest concentrated upon a protagonist who remains with whatever intervals and interruptions predominant before us upon the scene through the greater part of its course. Our chief interest is no doubt attached, in either case, to the destinies of a single hero, to Hercules and to Ajax; but in the first play, Hercules only arrives in presence at about the 1000th line of the 1300 that make out the play; while Ajax, conspicuous at the commencement, dies exactly midway between the beginning and the end; his body indeed remains, the subject and centre of the continued action, upon the stage to the last, but it is with almost an entirely new set of interlocutors that the action is continued and concluded. Deianeira,

who is constantly before us up to the 800th verse of a tragedy of 1300 verses, and by narrative of her death to the 950th, is silent and unspoken of thereafter, as the appearance of Hercules himself overshadows all other interest, and the real catastrophe of all closes in. Again, in the *Ajax*, by a contrast of discontinuousness, the hero engrosses the earlier scenes, and it is the secondary Teucer who enters only after this death of Ajax, on whom is thrown the burden of the prolonged closing scenes.

There appears therefore to be wanting in both dramas that balanced distribution about a central line through one central member which is the very sense and soul of the higher symmetry.

But all is altered in the settled and concentrated action of the *Philoctetes* which, as it moves on to the resolution of all problems left over in suspense, gathers up all previous interests and combines incidents and episodes around one central heroic and abiding figure.

The *Trachiniae*, which interests our sympathies at least more touchingly, if not more impressively, for Deianeira than for Hercules, and the *Ajax Flagellifer* in which our sympathies are in a very similar manner and almost in the same degree distributed between Ajax and Tecmessa, have something of that correspondence of strophe and antistrophe, that announces and awaits an epode. They are like the wings of an architectural or sculptural group that lack still a dominant and combining centre. In the *Philoctetes* there is no such division of equivalent interests, least of all in favour of the feminine element, which is indeed absent entirely, proof in itself that the drama could never have been satisfactory in isolated independence.

Again, in contrast to the introductory dramas, the intervention of such secondary speakers rather than characters, as messenger, herald, pedagogue, old man, maidservant, and so on, is confined within the narrowest limits and allowed but the most subordinate scope. Even the chorus is reduced to mere responses, or independent and uninfluential expressions of feeling.

Lastly, if the first play is dignified by the presence of a demi-god, Hercules, it is Hercules in suffering, and whose promotion to Olympus in the future is not even announced; if the second play commences with a dialogue, with a goddess, that goddess Athena herself, it seems certain that there is no true

theophany, that the trumpet-tones of the goddess alone make known her presence which is never visibly declared to the spectators. But in the *Philoctetes* heroic speakers occupy the scene throughout, and almost exclusively; the divine interposition is reserved for the conclusion and then takes place with all the majesty of a glorified demi-god manifest before all eyes.

The links of a certain pragmatistical connection will become apparent as we proceed with the analysis—a support, though, quite subsidiary and secondary to the all-important moral cohesion and consecutiveness of the dramas.

The *Trachiniae* is so entitled from the chorus of maidens of Trachis, by Mount Oeta, in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae. Hither the home of Hercules is transferred, he is a stranger in a strange land, refugee with an ancient host, Ceyx, as we learn from other sources, but who makes no appearance—a refugee in consequence of a deed of violence which gives warning from the first of the unregulated impulses of his character.

The chorus does not enter until after the first speech of Deianeira; but this is addressed to a female attendant, and is therefore no prologue for the audience exclusively in the Euripidean manner. From the attendant, sympathetic with her anxieties, she adopts the suggestion to send off her son Hyllus in search of his father, unheard of for more than the year of his declared intention to be absent, and an object of unusual solicitude in consequence of an oracle having declared the occasion to be critical for all his future fortunes.

A dialogue then proceeds between Deianeira and the chorus, and it is a characteristic of this opening play that its tone should be so extensively and systematically subdued by prolonged participation of the servile or subordinate in leading discourse.

The entrance of an old man who has hastened to forestall the detained or dilatory messenger Lichas, in his news of the return of Hercules, diverts the conversation. He gives an account of the detention, but we are bound to be sensible without distinct intimation, that for a messenger who has a husband's victory to report, to allow himself to detail his news first to any but the wife, under whatever importunity, demands explanation to be natural; there is, indeed, an implied rebuke on the part of Deianeira (v. 228) for this delay, as distinctly as afterwards

(v. 395) for his equally unceremonious hurry to depart. The behaviour of the servant warns us too certainly of the slight delicacy in treatment of his wife which the hero, his master, cared to enforce either by example or command.

Lichas at last appears conducting a train of female captives—amongst them, one conspicuous above the rest by demeanour, dignity, and feeling (vv. 306–13–25). Deianeira listens to his falsified tale of the motives of the war and circumstances of the capture; he is bearer of no message of affection, and even his mode of addressing her, *γύναι*, has a certain freedom and unrespectfulness; the old man addresses her as *Δέσποινα*, once and again (vv. 180, 370).

Lichas retires into the house with the captives, and as Deianeira is about to follow, the old man who had forestalled good news for the sake of reward (v. 191) detains her to hear what he had then suppressed—the real truth about the adventures of her husband, and the captives he has sent home, warfare undertaken upon a love-incitement, the object of it the captive Iole, whom he has sent to be received into the home of his wife.

Shocked and perplexed, Deianeira seeks and adopts the advice of the chorus of maidens to interrogate Lichas; after a word or two she gives up the office to the old man, but presently resumes it with effect, and thanks to suppression of her real sense of injury, she extracts the bitter truth and learns how entire has become her husband's disregard of her love and her dignity. To the chorus again she applies for an opinion, when having prepared the robe anointed with the gore of Nessus as a charm to regain her husband's love from her rival, she pauses to consider whether the stratagem may not be either a mischievous venture or an absurdity.

To them again she has to confide her alarm, which is awakened too late, as to the result. Few words has she to interchange with her son, who rushes in indignant from the scene of the catastrophe, before the fatal story is elicited at length; she hears it in silence, and then moves away with the slowness of dejection and a fatal settled purpose, to re-enter no more.

The simplicity and natural tenderness of her character are touched beautifully throughout; she is a simple-minded girl married to an occupied and adventurous hero, whom in perilous absence she weeps, sleepless and confiding. Her married

life has been made up of short interviews with her husband between one of his labours and another, since the time when he won her by a victory which released her from a dreaded suitor. The contrast she draws between the unagitated seclusion of maiden life and the constant tremors and disturbances of married, must have come home to the sympathies of a Greek audience, of an Athenian especially, in an age of citizen armaments, and with recent experience of the contingencies of remote expeditions.

The first part of the play, indeed, with its almost domestic detail, engages our liveliest interest in those affections of the heart and the home which are so cruelly tried by the separations of mere public, and much more of warlike, services; while the second part summonses us sternly to recognise the inevitable relations of these two sides of life.

The sympathy of Deianeira for the female captives of her husband, reduced from happy freedom to servitude, is most touching; touching is her confiding solicitude for the husband who can scarcely be understood from the words of Lichas, his replies rather than announcements, as caring to send her any direct personal message whatever. She remarks the distinguished appearance of the youthful Iole from the first, but it is simple pity and no thought of jealousy that moves her to make special inquiry as to her fortunes and descent. Lichas gets through the difficulty of his mission by telling a made-up tale of his own, glibly enough, and yet so interpolated with 'as he relates,' 'so he says,' that one more susceptible of mistrust could not but have taken alarm. When she comes to know by more direct instruction that the story, told with many an assertion of veracity, is the messenger's own invention to escape unpleasant irritation, and no more—for he is clearly incapable of the delicate sympathy he pretends—that Hercules, who in times past has been not unfrequently untrue to her, has now sent her a rival to receive into her home, and has never even troubled himself to consider about concealment, her true womanly sentiment of dignity revolts from the very thought of such an arrangement. At the same time she can have a tender feeling for what she knows so well is the besetting weakness of her rescuer husband and the son of Jove; she has it not in her disposition to entertain even a thought of rancour or violence against Iole who is

at the moment in her power. She recognises the influence which younger attractions may be expected to exercise, but she still thinks the affections that have slipped away from her worth regaining, and will make an effort to regain them as she honourably may. It is with a faith that is quite in harmony with her general unsuspecting nature that she resorts with but a momentary shadow of misgiving—and then only as to fairness and probable efficacy—to the charm of Nessus.

The emergency brings out all the simulation of which Deianeira is capable—it is said that feminine natures at the very best are always capable of a little,—when she gives Lichas to understand—Lichas, whose nature is so base that he is capable of believing,—that she contentedly acquiesces in her husband's proceeding, and so sends him away well satisfied to have to report how cheerfully she has welcomed her supplanter. It is characteristic of his servile nature that in taking the lie of his original fictitious tale upon himself, he only sees an honourable exoneration of his master not an enhancement of the sting of his unkindness.

Worthy messenger on worthy errand ! the levity of his manner towards her throughout, and now the terms of his replies—the heartlessness of his complacency at her submissiveness,—prove that if he took more thought than his master, of what her feelings were likely to be, he had quite as little real sympathy or consideration for them ; that he now addresses her as—' my dear mistress ' can only be due,—not to any real affectionate respect, but to the humbled position of detection, and then to the absence of Iole from the scene.

It is the hasty re-entrance of Lichas (v. 598), eager to be dismissed by her, though he has had time at large to chatter with the captive woman within (v. 53), that cuts short the opening deliberation of Deianeira as to the employment of the stratagem of the charm. She has just said enough to evince how guilelessly she resorts to it, when her responsibility is relieved by the march of events that seem hurried by over-ruling power that is determining the destiny of Hercules. When her alarm is awakened by the deflagration of the anointed wool, she can recognise—as but for interruption she might have recognised at first,—how probably there was malice in the instructions and gifts of the treacherous Centaur. At once she elects in case her

fears shall be justified, to die; 'for to live ill reported of were unbearable for one who had ever determined to be worthy,'—a motive not exactly that of love—it may be of something nobler.

If there is no vehement trace of intense personal sympathy in her love for her husband, this is no more than might be expected of a wife won originally not by wooing but as prize in a contest; in whom chiefly duty and gratitude however warm, for deliverance from Achelous, are in place of passion.

As regards the delineation of the character of Hercules himself, it is curious and interesting to observe how few strokes are bestowed by the poet in indicating to say nothing of enhancing, its stronger and more heroic side. The heroism of his career is indeed all anterior to the action of the play, and for the most part taken for granted in his name; Hyllus declares that he is of all men on earth the best and bravest (*ἀριστος*), and his like is never to be seen again (v. 811), but we are here at the end of his life,—quite on the further side of the conclusion of his labours,—of the exploits and services that constituted his better heroic career, and of which only his summarised lamentation reminds us to justify the exclamation of the chorus—'Alas for Hellas if such a man shall perish' (v. 1114–5). Otherwise it is assumed that the marvellous exploits of the hero are known to us, and that we are impressed with an awe and respect commensurate. The weaknesses on the one hand, and the callousnesses on the other that too often cling to and qualify our sympathy with the most heroic careers, when we peer over closely into them, make up the chief stuff of the proceeding story.

There is, as we have seen, not a trace either of consideration or affection in his preparation for return to Deianeira after prolonged absence, and as to Iole herself he had obtained possession of her by picking a trivial quarrel with her father who had concern for his daughter's honour,—killing him and his sons and devastating his city. He is carried in miserably groaning as the fatal shirt eats into his flesh,—calling on death but calling still more persistently on the gods for healing, and above all, anxious to destroy Deianeira with his own hands. The spectator is kept in eager anxiety for the honour and affection of Deianeira to be vindicated; at last Hyllus—who himself

had rued and admitted the fatal hastiness of his accusation, has an opportunity of uttering the exculpating word. But along with the same word Hercules hears the fatal name of Nessus; he recognises that his hope of life or cure is over, and thinking no more and saying nothing whatever of Deianeira, not caring to bestow a thought upon her love for him, her error or her lamentable death,—upon her injuries or the injustice of his accusations, he thinks solely of the conclusion of his own existence and breaks out into exclamations of despair.

For the more sympathetic spectator there is a certain final exculpation of Deianeira in the oracle her husband recalls in his anguish—that death was to be inflicted on him by the dead, and in this manner we are led to regard her as the mere unconscious instrument of preordained deliverance.

The one trait of proper heroism that is ascribed directly to Hercules as before us in the play, is his resolution to be burnt living as he is on a pile on Mount Oeta; it is little to add to this the self-control by which after his last commands are given, he conquers the agony of which he has so freely evinced the poignancy, and suppresses all word or exclamation thereafter.

After his care for his funeral pyre he has one thought still, and that is for Iole—yet a thought that is as little characterised by delicacy as any which he has bestowed upon Deianeira—as any that the merely soldierly, especially when princely also, have been wont to bestow on an object of past desire. He cannot bear that any but his own son should possess one whom he had not only chosen but himself possessed (v. 1225)—consistently enough so far with his inability to anticipate poor Deianeira's dislike to partnerships—and he enjoins him, 'a small matter,' (v. 1207) to marry her.

The reply of Hyllus is an aside,—‘It is intolerable even to contemplate one entertaining such a scheme,’ and must have reflected the feelings of spectators. Even apart from this significant intimation it might surely be taken as impossible that a Greek audience should not have felt a movement of revolt against the proposal of a father that his own son should marry his widow—his paramour. The difficulty that Hyllus raises—his repugnance to marry one who has virtually caused the death of both his parents—cannot be that which really affects him; the true objec-

tion lies in susceptibilities to which his father by his very proposal proves himself to be callous, and which it would be labour and pain thrown away to endeavour to awaken. He turns therefore to a motive more likely to find response in the selfish nature of his father—a professed repugnance to the cause of his sufferings. The word *δυσσέβεια* does afterwards escape him which scarcely answers to his pretext, but accurately covers incest—the unholiness, that is in his thoughts. The rejoinder of Hercules is expressive of egotism in the highest, and surpasses even the—‘L’état, c’est moi.’ ‘Unholiness (or impiety), there can be none if you cause a heartfelt gratification to me’ (v. 1246).

‘I will do it,’ concludes Hyllus, ‘giving the gods to understand that the act is yours; relying upon you at least I cannot appear base.’

The Heracleid dynasty of Peloponnesus traced their lineage to this union, and an Athenian poet may not have felt bound to make it romantic.

The feelings of Iole or the possibility of her having any, are as little adverted to by Hercules as those of his son are anticipated or indulged; but the unceremonious disposal of heiresses and widows by will or course of law, was a matter of course at Athens.

The last speech of the play is delivered by Hyllus as he orders the convoy of the suffering son of Jove; this speech is a challenge of divine justice and natural sympathy so distinct and so insulting,—at the same time so entirely uncalled for to sustain to the end any previous intimation of impiety in the speaker, as to imply most absolutely some very special artistic purpose in striking so discordant a note at such a moment. This is the inevitable inference, unless we are prepared to give up the ethical and dramatic sensibility of the poet, or resolve to cling for refuge to the horns of the altar of imputed interpolation. The gods are coarsely charged with stolid cruelty—the gods who propagate offspring only to neglect them,—who are fondly entitled fathers and can look with indifference on misery which men more nobly pity—on the present sufferer whose condition is shameful to them beyond that of all men whatever.

The chorus in its few closing lines has for once no protest in the interest of timid piety as it summons Iole to look upon the wretched catastrophe which has so soon ensued upon the

slaughter she had recently witnessed of her own kindred. If she is reminded at last that this is all Jove's doing, it is submission, not faith, that is suggested—and the exoneration of man at the expense of the gods.

Hyllus avoids the direct name of Zeus as father of Hercules, but his generalised phraseology of the gods as indifferent shamefully to the sufferings of the children they have begotten, only gives that wider scope to his charge which deepens the impiety, while it states the problem in a sense which brings it home to all mankind—commits all to interest in its solution.

That such an ethical discord should be prepared so elaborately, and struck with such emphasis at the very end of a tragedy, and then and there left utterly unresolved and hopeless of solution, is inconsistent with every principle—with every possibility, of harmonious dramatic composition. If this were all it would stand as betraying in the poet either clumsy insensibility or a planned attempt to create worthless effect by a vulgar surprise. The adoption of either view could only involve us in the greater difficulty of reconciling dulness and bad taste so gross, with the proofs of the refinement of Sophoclean genius, which are abundant and prevailing through the self-same plays. We have no such burden cast upon us; in proceeding to the drama of *Ajax Flagellifer* we find the suspended theme is taken up, attached most artistically to the movement of the proceeding play, and conducted onward by still another 'winding bout,' towards that 'full and natural close' that is reserved for another and completing drama.

The crude imputation on the justice and tenderness of the gods with which the *Trachiniae* concludes by the mouth of Hyllus, could not but have moved in an audience disposed as was the Athenian, a feeling of gross incongruousness if such impiety were to be understood as escaping penal visitation, and even of passing without an emphatic rebuke. Sophocles certainly was no stranger to this sentiment, and in the *Aias Mastigophoros* (*Ajax Flagellifer*), he provides it with a distinct response. He presents again the story of the painful end of noble heroism, but this time in worse than the bodily anguish of the shirt of Nessus. It is under the maddening pangs of humiliation divinely inflicted for speeches of arrogant and contemptuous impiety that

Ajax is hurried to self-slaughter. So divine majesty may seem to be vindicated ; but still the abandonment of a noble nature to miserable sufferings, the grand enigma of providential government which revolted the sensibilities of Hyllus, stands over and awaits its solution in the development of still another action—the story of another sorely afflicted hero.

Ajax is the Greek hero who has most of the characteristics of Hercules. His valour is associated not with a dull (v. 119), but at least a slow intellect ; he is steadfast and stubborn in conflict rather than rapid,—a valiant support and second rather than independent in enterprise. The warlike renown of Ajax which is supereminent while yet it is exerted in unquestioning subordination to the interests of others, is directly comparable to the achievements which won immortal renown for Hercules, but were all wrought in subjection, not to say servitude, to Eurysthenes. In the *Iliad*, Ajax is the only conspicuous Greek hero—Achilles not excepted—who is not recorded as suffering a wound ; Pindar gives us a mythus—not, however, adverted to by Sophocles—that connected this invulnerability with his reception in infancy by Hercules who wrapped him in the Nemean lion-hide. Allusion occurs in the tragedy to the Trojan expedition of Telamon, in which he received the prize of valour ; and the comradeship of Hercules and the father of Ajax on that occasion is distinctly recalled.

Ajax, however, retains characteristics of Hercules, combined with others of more advanced civilisation. The moral development is as marked as that which has substituted the arms of the hoplite for the club and lion's skin, or even for the bow and arrows. The callousness of the affections which we are scarcely restrained from regarding as brutality in the treatment both of Deianeira and Iole, is replaced by tenderness towards Tecmessa, who like Iole is only a captive, and by a certain susceptibility of her influence. Although like despairing men too often, he is not diverted by affectionate considerations from his purpose of self-destruction, he cares for her future and still more for her feelings ; he does violence to his nature in order to lull her suspicions, and gives proof, as we shall see, that in some respects at least the expostulations of one whose affection touched his heart have even wrought on his convictions. The anguish to which he succumbs is moral, and so far the sense of shame is

suffering of nobler nature than that which drives Hercules to the pyre of Oeta.

Again, in the story of Ajax, we are conscious of the prevalent recognition of divine agency with more directness and definiteness than in the tale of Hercules—son of Jove himself though he may be. There is a certain remoteness and generality in whatever appeals and references are made by Hercules, even at his sorest need to Jove, to Hades, to the gods; but the power which remained a dim abstraction in the first play, has assumed a characteristic personality in the second. The heavens are nearer to the earth; divine intervention is not merely admitted or assumed in some outer sphere, but is encountered, whether with reverence due or not, among the contentions of human existence. The careless general blasphemy of Hyllus against the gods, becomes the pointed insult of the Aeacid against that goddess Athena whose aid of all others he had most need to invoke. Hercules perished, and the divine determination is only indicated by the concurrence of oracles previously ambiguous or vague, but the hand of Athena herself, her present agency, is operative in bringing Ajax to his doom.

The action of the *Ajax*, opens like that of the *Trachiniae*, at early morning; Ulysses is seen peering about his tent, on the look out for tracks upon the ground. He is following up the rumour which ascribes to Ajax the slaughter during the night of the herds and herdsmen of the Greek camp. And too true it is, that the hero who had retired to his tent in indignation at the arms of Achilles having been adjudged away from him to Ulysses, had sallied forth in the night to avenge himself upon his rival and the Atridae, but in blind frenzy inflicted by Athena, had wreaked his vengeance only upon sheep and oxen. At this very moment he is standing in his tent among a heap of the carcasses, and preparing to scourge others that he believes all the time to be his captive enemies.

Ulysses, so stealthily occupied, hears the voice of his protectress goddess Athena; she is apparently unseen by him throughout and by Ajax afterwards, as well as probably by the spectators. The comparison of her voice to a trumpet may perhaps intimate the employment of some unusually loud reverberatory aid to the speaker. She informs him how the case stands with his rival, and then for visible proof calls Ajax forth. The illusion

of the night still so confuses his vision, that he does not see before him his most hated enemy, but goes back again into the tent to scourge the ram he has tied up in his stead. It is this appearance with scourge in hand that has given the epithet of the title—*Mastigophoros*.

Ulysses himself is struck with noble compassion at the humiliating sight, and reflects on the vanity of man's highest exaltation. The rejoinder of the goddess reveals that her severity towards Ajax had other grounds beyond the simple protection of the Greek chiefs from his vengeance; it is her warning against utterance of any insulting or presumptuous speech reflecting on the gods—the gods of whose might he had seen such an example—against being puffed up by might of hand or weight of wealth. Slight but significant hints of the temper of Ajax which had provoked such infliction, appear even in the short sentences he exchanges with the goddess. He sets aside her suggestions, or accepts her encouragement, with the same independent off-hand tone, and indeed insists upon a characteristic phrase, as to what aid he will admit and what not admit, which recurs in the still graver charge of impiety hereafter.

The scene is vacant when the chorus enters and speaks in uncertainty but with ever increasing impatience and excitement;—‘Can it be indeed as reported by Ulysses, that Ajax is really the author of the outrage of the night under divinely-inflicted access of mania—then by what Power and for what disrespect inflicted,—or is the tale a calumnious invention of the descendant of *Sisyphus*?’

Salaminian sailors compose the chorus, sailors of the fleet of Ajax from Aegina; the Athenian relationship, of which the only title was the interpolated line in the Homeric catalogue, is carefully alluded to. They speak of themselves as the mean folk who have to lean upon the great, yet still to the great are helpful; once and again we find them misinterpreting the speech and purpose of Ajax; and thus, as in other Greek tragedies, the chorus is made an instrument for enhancing heroic tones by contrast with sentiments of lower type. Sympathy with their leader is accordingly very soon largely qualified by their personal apprehension of sharing his misfortunes.¹

¹ The metaphor of doves (v. 140), has a local propriety for Salamis and its mythology.

To the chorus, Tecmessa, entering from the tent (v. 201), relates the harrowing story of the night, and announces that Ajax in recovered sanity is lying exhausted and overcome with depression and shame, in reality more miserable than when possessed by his frenzy. At the appeal of the chorus she opens the tent (346)—a scholiast says the discovery was effected by mechanism of the encyclema—and shows him surrounded by piles of slaughtered cattle, oxen and sheep, ‘circled round,’ in his own nautical metaphor to his sailors, ‘with an eddying wave of carnage’ (352). He is overcome with dejection at disappointment in vengeance, with shame at thought of ridiculousness of his error and with rage at the assumed malignant triumph of Ulysses. He recognises the fact that his disgrace is due to the interference of the goddess Athene, but never adverts to his provocation of it. He would fain still renew a violent attempt against Ulysses and the Atridae and then perish himself; the first is but a passing thought, but the project of self-destruction remains and is persisted in.

A male attendant—pedagogue it may be—brings in at his summons his child Eurysaces, very young (v. 553), too young to be fully sensible of his father’s distress, not so young that, but for heroic origin, he might not unnaturally be frightened at the slaughtered heap (546). Holding the child (in his arms?) he has no better wish to express for him than that with qualities like his own he may be, not more pious—this consideration does not come up—but more fortunate; for his future protection he relies upon the watchfulness of his comrades and the guard of Teucer; he concludes with distinctest intimation of his own resolution for speedy death, and then commands Tecmessa to comply and retire along with the attendant and child. The pedagogue will retire hastily with the child, but Tecmessa, I can imagine, turns back from the closed entrance and only at last and reluctantly, and after many appeals at being dismissed, retires; Ajax is to be considered as going with her at last, as if so far gradually softening as to take her in himself. The general tenor of the song of the chorus which ensues implies distinctly that Ajax does not hear a word of it—self-commiserating as it is at the commencement, and concluding at last as rather readily reconciled to the approaching fate of their leader, a prepared contrast to the change of resolution he is presently to announce.

Ajax speaks at once on its conclusion, and without any direct intimation how he has bestowed the interval, but his reference to his being 'softened by this woman,' and to what effect, not only implies—what appears afterwards (685)—that she is present, but it seems to me, that he had had recent converse with her of far more detailed scope than the mere interchange of commands and general expostulations that preceded her dismissal. That he should have merely 'retired up,' and sat abstracted and absorbed during the song of the chorus, is a view that commends itself to me in no way.

We have now from his lips for the first time, a recognition of some sense of reverential consideration due to the gods, and of his own dereliction and sin with regard to them; and here it is we trace the true and characteristic influence of feminine suggestions, apt ever to be more solicitous for peace than punctilious about niceties of honour. The indication of opened intelligence is not the less important and not less real, that he designedly misrepresents its influence, and professes to be affected by it far more and far otherwise than is the fact. His speech addressed both to Tecmessa and the chorus, is clearly framed to lull the apprehensions roused by his declared intention of suicide, an intention which he holds by still and even expresses, though in covert phrases only intelligible to the audience. His talk of purification is to furnish an excuse for solitude; his reference to the fatality of the present of Hector, is a stratagem having something of the known craftiness that lingers with the half-recovered insane, to enable him to withdraw unwatched in possession of a weapon. The speech is precisely what the chorus had described his previous speeches as not being—it is unlike himself, sophisticated, and but for its motive unworthy of him in politic insincerity.

Tecmessa, who has not uttered or added a word all through, retires dismissed into the tent; and at the exit of Ajax, the chorus once more alone, bursts forth in mistaken exultation at this changed disposition both in respect of pious service to the gods and also of respect for the authority of the Atridae, thus still more emphatically directing attention to the double difficulty of his pride.

No sooner does the chorus conclude than a messenger enters. From his announcement we learn for the first time in detail,

the dire and dangerous profaneness by which Ajax had originally stirred the jealous anger of the gods; and then is announced the oracle which declares his absence from his tent this day—this day the limit within which divine anger will restrict itself—to be critical for his life.

Tecmessa enters at the alarm from the tent, but not with the child—*τέκνον*, v. 809, seems addressed to the messenger. At her instigation the chorus go out hastily (814) and in different directions to search westward and eastward—a semichorus therefore sallying on either side. She also urges one to summon Teucer, a function probably committed to the messenger; she herself meantime retires as participating in the search; and thus the scene, stage and orchestra, is for the time again entirely empty.

It is scarcely a question that this was a contrived opportunity for introducing an entire change of scene from the tent by the shore and the camp, to a wooded space. Unless the precise spot of the suicide of Ajax, which takes place in a wood close upon the positions occupied by the dialogue, could be placed near the centre of the scene, the whole ordination of the stage in the latter part of the play would be most uncomfortably disarranged.

At v. 815, Ajax enters alone, after a soliloquy of which more is to be said; he then retires quite out of sight into the wood.

V. 866. The first semichorus enters, after fruitless search, and probably a certain amount of moving anxiously about, hears a noise which is the second semichorus arriving from the westward (874). Their interchange of expressions of perplexity are speedily interrupted by the shriek of Tecmessa from the wood in the background: at her second exclamation she is caught sight of by the chorus, crouching, overwhelmed in grief, upon the dead body.

She covers the body, which she describes as bleeding from the nostrils and the wound; the chorus follows up her lamentations, but as little as herself intimates any consciousness of the fault by which the hero had provoked his frenzy and his fate. The voice of Teucer is now heard. Tecmessa recognises it but does not stay to greet or be greeted by him, but retires.

Teucer, lamenting over the body as it lies, commands to uncover it, and proceeds to disengage the sword planted in the

ground, upon which it is transfixed; recognising the fatal present of Hector, he holds it dripping blood, as he speaks (1040). Menelaus is now seen approaching, by the chorus first and then by Teucer, who at the moment of his entrance has the corpse in his hands as proceeding to raise or remove it. So occupied he is challenged by Menelaus, who seems to be accompanied by a pomp of heralds; and an altercation ensues of which the tendency is as usual in Athenian drama to degrade the Spartan, and exhibits him as forfeiting by meanness of soul the justest advantage of argument. He goes out fairly talked down (1160) and it is now that Tecmessa enters with her boy Eurysaces.

The child, though a mute person, is old enough not only to walk (1171) but to understand the injunction to sit by the corpse and cling to it under whatever circumstance of violence. Teucer cuts off locks of hair of the corpse, of himself and of the child, to whom he delivers them to be held in his hand as he is stationed; having done this he goes out to prepare the funeral, leaving the chorus in charge (v. 1223). Just as the chorus has finished, again a lament over its own sufferings during the prolonged siege, still harping upon exile and its hardships, Teucer reenters in haste having descried the approach of Agamemnon; Menelaus apparently (v. 1309) returns with him though he speaks no more. With Agamemnon a more dignified dispute ensues than was vouchsafed to Menelaus, inasmuch as the inordinate claims of supreme power are replied to by vindication of the deserts and services of the dead. Still the dispute declines at last into a retort of personalities; but now Ulysses enters, and interposes with caution that is masked by the composure of dignified gravity. The superior mind at once recovers the discussion, and places the duty of respect for Ajax upon the higher grounds of religious principle and justice—regard for what is enjoined by the laws of the gods, and the just claims of the valiant and the noble. That Tecmessa is a present witness of the high-minded appeal in favour of Ajax by him who was regarded as his greatest enemy, would convey to the spectator the highest enhancement of the incident.

Agamemnon shamed or overruled but not convinced, leaves the responsibility and with it the merit to Ulysses, who tenders his personal aid at the obsequies of his late indignant and

violent rival. Here, however, it is betrayed that there is still an uncompensated arrear of rancour, a discord not yet to be resolved, as Teucer declines the service out of awe of the animosity which Ajax for all his revulsion of feeling carried with him to the tomb—to manifest it even in the Homeric Hades.

As the play concludes all the train are engaged in lifting the still pitiably bleeding body; the child Eurysaces lending his childish hand; the shield of his father, the bequest reserved to him, not without allusion to the significance of his name, already sent for by Teucer (1406) from the tent, would be brought in at the very close.

It is early in the play, as we have seen, that we have a full expression from his own lips, though it is when under frenzy, of the slights which Ajax could pass upon a divinity even in presence, v. 112. He declines to spare the supposed Ulysses at the injunction of the goddess; any other matter he 'gives her permission' to meddle with; and then, when she changes tone and incites him to the work, he intimates as independently that—'he gives her permission'—the same phrase again—he indulges her so far as to accept her as comrade upon such terms as these.

The comment of Athene follows and emphasises the insolence; the fall and hallucination of Ajax warn against contemptuous speeches towards the gods, or arrogance founded on superiority in warlike act or larger wealth.

The matter of wealth does not touch Ajax particularly, or Ulysses either, and therefore seems designed to glance aside to some allusion without the drama.

Recalled to his senses, after the first agony of disappointed revenge and shame at ridiculous failure (401), he recognises that he is the victim of the valorous, the mighty goddess, and admits, as if unconscious how differently he once spoke (450–5), that the aid of the gods which he had contemptuously repudiated as valueless to himself whatever it might be to others (467), does give irresistible odds in favour even of the basest against even the most valiant; yet even so he still rises to no recognition of the obligations of respect from the most valiant.

In reply to Tecmessa, who adjures him by the gods to renounce self-destruction, he replies, 'Know ye not that I am indebted to the gods for no good—why should I act out of consideration for

them?' She deprecates the profane, ill-omened speech—a speech of defiance still though no longer of self-asserting independence of the gods; in the expression of a sense that he is forsaken of gods as well as friendless among men, there is at least the directest implication of some value in extraneous aid or enmity.

In his last speech of all we have again a certain indication of a mind recovered to recognition of divine supremacy, while still scarcely betraying trouble from any sense of guilt in past impiety. We can scarcely assume from his silence on the point, that he has really carried out his purpose expressed, v. 654, of ceremonial purification, and having relieved his conscience, is on that account now calmer; but he has at least reached one stage of moral regeneration, such as it is; he recognises his mortal insufficiency, and can address in prayer, with even deliberate feeling for ritual proprieties, "Zeus first, as befits" (*καὶ γὰρ εἰκός*), and his prayer involves the very term (*ἄρκεσον*) that made part of his late repudiation of appeal to the gods (*ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρκειν*), the very term that seems most expressive in the mouth of one who had erred by averment of complete self-sufficiency independently of the gods. His next prayer is to Hermes Pompaïos for speedy and happy release, and so the bold and undevout soldier is brought at last to supplication when his granted prayer will bring nothing but furtherance of suicide and honourable burial.

Of forgiveness to man or of recognised subordination to superiors, however, there is not a trace, any more than of contrition towards the gods. It is true that he does not mention Ulysses, but as if to add vehemence by concentration of hatred, he invokes in an appeal to the Erinyes the direst curses upon the Atridæ.

The latter portion of the play simply illustrates the fulfilment of his less vindictive prayer. His death is speedy and complete, and Teucer does receive such early rumour of it as enables him to secure his burial rites. The inspiration of his revengeful prayer is rebuked by the spirit with which Ulysses, his former rival, is animated—a spirit in harmony with his original compassion for the crazed rival, and in itself a justification for the preferential protection of the gods.

The prolongation of the dispute between Teucer and the

Atridae in the latter half of the play has always presented a difficulty to criticism. Interest and pathos so manifestly decline from their earlier height, and the space occupied seems a manifest disproportion in a work of a poet whose general characteristic is sensitiveness to propriety in proportion above all things. The allusion of Teucer to a possible suspicion of prolixity (v. 1402) is curious, but the difficulty vanishes when we regard these scenes as much more importantly introductory to new events than as conclusive of a previous action. The altercation brings up all the motives involved in a complication between members of what is a confederacy not exactly upon equal terms. How far does the obligation of alliance for a common purpose, under an admitted leader, forfeit independence in action of the allies? What is the limit within which a confederated member is bound to submit even to injustice, much more to inconsiderate or illiberal treatment, from the leader he has accepted, without withdrawal of alliance or refusal of subordination?

The independence which Teucer asserts for Ajax would manifestly render all effective confederacy impossible, for it would render impossible any combined operations under one presiding mind, that in any case could not escape some errors, must sometimes lapse in injustice. The position of Athens at the head of the cities and states of Greece, half subjected and half confederate, made all these topics most familiar to the demus, and of the highest interest. A fallacy propounded by Teucer on the rights of a subordinated ally, would never command their assent on the strength of their private preference for Ajax as compared with Agamemnon. A conflict of sentiment no doubt there would be, but in this lies precisely the germ of the dramatic interest of an action involving political deliberations, and opening of a question which is left as much in suspense as the moral of the *Trachiniae*.

I find nowhere in the play an implication that the judgment respecting the arms of Achilles was really unjust. Tecmessa's assertion that the goddess's favour to Ulysses was the sole cause is but a pettish charge. That Ajax was, as admitted on all hands, the bravest and most serviceable warrior of the host after Achilles, does not seem in itself to constitute a title to his arms, as indeed it did not in reality touch the particular

claim which was based on a special issue, which did best service in rescuing both the arms and the body of the hero—Ajax, who bore away the dead body, or Ulysses, who repelled the pursuers?

This question is not so posed in the play, and the consequence—as the intention—is that there is a certain suspense, a question left open in the mind that is looked to be replied to sooner or later. In the play of Aeschylus on the same subject, the statement of the grounds of the rival claims came first; the debate and contest for the arms occupied the first part of the play, and so this point was made quite clear from the commencement. Sophocles begins his action subsequently to the discussion, and keeps over, undeclared, the main consideration on which it was decided at last. It is indeed indifferent to the proper subject of the play whether that decision was just or unjust; it marks the character of Ajax that his indignation would blind him to the fact and be without limit in either case.

Both in the *Trachiniae* therefore and in the *Ajax* we miss the accomplishment of the highest dignity of which tragedy is capable, which it is incumbent on tragedy to aim at and to attain. Pathos assuredly there is in both, and especially in the fate and fortunes of the heroines. We cannot but compassionate such devotion and affectionateness in the gentler sex involved in the turbulent catastrophes of consorts whose interests and passions spread widely forth beyond the domestic limit. Pity however is overruled by awe at the import of these larger catastrophes that carry down with them the fortunes of states and revolutions of empires, and present imposingly the problems that comprise the very deepest projects and sympathies of mankind. The heroic career of Hercules, the securer of the primary conditions of civilised development, seems mocked by the incidental fatality that brings it to an end. The self-reliance of Ajax which has carried him to the very height of all warlike prowess, falls by overstrain and develops into that over-weening presumption where pride is nearest neighbour to insubordinate arrogance in success, and in failure to irretrievable mania. But both tragedies open questions which they are not planned to carry on to more than proximate solutions; the treatment of the subject of either suggests earnest considerations which have no sufficient entertainment

accorded to them, and the mind therefore is left to dwell upon them as in suspense. The catastrophe of Hercules has scarcely a moral coherence with the good and the glory of his antecedent career; our sympathies go with Teucer in his defence of Ajax as against the illiberal and ungrateful Atridae, but if we are careful to conserve our own moral balance, and stand firmly on that point of view, which as citizens of any country no less than Greeks and Athenians we are bound to take up, we find ourselves perforce, if half reluctantly, demurring to the grounds the defence is rested on. We are involuntarily disposed to demand still from the poet amidst the tumultuous suggestions of the scene, a poetic expression of the ultimate moral sanction which the instinct of indestructible hope, more potent than any reasoning, makes even the most sceptical assured must satisfactorily emerge beyond all.

As we proceed to the action of the *Philoctetes* we note from the first, a certain link of pragmatistical association that attaches it to the events which are current in the story of Ajax as well as in that of Hercules; and in its harmonious development it supplies in progress and conclusion an ethical solution that closes, along with its own, every suspense and hesitation promoted by those which had gone before.

All the action of the *Philoctetes* turns upon the fated requirement of the presence of the hero at the siege of Troy as bearer of the bow and arrows of Hercules, weapons which he came into possession of in recompense for the service—that one service that Hyllus in the last scene of the *Trachiniae* professes himself unequal to—of applying the torch to the pyre on Oeta. Hercules consents to waive the requirement of this service from his son, and how it is to be performed is left by him uncertain with a degree of composure that would carry to the audience familiar with the result, a certain impression of prophetic foresight.

In the discussion between Ulysses and Neoptolemus that opens the *Philoctetes* as to how the indispensable but outraged ally is to be recovered with his fateful weapons, a leading topic is that contest for the arms of the father of Neoptolemus by failure in which it was that indignation unsettled the brain of Ajax—the subject of the *Ajax Mastigophoros*; and *Hercules*, of

whom we are reminded through the whole course of the *Philoctetes* and with whose fortunes the trilogy commenced in the *Trachiniae*, appears again at the conclusion. That this is in fact a reappearance relieves it from seeming the makeshift expedient of a dramatist in distress. He reappears to effect a solution for the otherwise inextricable complication of motives and passions wrought to the extreme of exasperation on all sides, and at the same time he exhibits in his own exaltation the desiderated proof of divine recognition of merits and labours in a mortal state.

The chorus of the first play consists of maidens—maidens of Trachis; that of the second of sailors of Salamis, the native city of Ajax; the chorus of the last play, according to an ancient notice, consists of elders sailing along with Neoptolemus. It seems certain that the crew of the vessel is not in question; that they address Neoptolemus as ἄναξ and δεσπότης decides nothing either way. That they also addressed him ὁ τέκνον is in favour of their decided seniority. There is a studied variety therefore at least, if it is not worth while to say sequence, in these contrasts.

There was probably considerable, and probably ingenious peculiarity in the set of the scenery for the *Philoctetes*; at the opening we are on the rocky and desolate shore of Lemnos—the stage apparently is to be regarded as a continuation of the seashore with a promontory of cliffs behind; Ulysses enters with Neoptolemus and an attendant; the chorus is with them, but apart.

Neoptolemus at the instruction of Ulysses clammers on the cliffs in search of a cavern having two entrances, and of such an aspect as to afford a double frontage to the winter sun, and in summer a cooling thorough draught of air, and a little below it towards the left, a spring of fresh water. The cave is easily found, at some height, and Neoptolemus after listening looks in and sees clear indications of its occupation, and of the miserable tending of his wound by its occupant. The attendant is planted to watch the footpath, and Ulysses, protected from recognition, opens to his companion, not without reminding that he is subordinate in the commission, his scheme of proceeding. His present injunctions only extend to obtaining possession of the arms, but though he says nothing of the equally necessary

co-operation of Philoctetes, this is understood (v. 112) as a necessary consequence; and is afterwards distinctly so stated by Neoptolemus himself (v. 840). The assumption is clearly—and yet it is never formulated in terms—that the hero when dispossessed of his means of securing subsistence must come to friendly parley perforce. The unerring arms can only be secured by false pretences and stratagem, and the frank disposition of the youth revolts from the falsehoods he is called upon to tell, but overborne by authority and by the argument that the presence of Philoctetes at Troy is necessary for his own success, he consents. That the alternatives of either force or guile are exhaustive of the expedients at command for obtaining the desired results is assumed by Ulysses; and when the possibility of persuasion is mentioned by Neoptolemus, he sets it aside dogmatically as futile, and his opinion is accepted without discussion. That Philoctetes, all his sufferings and injuries notwithstanding, can still be placable and open to friendly appeal, does occur to Neoptolemus, but he gives up the idea immediately in deference to Ulysses, and started and dismissed so cursorily, it is not likely to remain in the mind of the audience as of reasonable value; thus it is reserved as a solution to come upon them at last with all the freshness of surprise. The arguments of Ulysses in virtue of this cardinal oversight would be justly stigmatised as sophistical were it not that the omission is truly unconscious and due to the idiosyncrasy of the politician. Conducted as they are—the cogent expressions of a seeming political and indeed patriotic necessity—they might easily bewilder the spectators as well as Neoptolemus, and so commit them to a premature sympathetic participation in his fraud, though not without the natural misgiving which constitutes the essence of a moral suspense.

In the description by Philoctetes of the circumstances of his abandonment, of his mode of desert life and solitary sufferings and disappointments of rescue, in his glow of feeling at the recognition of sympathetic countrymen, at news of the friends from whom he had been so long separated, their misfortunes and the fortunes of the expedition in which he was still destined to bear so important a part—in all this combination of picturesque background and pathetic incident, we recognise the very heritage of the genius that gave to the world the type of all romantic

interest and embellishment in the *Odyssey*, transferred to the Athenian theatre. There is something very touching, expressive beautifully of soundness of heart, in the frank retention by the much aggrieved hero, all passion and all provocation, notwithstanding of faith in the goodness of good dispositions, in the right-mindedness of natures inherited from the right-minded. Deserted, betrayed, neglected as he had been, his sympathies leap at once confidently to the son of Achilles, as confidently as they would have greeted Nestor, Antilochus, Patroclus. Even towards Ulysses and the Atridae, his feelings, vented though they may be from time to time in indignation and even in maledictions, never take the direction of suggesting plans of vengeance, or dwelling persistently on anticipated retribution; even towards the authors and instrument of his misery it is rather repugnance at last than active hatred that he entertains. Most touching, then, is the revulsion to absolute, universal, irrevocable mistrust of all mankind, when he finds that even Neoptolemus himself is an accomplice in insincerity and fraud; after this, not even the frank confession, the fullest reparation of the youth, can restore his former reservation in favour of a remnant. For a moment he even hesitates to receive back his proffered bow, in apprehension of some new treacherous intent; the complication of wickedness has passed beyond his faculty of insight, he is ready to renounce malice for past injuries that he has suffered (v. 1355), even so far is he capable of righting his course upon the stormy waves of passion, but beyond this he cannot go by any force of his own merely mental sympathy and incitement. Nothing in future can shake his conviction that his only hope of security against mischievous mankind must lie in keeping himself persistently aloof; in this spirit he will renounce without a pang the most alluring prospects of distinction and promises of fame, which are only assured to him under the condition of co-operation with such treacherous allies; he prefers to go on in an inglorious life and with the lifelong companionship of a loathsome ulcer, to consorting with allies more hateful still. Confidence between man and man is damaged beyond all chance of natural recovery, and it seems that only interference more than natural—and this is the very barb of the moral—can bring the action to its fated close. But one yet higher motive than occurs to Neoptolemus to urge, remains to be

appealed to, and it is significant of the noble nature of Philoctetes that he is susceptible of being still touched by the highest when deadened to all others.

It does not appear by any hint throughout the play that the ten years sufferings of Philoctetes were brought upon him directly or indirectly by any fault or flaw of character of his own. Neoptolemus says it was by accident due to the gods, *ἐκ θελας τύχης*, and justly meriting a commiseration not given to sufferings that a man brings upon himself. Such things we know are in the order of nature, and how they are to be regarded is expressed in the speech with which Hercules, appearing in glory, finally decides the destinies of all, and declares the counsels of Zeus.

To Philoctetes it is announced by the authoritative voice of the son of Zeus, at whose last scene on earth he had been witness and chief ministrant, that the career with all its multifarious labours which that scene closed, but only closed to lead to an immortal reward, represents his own. On him it is incumbent also through the labours that are set before him, to achieve a lifetime of fair fame. To Troy it is his destiny and duty to accompany Neoptolemus as a comrade; there cured of his sore disease, and conspicuous in valour, it will be the reward of his self-abnegation to be the slayer of Paris, author of such a train of evils, to be the destroyer of Troy, and receiving the prime compensations, the *ἀμοιβή*, of the expedition, to send home spoils to the halls of his father Poias, at Oeta, and to dedicate them—memorials of the Heracleian bow—at the Oetaean pyre. The speech ends with an injunction of piety towards the gods in the triumphant hour, 'for all things else whatever are secondary to piety in the esteem of father Zeus; the piety of mortals dies not along with them, live they or do they die, this does not perish.'

Thus is Philoctetes called on—and such is his fine nature that the appeal is not in vain—not alone to set aside rancour and the spite that suggests or gloats over the hope of vengeance, to let the by-gones of a ten years' desertion in deepening misery be by-gones, but to follow forth at the injunction of the god, a task that in itself is patriotic at whatever sacrifice of feelings for the past, despite whatever justifiable apprehensions of further deceptions and injuries in the future. So he is told is true

glory gained ; so is immortality merited, achieved ; such is the piety towards the gods that lives with man through his living fortune, and when he dies continues still existent.

It is of the highest significance, under the present view of the interdependence of these dramas, that with such exact distinctness should be assigned to Philoctetes as reward of patriotic self-subjection, the very prize most coveted by Ajax, but falsely conceived by him, the ἀπιστεία of the expedition (*Ajax*, v. 435), and that it is his father Poias who should be gladdened by the tokens of a son's glory which were to be vainly coveted by Telamon. Piety towards the gods, and patriotic subordination for common good despite the fairest grounds of personal discontent, receive the highest sanction of divine approval in contrast to vain presumption, blind self-reliance, and rebellion out of overweening self-sufficiency against both man and god. Assuredly the moral is inculcated with perfect freedom from a lapse to slavishness and unconditional submission to existing powers. To these is read a lesson in terms that lack nothing of befitting severity ; the Atridae are sacrificed in dignity without stint or mercy, and even the more nobly-spirited Ithacan supplies but a warning example that diplomatic craft at its highest, and even when most patriotically employed, is but a defective instrument compared with the inspirations of simpler motives, and may drag down even the purest patriotism to failure and disgrace.

The wisdom of Ulysses is of a kind that, however exquisite, is found at last incompetent, because interpreting sympathy is wanting, to predict the movements of such a contrasted disposition as that of Philoctetes. He only aggravates repugnance and confirms obstinacy which were not before implacable or utterly confirmed ; and by the very compass of his stratagem he shakes confidence from its firmest seat, destroys faith even in good faith. In this manner that mutual confidence which is the indispensable basis of all human treaty to any purpose, the condition of honourable intercourse and common understanding may be, has been, and is ever fatally destroyed. When this mischief supervenes, society, but for a miracle or the approximate equivalent of a miracle, is on its way to dissolution, and it may seem as if the very process of human advancement is destined to be disappointed.

Miracles may be waited for in vain in actual life, but it is the purpose and the privilege of a work of art to epitomise the development of ages; private experience makes it familiar how the dissolution of social bonds and concerted action too often and too certainly ensues under such circumstances; common and concerted action comes to an end inevitably for at least a generation; it is fortunate if the interposition of new agents unsoiled by antecedent errors and even uninformed of them, if a new generation with so much at least of the healthiness of youth as is due to limited exposure to influences of corruption, proves competent to recover enthusiasm and to reunite a sympathetic enterprise.

The end of the *Philoctetes* it may be thought is in a certain sense untragic, inasmuch as it is happy—though anguish both of mind and body is persistent and predominant enough throughout its course until the very latest moment when Hercules interposes. But even the ending of the *Oresteia* is in the same sense happy, and there is not much real difference between the tranquillity that so supervenes to close a series of agitations and that which eventuates in the death of the hero.

The trilogy illustrates with exhaustive analysis the reciprocal duties incumbent upon the heroic performers of public services and those for whose behoof they are undertaken. Tolerance and even condonation is claimed in the case of Hercules for the lapses in private and domestic life that have been in no way incompatible with heroic patriotism on the wider stage of active achievement. His career comes to a miserable end by a train of unfortunate complications due to these secondary lapses; still the sense remains that his services are worthy of requital independently, and we are left to look round or look above for some opening of worthy compensation. Upon himself have recoiled the consequences of his egotistic neglect of the best feelings of others, but the account of his larger unselfishness stands open still and still appeals for equally consistent retributive reward.

The claim of Hercules is never mooted by himself; he submits to his fate as a divine dispensation with no expression either of accusation or of resignation or of faith; when the necessity is recognised he soon collects himself to firm and calm endurance: it is among his friends, it is to his son who

looks on in amazement that the question presents itself, how is such retribution for such service compatible with the characteristics that we ascribe to the divine ?

The claim for appropriate requital,—strange to the lips of Hercules, but blurted out so bluntly by his representative—finds in the case of Ajax its loud enunciation from the hero himself. For special services he claims special acknowledgment in the assignment of the decoration of the *Aristeia*, the special reward of the armour of the rescued corpse of Achilles ; and when another, justly or unjustly—with fair legality in the particular case, or against it, gains the coveted prize, he is clamorous—indignant—finally, violently aggressive against the leaders of the very expedition in which he is an associated, but still subordinate ally. Ajax comes to destruction through the consequences of his own guilty outbreak in dereliction of public duty, as Hercules through his lapse in truthfulness of private affection, but even in this case again, the claim of heroic public deserts is vindicated in the dispute about his interment, as against the derelictions in loyalty which, however serious, still are secondary.

The claim for just compensation for virtue seems a necessary corollary of the principle of retribution for errors and shortcomings ; and in the difficulties and contests of the world, an appeal is ever recognised in our inner consciousness as lying open from man to God. It is to this higher, this restraining consideration, to this religion that they have to defer who are bound to admit merit, whatever the irrelevant weaknesses that have parasitical attachment to it, and to concede appropriate honour even when services of unquestionable magnitude are unhappily qualified by certain very considerable drawbacks.

But these considerations have an aspect that reflects upon the heroic themselves ; and there is an appropriate attitude for them in respect of eager anxiety for recognition and reward and honour, not merely as regards those whom they rescue or benefit, but also as regards a superior, a supreme—a divine—control. Hercules exhibits the spectacle of simple submission—so absolute that it amounts in its very silence and suppression of any reclamation to the most eloquent expression of faith—of resignation that is the very highest faith, inasmuch as it does not even formulate in the most general terms any theory of a coming

reward. Not so complacent are his friends, and Hyllus utters the challenge to the divine attributes, both of intelligence and justice, that calls loudly for a reply,—a reply which is most specifically enunciated in the two sequent associated dramas.

The same spirit of excessive self-appreciation that makes Ajax eager for definite signs of recognition of his patriotic services, breaks out in the presumptuous contempt of the divine control, under which alone it is that his own qualities that he takes pride and has confidence in, have play and freedom. The sin against the divine has a divinely-inflicted punishment, and it is by this very lesson of humbleness applied to the most valiant and the most meritorious, that the spectators were led up to the moral solution contained in the concluding drama.

Hercules and Ajax are sufferers from the operation of the defects which are proper to themselves,—even the denial of the arms of Achilles is not marked as an absolute injustice, and in any case the exasperation that carries Ajax wrong, would have been subdued or escaped by a better balanced character. But Philoctetes throughout is every way more sinned against than sinning, though indeed the source of his long years of misery is to be sought in independent misfortune for which neither enemy nor friend was absolutely answerable. Still it is impossible for human nature to disallow the fairness of his resentment against the chiefs who had deserted him under such circumstances, even though the dilemma they were placed in may have left them no other alternative consistent with the prosecution of the expedition. He endures the compound anguish both of Hercules and Ajax,—bodily suffering more prolonged and quite as poignant as that inflicted by the poisoned shirt,—and bitterness of desertion by trusted friends more afflicting than rejection by their partial arbitration. His Nessus shirt has been put on him by those whom he never could regard as having erred in kindness; whatever rancour he might entertain was provoked by those who were prepared to expose him to a life of lingering misery, and a wretched and solitary death.

Upon heroism subjected to such evils, the incumbency of magnanimity is surely a hard lesson; the difficulty of it receives full illustration from the poet, and we have presented in the action that goes on before our eyes the most vivid exhibition of growing difficulties to enhance the mental struggle. With such

force and nature does the example placed before us demonstrate how the advantage of the highest endowments of the noblest characters may be lost to a country—to humanity, by base vices of intrigue and ill-faith destroying confidence between man and man, that we may well shudder at the prospective fortunes of a race which requires all the command of all its resources to make head against its difficulties. If we take the dramatic representation of the case literally, we shall see that nothing less than a divine interposition can at last rescue humanity from the intricacies its own vices weave like hampering nets about its better men and better virtues. This is in fact the very solution which has commended itself to the convictions of the larger portion of the race, and a new start in recovery of human charities has often, with fond and ready credulity, been ascribed to a theophany as gross and palpable as that of Hercules on the *theologeion* of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens.

The appearance of the transfigured—the glorified Hercules at the conclusion of the *Philoctetes* is the proper conclusion of the story of the *Trachiniae*, and of its continuation through the *Ajax*. Here the cavil of Hyllus receives its reply; here the presumption that wrecked Ajax is rebuked by the spectacle of a heroism that can forget sufferings—injuries however severe, and return to prosecute with heart and energy the patriotic cause. The previous plays have sufficiently insisted on the liabilities of genius and heroism to lapse, and on the indulgence that must be accorded to them; we have now presented to us the lesson of what sacrifices in self-control are to be exacted from those who have committed to them the faculty of aiding the world's urgent work more powerfully than ever any others; in what humility towards the divine source of the order that is ultimately to harmonise all discords, they are bound to do right and fear not,—do right and hope not—but to leave the end to that supreme control with whom remains the knowledge of the beginning.

The *Philoctetes* we learn by a fortunately preserved notice, was produced in B.C. 409.

The position of Athens at this time was very critical; parties were in a state of the highest excitement, but the popular party was in the ascendant after great revolutions

and reverses, and a gleam of hope was appearing, however fallaciously, in the services of the recalled Alcibiades.

Two years before the date of the play, the faction of oligarchics had effected for a short time the object which the demus had often and too rashly been ridiculed for persistently ascribing to them. Encouraged by the depression of the city after the Sicilian reverses followed up by others nearer home, they had intrigued for the subversion of the democratical constitution, and by alarm and false pretences on the one hand, and on the other by removing the most dangerous opponents by secret assassination and instituting general terrorism, they carried through their design in a seeming legal form. After four months they promulgated a pretence of a reconstituted constitution to be based on a wider constituency, but a council of 400 retained all power, and took measures forthwith, designed to enable them to conclude the war on any terms, and to secure themselves by placing the enemy in occupation of Athens.

Difficulties rose before them gradually at Athens, but their overthrow was decided by the action of the crews of the fleet at Samos. Their reconstruction of the constitution was disavowed, measures were taken to traverse their plans; and in a short time Alcibiades was treated with, and placed in command of the fleet. The traitorous and versatile, but able and energetic exile had wrought his countrymen incalculable harm, and it was disheartening and degrading that they should be reduced to have any intercourse with him. But such were the times; the most patriotic might look round and ask who was there of any ability to compare with him that could be more relied on? At the date of the *Philoctetes* he was in a career of patriotic successes which kindled hopes that the country might yet be saved by his means; he had not yet returned to the city,—he did not do so till B.C. 407, but even a former enemy, as matters stood, might well think it worthy of him to encourage the people in the turn that their feelings were now taking.

Among the three suffering heroes of the trilogy, Hercules is brought to his wretched end immediately through that unregulated passion for the sex which was a notorious weakness of Alcibiades, involving him in scandal and trouble, now from an amour with Timaea, the wife of Agis, King of Sparta, and now with a Melian captive. The passion of the demi-god is incon-

stant, indiscriminate, and as little distinguished by delicacy or regard for the feelings of the objects of it, as that of Alcibiades, who was charged with driving away his wife by similar shamelessness—by introducing his paramours, bond or free, under the same roof with her. Still the tenor of the drama is to insist—if we do not care to say upon the moral—upon the matter of fact, that however such laxity and selfishness degrade and humiliate personally at last a Nelson, or a Henri Quatre, or a Hercules, they do not cancel the independent merit of patriotic public service.

Though not an action is ascribed to Hercules throughout the play that does not chiefly tell to his disparagement, he remains Hercules still—he is still the prime hero and heroic benefactor of Hellas whom there is slight hope of replacing. The apology for his misdoings could scarcely be carried further.

In the next play, this side of the character of the suffering hero is softened, and with Ajax the better influences of tenderness and love are admitted as far as they may be consistently with sympathies of larger range. In this case we are called upon to regard with awe the consequences of the impiety that springs from over-confident presumption—from neglect and insult to the gods—to mark the sin, but quite as impressively to recognise the pitiable retribution. The exhibition of what there is of tender and noble in his nature induces allowance in our hearts for the frenzied outbreaks of a hero who has not been without provocation—an irritating disappointment at least and perhaps just occasion for complaint, extravagant, criminal though he may have been in his attempts at revenge. There is no palliation in the play for the attempts of Ajax, —frenzy makes him slay the cattle in his misconception, but it is frenzy that grows out of his own extravagant self-esteem, and when he recovers his senses, it is only to regret that his desperate purpose failed, and to be humiliated at his absurdly futile outbreak, and it is in the bitterness of this thought, and in still unrelaxed hatred and malice, that he dies.

Still, traitorous as was his purpose, there were merits antecedent to the treachery, as in the case of Hercules antecedent to the amours, and it is over the corpse of the Aeacid that the

claims of the patriot are argued as against the vindictive visitation of one unhappy lapse. It is not difficult to trace here all the conditions at least of the question as to the possibility of admitting that even mimicry of the Mysteries was expiated by the consequences, and of condoning even such misdeeds as those of Alcibiades against his country when confronted with his services.

It can scarcely escape remark how careful the poet is to keep the boy Eurysaces prominently before the spectators, as the object of his father's affectionate interest and care. It was from Eurysaces, according to Plutarch, that the line of Alcibiades claimed heroic descent. Such traditions were at this time rapidly dying out. They were involved in that general extinction of the old families of Athens, which Isocrates notices as so weakening to political life. But such traditions as still held on were all the more valued and regarded, and any allusion to them all the more certain to be recognised. The tenderness of Ajax for the offspring of his concubine Tecmessa, may even be claimed as a parallelism to the credit which was given to Alcibiades (Plutarch), for his liberality to his son by the woman of Melos.

It may further be remarked that Andocides, the orator, whose unhappy concern in the affair of the Hermocopid outrage placed him in a position of antagonism to Alcibiades, was a reputed descendant of Ulysses. The speech against Alcibiades which is ascribed to him embodies every charge which he ever was exposed to—of lawless insolence, profligate luxury and dangerous insubordination.

The movement for general reconciliation at the time of the successes of Alcibiades with the fleet, may have encouraged not only his friends but those of his old opponent and injurer Andocides who at the time was in exile, to hope for amnesty. The position of Ulysses in the play exhibits magnanimity at last on his side, and from the very beginning a sentiment of commiseration for aberrant greatness that contrasts with the vulgar animosities and self-considering importance of the Atridae. If this delineation was not taken from nature—as probably enough it may not have been—and does not reflect the actual position of individual politicians, Andocides, his friends or others,—it shows forth contingencies at least,—and was of the

nature of an admonitory apologue. It is so framed as to advocate peaceful reconciliation of all parties by unbiased exhibition of the errors and the virtues of both, and an implied argument that there were no really incompatible differences.

Thucydides, 8, 66, gives a striking picture of the universal mistrust which had previously reigned in Athens—consequence of treachery and ill-faith, preventing any union in action against the oligarchical conspirators.

Alcibiades had been exiled during his participation in a maritime expedition that came to no good after it lost him, and his friends would say he had been as ungratefully treated as Philoctetes. At last the time came round when either hero was found to be indispensable,—and in each case some mutual forgiveness and much high-mindedness on the part of the injured could alone restore harmony.

Alcibiades did not rejoin the Sicilian enterprise, as Philoctetes resumed the Trojan, and he had been traitorously behaving in the interval in a style that was all his own,—but still it was the fleet he had left that welcomed him again, and that he led again to victory, and in him was now centred all the hope of the state for recovery from direst disasters.

It would not be difficult to press the parallel further between Alcibiades and Philoctetes, but we shall probably misconceive the poet if we suppose that he designed or cared to make the parallel exact or even perhaps obvious.

The Athenian dramatic poet addressed an audience whose feelings were subject not merely to the excitement of the more recent dramas—but also of the constant progress of political events. They came to the theatre with minds under strongly predisposing influences, and the poet who would interest them might well cast about in his mind what feelings they were most swayed by,—what moral dilemma would have most stimulant effect,—what subject in fact they would be likely to attend to with any degree of interest,—what topics they would under present circumstances enter into, that at other times they might neither care for nor even be able—certainly not so well able, to understand.

If then the political crisis of Athens at the date when this trilogy was produced were such as has been set forth, what but highest admiration is due to the poet who gathered up

and wove together into a tissue so coherent, the threads of all interests and motives that were floating about society,—securely and rightly confident of touching the popular heart by a representation of the indulgence to be conceded to the weaknesses and to the irritability of genius, and of the magnanimity to be recognised in one who could subdue his soul and let all bygone animosities be bygones in the higher interest of a call from his country.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

LONDON:
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BREAD STREET HILL.

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME VI

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNCIL, AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF

BY

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RULES

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of

the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed : no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year ; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1 ; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of

the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next Meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from three to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

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on the following days, the Council meeting at 4.30 on each
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1885.

Thursday, October 22.

1886.

Thursday, March 11.

Thursday, May 6.

Thursday, June 24. (Annual.)

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 The Journal of the Historical and Ethnological Society of
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 The American Journal of Archæology (Dr. A. L. Frothingham),
 29, *Cathedral Street, Baltimore, U.S.A.*

THE SESSION OF 1884-5.

The First General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street on *Thursday, October 23, 1884*, PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The REV. EDMOND WARRE, D.D., Head Master of Eton, read a paper on the 'Raft of Odysseus' (*Journal*, Vol. V., p. 209). The writer explained that the paper was based entirely on personal researches and observation of actual ship building. A model of the raft, as he conceived it, had been made under his direction in the Eton School of Mechanics and was now presented to the Society. Dr. Warre's main contention was that Homer's account of the making of the raft was strictly accurate, and that an actual raft, capable of making the voyage in question, could be constructed after Homer's description.

The CHAIRMAN pointed out that in the British Museum were two actual portions of ancient vessels; (1) a bronze figure-head from Actium, and (2) a long cross-beam from the floor of an Italian galley, found at the bottom of Lake Nemi.

PROFESSOR JEBB said that this passage in the *Odyssey* had for the first time been made clear to him by Dr. Warre's paper. It also explained a passage in the *Hecuba* of Euripides (l. 113), τὰς ποντοπόρους σχεδίας, where the word σχεδία was used as a synonym for ναῦς. This would be

hardly appropriate if the *σχεδία* were merely a flat raft, but if, as Dr. Warre suggested, the *σχεδία* had a second platform its resemblance in the distance to a ship would be close enough to justify the metaphor.

After further remarks from Professor Campbell and Mr. Gow, MR. E. A. GARDNER read a paper on 'Ornaments and Armour from Kertch in the New Museum at Oxford' (*Journal*, Vol. V. p. 62), describing the objects in detail and indicating their importance as specimens of undoubted Hellenic metal-work.

The CHAIRMAN, referring to one of the bronze ornaments in the form of a camel's head, said that the camel was associated with objects of very early Greek art in a little bronze found at Kameiros, where a man with an Assyrian cut of beard was riding on a kneeling camel. This was of Phoenician origin, but the ornaments found with it were of archaic Greek character. The ornaments described in the paper were just like others found not only at Kertch but even in Capua, in Athens, in the islands, and at Kyme in Aeolis.

PROFESSOR P. GARDNER pointed out that a special feature in the Russian finds was the full and accurate manner in which they were described. A further advance of Russia towards the south might be matter for regret politically, but would be a gain to archaeology. In this respect despotic Russia had set a good example to free England.

The Second General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street on *Thursday, March 12, 1885*, at 5 P.M. PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President, in the Chair.

PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY read the first part of a paper 'On the Archaic Pottery of the Coast of Northern Ionia and Southern Aeolis.' The main thesis of this part of the paper

was to claim for the potters of the Aeolian Cyme four vases which have been published at different times: *Monum. dell. Instit.*, ix. 4 and ix. 5 (2); *Journal Hell. Stud.*, ii. p. 305; and *Bull. Corresp. Hell.*, 1884, plate vii. A vase of the Barre collection was mentioned as showing close analogy to the third of these vases, but the woodcut in the sale catalogue, p. 8, was insufficient to permit a judgment. The paper treated at length the character of the ornamentation in these vases, showing that at first the potters of Cyme in the general type imitated Phoenician or Cypro-Phoenician ware, but in various details they had recourse to nature or to the native art of Anatolia. In the two later vases, those of the *Monum.*, the art had a well-established definite character of its own. The paper compared at some length the ornament on the most primitive of these vases (a continuous series of very narrow horizontal bands of bright strongly-contrasted colours surrounding the entire lower part of the vase) with a species of inlaid bronze-work frequently alluded to in the *Iliad*, (especially xi. 20-27), and argued that this kind of bronze-work was Cypro-Phoenician imported to the coast of Aeolis, and that it was imitated by the maker of the vase in question. A vase found at Temir Gora, near Kertch, the ancient Panticapaion, wrongly mentioned by M. Rayet as having been found at Phanagoria, was correctly assigned by Rayet to Ionian potters, but belongs probably to a South Ionian pottery.

The CHAIRMAN said that the subject was one of much interest. There were some vases not noted by Mr. Ramsay of which the provenance was quite certain, as *e.g.* some late examples from Budrum and Ephesus. It was most important to collect *fragments* wherever found. Further remains were wanted from Phocaea, because we know at what date the city was deserted.

MR. H. HOWORTH said it was rash to assume that a vase found in a Milesian colony was of Ionian fabric. It was important to consider where a particular clay was found to make

the manufacture of a given vase possible. Some clays were only fit for rough ware. For example, the Samian ware imported into Britain could not be imitated here for lack of clay. The ports on the Black Sea were frequented from all parts of the Greek world at a very early date, on account of the gold trade.

PROFESSOR GARDNER said he thought that the history of commerce would be illustrated by the find-spots of pottery, the fabric and material throwing light upon trade routes.

MR. ERNEST GARDNER's paper on 'A Silver Statuette in the British Museum' was postponed to the following meeting.

The Third General Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street on *Thursday, May 7, 1885*, at 5 P.M. PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President, in the Chair.

MR. ERNEST GARDNER read a paper on 'A Silver Statuette in the British Museum, representing a Boy and a Goose.' (*Journal*, Vol. VI., p. 1.)

This was found near Alexandria, together with coins which fix the date of its burial at about 240 B.C. After referring to fifty extant works representing a similar subject, the writer proceeded to assign them to six principal types. The relation and origin of these types is a matter of considerable obscurity, and hence a trustworthy date is a great help to the discussion. Jahn and others had previously assumed a connexion between some statues representing a boy and a goose and a recorded work of Boethos. The characteristics of that work might also be preserved to some extent by the British Museum statuette, which, though not a direct copy, might be assigned to the school or influence of the same artist. If so, as a work in silver, it would be likely to teach us something of his manner of treating a material in which he is known to have excelled. The subject of this and other kindred works is one

well suited to the tendency of the early Hellenistic age, when the craving for an artificial simplicity was met by the pastoral in poetry, and representations from child-life in art. The large number of examples still extant might be explained not only by the extreme popularity of the subject, but also by the ease with which it could be adapted to purposes of fountain decoration, and the majority of the copies we now possess were produced to meet the demand of the decorators of Roman houses and villas. The British Museum statuette is, from its material and period, a safer guide as to style.

MISS J. HARRISON read a paper on a hitherto unpublished vase now in the Campana collection of the Louvre, a black-figured cylix of the potter Nicosthenes. In connexion with this vase the writer tried to show (1) that the art-form which the myth of Odysseus and the Sirens assumes on Greek vases has arisen from the juxtaposition, at first accidental, of two or more racing galleys and the Assyrian bird-woman types already current in vase decoration; (2) that the design appearing on the vase of Nicosthenes and some thirteen other Greek vases, namely, a succession of galleys apparently racing, is connected with nautical contests in honour of Dionysus.

The Annual Meeting was held at 22, Albemarle Street on *Thursday, June 25, 1885*, at 5 P.M., PROFESSOR C. T. NEWTON, C.B., Vice-President, in the Chair. The following Report was read by the HON. SEC. on behalf of the Council :—

THE *Journal of Hellenic Studies* still represents the main work of the Society, and the fifth volume, published in 1884, was in no way inferior to its predecessors either in interest or variety. The paper contributed by Mr. Theodore Bent upon the valuable researches he has made for several years past among the Cyclades, is a good example of the work which may be done by private enterprise when directed by zeal and knowledge. It is satisfactory to know that Mr. Bent's visit to the islands of the Aegean this spring has yielded no less interesting results, which it is hoped that he will communicate to the Society. The paper on 'Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia,' by Mr. W. M. Ramsay, whose appointment to the

new Chair of Archaeology at Oxford may here be recorded, represents a further outcome of the valuable researches in Asia Minor which he intends to resume in the spring of next year. Mention may also be made of Professor Gardner's memoir on 'Sepulchral Monuments,' in connexion with a relief found at Tarentum; Mr. Cecil Smith's paper on 'Four Archaic Vases from Rhodes,' with accompanying illustrations; and Professor Colvin's account of the Attic monument, which he was so fortunate as to find in the hands of M. des Tombes at the Hague. This monument, which is an undoubted example of Athenian sepulchral art of the best period, is published for the first time on plate xxxix.

As the Society is directly represented on the Committee appointed for the establishment of a British School of Archaeology at Athens, it is not out of place to state here what has been done since last year in furtherance of that object. A sum exceeding £4,000 having been raised by subscription, it was decided by the Committee and Subscribers to begin building a house upon the site granted by the Greek Government. This work is now in hand, and may be expected to be ready about a year hence. Meanwhile, every effort is being made to provide adequate endowment for the Director and for the working expenses of the School. The University of Oxford has already granted an annual sum of £100 for three years, and in answer to an appeal made to this Society the Council has decided to make a like grant, provided that an income of at least £300 a year is assured to the School from other sources. The successful fulfilment of this scheme is a matter with which members will feel that the Society is closely concerned.

The reproduction in facsimile of the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles has now been most successfully accomplished, and the copies have just been issued to subscribers. Special mention should be made of the valuable Introduction contributed to the work by Mr. E. Maunde Thompson and Professor R. C. Jebb. The success of this undertaking and the support it has received are very encouraging.

In January last an appeal was made to the Society on the part of the Egypt Exploration Fund for a grant in aid of the explorations being conducted by Mr. Flinders Petrie on the supposed site of Naucratis. The Council met the appeal at once by a grant of £50, and it is satisfactory to record that many interesting discoveries have since been made which confirm the identification of the site and establish the importance of Naucratis as an emporium and centre of Hellenic trade from very early times. An account of these discoveries by Mr. Flinders Petrie himself will appear in the forthcoming number of the *Journal*.

The financial position of the Society is fully set forth on the accompanying Balance Sheet. From this it appears that the receipts of the year, including the subscriptions of members and of Libraries, and the sale of back numbers of the *Journal*, amount to £802 8s. 1d. The expenditure which covers the cost of the whole of vol. v. of the *Journal*, and the greater part of the cost of vol. iv. part 2, and which includes the Naucratis grant, and an advance of £95 7s. 9d. towards photographing the Sophocles MS., amounts to £824 7s. 2d., leaving a balance at the bank of £879 2s. 11d. In this balance are included life subscriptions to the amount of £220 10s., which have been invested since June 1, the total sum now invested in Consols being £714. The advance for photographing the Sophocles MS., however, will now be repaid; and there are, moreover, arrears of subscriptions amounting to about £140.

Since the last annual meeting forty-five new members have been elected and fifteen Libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. Against

this very satisfactory increase must be set the loss of eighteen members by death or resignation, so that the net increase of members and subscribers is forty-two; the present total of members being 595 and of subscribers sixty-four.

This Report shows the Society to be in a thoroughly healthy condition, steadily increasing in numbers, and efficiently doing, according to its means, the work it was created to do. It remains for the Council to urge all members to do their utmost to maintain this vigorous condition of the body corporate by recommending the claims of the Society to the support of their friends, and so keeping up a steady supply of fresh candidates for admission. Already the Society may congratulate itself upon having achieved remarkable results in the six years of its existence, especially in stimulating interest in classical archaeology throughout the country. But the more support it can obtain, the larger the funds at its disposal, the more valuable will be the work it can do in the promotion of Hellenic studies.

The adoption of the Report was moved by PROFESSOR BALDWIN BROWN, seconded by MR. R. S. POOLE, and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, in the course of the usual address, referred to the excavation at Naucratis as having yielded results of great value. The find of fragments of pottery of the sixth century B.C., had been exceptionally rich. The objects brought by Mr. Bent from Carpathos were of great interest, especially one rude figure, which might be regarded as the earliest specimen of an idol of any size from the Greek islands. It appeared that the principal object of worship in those early times had been Aphrodite, or some analogous deity. Possibly these were the idols of the primitive Carian race. Referring to Mr. Wood's work at Ephesus, Mr. Newton said he wished that more active interest were taken in it, so as to ensure the raising of sufficient funds to carry it to a conclusion.

The following motion was put from the chair on the part of the Council, and confirmed by the meeting, 'That Rule 25 be amended by raising the life subscription from 10*l.* 10*s.* to 15*l.* 15*s.*'

A ballot being taken for the election of officers, the former President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, and Mr. C. Elton, Professor W. M. Ramsay, and Mr. J. T. Bent were chosen to fill vacancies on the Council.

MR. R. S. POOLE made a short statement of the results of the work done at Naucratis, and expressed the hope that when they were published means might be found of placing them at the disposal of members of the Hellenic Society as well as of subscribers to the fund. The CHAIRMAN regretted that Mr. F. Petrie, who had conducted this exploration, could not be present to speak for himself. The personal privations and discomfort involved in such work made it all the more worthy of commendation. After further testimony to Mr. Petrie's untiring zeal and remarkable powers of observation had been borne by Mr. C. Whitehouse,

MR. THEODORE BENT gave an account of his recent visit to the island of Carpathos. He said that the inhabitants were a wild race of shepherds, whose customs and folk-lore offered many interesting parallels to those of classical times. The dialect, too, of which he gave many examples, was well worthy of study, and a complete glossary of the words in common use would be invaluable, as they differed considerably from those used elsewhere in Greece, and presented many analogies to ancient usage. In conclusion, Mr. Bent described some of the rock-cut tombs which he had opened in the islands, and from one of the most ancient of which had come the rude figure mentioned by the Chairman. Some of these tombs consisted of several chambers chiselled out in the rock, either separate or communicating with each other. Others were natural holes in the cliff in almost inaccessible places overhanging the sea. In the latter class of tombs the pottery found was of the best period. On the whole, Mr. Bent considered that as a field for the study of modern Greek manners and customs Carpathos was almost unique, while some points in the ceremonies connected with worship, marriages, births, deaths, &c., must have formed part of the routine of daily life for two thousand years.

The CHAIRMAN bore testimony to the value of Mr. Bent's researches, and Mr. C. D. COBHAM, Commissioner at Larnaca, mentioned some parallels in the dialect of Cyprus to the Carpathian usage described by Mr. Bent.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, moved by PROFESSOR JEBB, and seconded by MR. TALFOURD ELY, was carried unanimously.

A similar vote to the Chairman, proposed by MR. ELTON, and seconded by MR. EDWARD BOND, C.B., terminated the proceedings.

[See Balance Sheet on the next page.]

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31, 1885.

"THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES" ACCOUNT.

		1884.		1885.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
June 6.	To Dickinson & Co., Paper Account	169	17 2		
July 8.	" Clay & Sons, Printing Vol. iv. Part 2	21	9 10		
	" Packing and Carriage of do. to Members				
Oct. 12.	" Autotype Company, Account	191	7 0		
" 6.	" Lord, for Negative	15	12 11		
" 7.	" Dujardin, for Plates	1	11 6		
" 30.	" Steinbock, for Plates	13	4 0		
Dec. 30.	" Dickinson & Co., Paper Account	111	15 0		
" 31.	" Dujardin, for Plates	15	8 9		
1885.	" Autotype Company, Account	13	3 8		
Feb. 27.	" Clay & Sons, Printing Vol. v. Parts 1 & 2	159	2 6		
	" Packing and Carriage to Members	25	3 2		
Mar. 6.	" Typographic Etching Company, Account	184	5 8		
" 16.	" Society Packing and Carriage to Members	37	7 6		
	" Horsburgh, for Negative	1	15 8		
		2	10 6		
		£632	17 11		
				£632	17 11

CASH STATEMENT.

		1884.		1885.	
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
May 30.	To Balance, as per last Statement	901	2 0		
1885.	" Dividends on Consols	14	8 1		
May 31.	" Members' Subscriptions	539	3 0		
	" Life Subscriptions	115	10 0		
	" Library Subscriptions	38	17 0		
	" Arrivals, and Back Vols., previous to May, 1884—				
	Members	60	18 0		
	Libraries	33	12 0		
		788	0 0		
1884.	June 6.	By Petty Cash*			
	July 19.	" Stationery, Postage, and Sundries, to June, 1884			
	Oct. 6.	" Binding Account (Library)			
	" 9.	" Insurance on Stock at Printer's			
	" 13.	" Freight, on Account of "Laurentian Sophocles," repayable by Laurentian Sophocles Fund			
	" 27.	" Postage, &c. (Prof. Gardner)			
1885.	" Rent of Rooms				
	Jan. 23.	" Petty Cash*			
	Feb. 27.	" Grant to Egyptian Exploration Fund			
	May 29.	" Stationery, Postage, and Sundries, to Dec. 1884			
	" 30.	" Sundries, Printing Account, Rules, &c.			
	" "	" Rent of Rooms			
	" "	" Commission, per Bank			
	" "	" Balance of Journal Account			
	" "	" Balance, at Bankers', as per Pass Book 880 2 11 } 879 2 11			
	" "	" Less Credited in Error			
				£1,703	10 1

* Includes £20 paid to Assistant Secretary on account of Salary from January, 1884, to April, 1885, inclusive.

We have examined this account, and compared it with the vouchers, and find it correct.

JOHN B. MARTIN,
DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD, } Auditors.

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Hon. Sec.

June 16, 1885.

THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH

OF

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

SESSION of 1884.*

Thursday, May 8, 1884.

The Terminal Meeting was held in the Archaeological Library at 4.15 P.M.

MR. VERRALL read a paper 'On the use of the *κώδων* on Armour and Trappings.' He pointed out that it is almost always attributed to barbarian warriors, or to such Greeks as approach barbarians in their insolence.

MR. F. C. CHAMBERS called attention to a bronze head in the Naples Museum, which showed a remarkable similarity of type to the Hermes of Praxiteles; the differences were such as would naturally proceed from the contrast of marble and bronze technique.

DR. WALDSTEIN pointed out that a female head in Madrid was of the style of the Attic school of the fifth century, and

* Accidentally omitted from the previous volume of the Journal.

at the same time showed great resemblance in profile to the Hesperid nymph of the Olympian metope.

He also remarked that the upper part of a statue which has found its way from Delos to the Louvre, and is commonly called the river god Inapos, is really a portrait of Alexander the Great. It shows a more direct similarity to his known portraits than other 'Alexandroid' heads of post-Lysippean art.

Each communication was followed by a discussion.

November 24, 1884.

The Annual Meeting was held in the Archaeological Library on *Monday, November 24*, at 4 P.M. The Public Orator (MR. J. E. SANDYS) in the Chair.

The MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE was re-elected Chairman, PROFESSOR SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-Chairman, and MR. OSCAR BROWNING, Secretary. Messrs. J. E. SANDYS, A. W. VERRAIL, and DR. WALDSTEIN were re-elected, and MR. A. H. SMITH, B.A., elected, members of the Committee.

MR. A. H. SMITH read a paper upon 'Sicilian Sculpture.' The paper, which was illustrated with photographs of the chief remains of sculpture in Sicily, endeavoured to analyse the characteristics of these sculptures regarded as the works of an independent local school. The sculptors of the school were supposed to be chiefly influenced (1) by the sculpture in such Phœnician settlements as Motya and Panormus, (2) by the nature of the materials of which they could avail themselves (as tufa), (3) by the social conditions of Sicily. The paper concluded with an account of various Greco-Roman and other late works, at present in the museums of Sicily.

The Terminal Meeting was held in the Archacological Library on *Wednesday, April 29th, 1885*, at 4.30 P.M. In the absence of the Vice-Chairman the Secretary in the Chair.

DR. WALDSTEIN read remarks by PROFESSOR COLVIN on a marble statuette, 'The Apollo of Miletus.' The present mutilated and restored marble statuette possesses a twofold interest, on account, first, of its subject and style, and next, of the hand to whom its restoration is due, with the addition, for Cambridge students, of the further interest which attaches to it as having formerly belonged to our benefactor, Mr. Disney. It was sold last summer in London, with other effects from the house of Mr. Disney in Essex. It bears on the plinth a label in his handwriting, with the words, 'The Apollo of Miletus restored by Flaxman.'

The statuette is in Greek marble, and wants the head, both legs from a little below the knee, and a portion of both arms. The missing parts have been restored by a modern hand in Italian marble, in a style which entirely confirms Mr. Disney's record ascribing the work to Flaxman. The remainder is of good antique workmanship, the torso and preserved parts of the arms being especially careful and spirited in treatment. The prototype which the artist had in his mind, as shown by the general scheme and attitude, as well as by the handling of certain details, was some work of the earlier half of the fifth century, B.C., the date of the statuette itself being obviously very considerably later. Flaxman saw in it a copy of the celebrated Apollo of Miletus by Kanachos, and has restored it in the main accordingly, without, however, attempting to introduce the deer which that statue held in the right hand. The remaining antique portions of the statuette are in fact not sufficient to enable it to be referred with certainty to any known original. But enough is left to make it clear that the original must have belonged to the same general family of early Greek statues of male divinities (or athletes?) of which so many examples have been preserved. And among extant works our statuette has in

pose and general conception no nearer parallels than the small bronze figure in the British Museum, undoubtedly derived from the Apollo of Miletus,¹ and another larger and more important bronze of genuine archaic workmanship in the Louvre.²

¹ Overbeck, fig. 14.

² Overbeck, fig. 39.

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A STATUETTE REPRESENTING A BOY AND GOOSE.

THE silver statuette which is described in the present paper, and which is represented in the accompanying Plate (A.), acquires a peculiar interest both from its subject and from the circumstances of its discovery. In the first aspect it belongs to an exceedingly numerous class; a boy struggling or playing with a goose seems to have been a very favourite subject with Greek artists of certain periods; the popularity of such representations and the frequency with which they were reproduced are testified by at least fifty extant examples in various galleries and museums throughout Europe. But though belonging to so numerous a family, our specimen differs considerably, both in character and in composition, from all its other members; not more, however, than many of these differ among themselves. Then again, this statuette was discovered together with a hoard of coins, and thus we are able to fix at least a posterior limit of date for the invention not only of the type we find in this figure, but also of all others which show an affinity to it so close as to compel us not to assign them to any very distant period. It is clear, therefore, that we have here an additional clew of no small importance, which may help in the solution of a problem that has already given rise to much controversy among archaeologists.

The interest attracted by this class of figures in recent years may be dated from the paper in which two of them were

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A STATUETTE REPRESENTING A BOY AND GOOSE.

published from drawings, with a description by Jahn,¹ a paper of great importance to our subject. In it was made the first attempt to bring together the material which is now before us; and it contained also a conjecture which has since met with almost universal acceptance. This was the identification of the boy who struggles with a goose as big as himself as a copy of a work of Boethos, described by Pliny. We shall be better in a position to consider this conjecture and the grounds upon which it rests after we have reviewed all our available material; here it is enough to note its first appearance. Next in date comes the contribution of M. Stephani,² who in commenting on certain terra-cottas in the Ermitage takes occasion, with characteristic thoroughness, to quote a far longer list of examples. Then again, Dr. Furtwängler, in his paper entitled *Der Dornauszieher und der Knabe mit der Ganz*, endeavours to refute the suggestion of Overbeck, connecting the bronze boy of the Capitol who is occupied in drawing a thorn from his foot with another work of Boethos; and in order to do so gives a sketch of the whole history of 'Genre' representations in Greek art. Such of his arguments as are pertinent to our present subject will also have to be subsequently considered, as well as the suggestion of Overbeck which gave rise to them. But after briefly mentioning these chief authorities, it will be best first to enumerate and classify the now numerous examples of statues to which the common description 'a boy with a goose' will apply: after we have the facts thus clearly arranged before us, we shall be better able to see both how well the views held by previous writers are justified, and what new light may be thrown upon the subject by this the most recent addition to the list.

This list, as has been previously stated, amounts now to some fifty specimens; and these may be assigned, for greater convenience and clearness in enumeration, to some six leading types. By such a proceeding it is not assumed that all the examples of any type may be traced to a common original; in some cases they certainly can be so traced, in others they as certainly cannot. But this classification will help us both to see which types were the most popular, and also perhaps to observe the connection,

¹ *Sitzungsber. d. K. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1848, pp. 47, sqq. ² *Compte Rendu*, 1863, p. 55.

if any, which existed between them. As to what subjects are included in the list, one statement must be added—the word ‘goose’ in our heading must be interpreted widely; indeed, perhaps ‘aquatic bird’ would have been more correct; for it is sometimes magnified into a swan, sometimes diminished to a duck; one or two even more doubtful instances have been admitted. But too great strictness on such a matter is precluded by uncertainty not only in restorations but also in the works themselves; the bird, treated as an accessory, is sometimes but carelessly executed, and has its characteristics but slightly indicated; its relative size, in particular, being liable to endless variations.

After thus much introduction, we may now proceed to the enumeration and classification of our material.

Type I. represents a boy standing, and pressing to his side or breast a goose with his left hand; his right arm varies in position. It is either bent, the right hand feeding or caressing the goose (1, 2, 3, 4, 5),¹ or raised (10), or hangs down by the right side (6, 7, 8, 9). The boy is either nude, or draped only by a small chlamys. To this type belong the following :—

1. In the Theseion, Athens : described by Jahn, *Sitzungsber. der K. Sächs. Ges. der Wiss.* 1848, p. 49.²
Boy nude; holds finger of right hand to beak of goose, which he presses to his breast with left: heads of boy and goose gone.
2. Formerly in possession of Herr von Lagrené, described by Jahn, *ibid.* p. 50.
Older boy; holds goose to side, and bends over it, right arm lost, but probably as in 1.
3. In British Museum; Clarac, 876, 2228, C.
Presses bird to breast with left, feeds it with right hand.
4. Nani Museum, 226 in published description.
In chlamys: probably like 3, but head and right arm gone.
5. At Leyden, bronze. Müller-Wieseler *Denkmäler*, 1, 291.
Nude, holds duck in left hand, strokes its beak with right.

¹ Jahn would so restore also 6.

² No attempt has been made to render the references complete. Only that one has been given in each case

which seemed most convenient as a means of identification. For further references see Stephani, *l.c.*

4 A STATUETTE REPRESENTING A BOY AND GOOSE.

In the four that follow, the right arm falls by side.

6. Vatican. Clarac, 878, 2231.

Boy in chlamys, holds small long necked bird to breast.

7. Vatican. Clarac, 878, 2233.

Larger bird, restored as eagle, rests on left arm ; right arm lowered rests on pillar.

8. Vatican. Pistolesi, *Vat. descr.* vi. 38.

Bird pressed to side with left hand.

9. Naples. Clarac, 877, B., 2228, D.

Boy nude, both arms down, in right grapes, in left goose, or duck.

10. Naples. Clarac, 875, 2228, B., bronze.

Goose or swan pressed to side by left hand, right raised. Boy nude, winged.

Similar to these are also, probably, the next two :¹

11. Rome (uncertain). Adam, *Rec. de Sculpture.* Pl. 20.

12. Bronze. Caylus, *Rec. de l'Antiquité*, iii. 48.

Under this type, though slightly different, may best be mentioned also the following :—

14. Vatican. Pistolesi, *Vat. descr.* vi. 38.

A boy, standing, holds with both hands, gently, a bird in front of him.

15. Rome, Coll. Giust. Clarac, 878, 2228. A.

A boy, with left foot raised on a low pillar, and a curious cap on his head, holds up goose in both hands in front of him.

16. 17. Clarac, 876, 2236, A., 878, 2239.

These two are obviously identical in design : in 16, a boy fully draped holds a small bird in each hand ; in 17, the hands are otherwise restored. Furtwängler quotes these, but the birds are too small to belong to our present class at all.

18. R. Rochette, *Choix de Peint.*, p. 135, vign. 8.

Described by Jahn ; a terra-cotta group representing a boy and a girl playing with a goose.

- 16, 17, and 18 of course have no real connection with type I., nor, indeed, with our subject at all ; they are merely

¹ I have not been able to refer to these works, but quote 11 and 12 here, because of those among which they are

mentioned by Stephani, and which they probably resemble.

inserted here, as the most convenient place, because they have been quoted by previous writers.

Type II. The boy stands, and the goose is beside him, either on the ground or on a low pillar; the relations between the two are still friendly; the goose (or other bird) larger in proportion.

19. Ince Blundell collection. Clarac, 875, 2232, B.

The bird stands on the ground, by the side of the boy, and comes up to his shoulder.

20. Stockholm. Clarac, 877, B., 2232, C.

The bird, more like a swan than a goose, stands on a stump beside the boy, and holds a snake in its beak.

21. Terra-cotta, Ermitage. *Compte Rendu*, 1863, Pl. I., 4.

Goose stands beside boy, who feeds it with his left hand and lays right on its neck.

22. Rome. Coll. Giust. Clarac, 878, 2232, A.

Boy stands, turning to bird on his left, on low pillar, and holds it gently with both hands.

Type III. The boy is seated beside the goose on the ground and caresses it with his hand.

23. Ermitage, terra-cotta. *Compte Rendu*, 1863, Pl. i. 5.

Boy caresses goose with left hand.

24. Naples. Clarac, 874, D., 2230, B.

The bird looks up, the boy holds it gently with both hands.

Type IV. appears to have been the most popular of all in ancient times, at least if we can judge from the number of reproductions still extant. A quite young boy, almost a baby, is seated upon the ground; he is half supported on his left arm, which also presses down a bird, generally more like a duck than a goose. The child's face is turned upwards and away from it, and together with his raised right arm seems to indicate an appeal for help to an imaginary bystander, perhaps even to the spectator himself. The frequent repetitions of this subject may be due partly to the fact that it lent itself conveniently to fountain decoration, a pipe being inserted into the upturned beak of the bird; this explanation will not, however, apply to the small terra-cottas.

25. Vatican. Clarac, 877, 2229.

26. Florence. Clarac, 877, A., 2230, A.

27. Florence. Clarac, 877, 2230.

These three all correspond exactly to the above description :
probably similar are the following :

28. Vatican. Gerhard. *Beschr. Roms.* ii. 2. p. 252, 19.

‘Knabe auf dem Boden sitzend, mit einer Ente.’ Apparently
not identical with 25.

29. In possession of Cavaceppi, quoted by Zannoni, *Gall. di Fir.*
ill. Ser. IV. 2, p. 75, as similar to 26 and 27.

30. In possession of the Marchese Giugni, on same authority.

31. In the Pal. Farnese di Caprarola, quoted by Visconti, *Mus.*
Pio. Clem. III. 46, as similar to 25.

32. In possession of Cardinal Cesi, according to Aldroandi,
stat. 137, as quoted by Jahn. ‘Un putto che preme un
ansere per fargli jettar acqua dal collo, tutto intero.’
The description seems to suit this type better than type
V, to which Jahn would assign this example. It is of
course possible that between 29 and 32 the same example
may be twice mentioned.

Next in order come two which are distinctly derived from
this type, but modified by slight changes.

33. In the Pourtalès collection ; Pl. xxviii. of Panofka's de-
scription.

A vase, in the shape of a seated boy ; his left hand rests on
the ground, his right passes in front of his body across
to his left, and there presses down a goose. He looks up
and smiles,

34. Ermitage : terra-cotta. *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* 72, 3.

Boy seated, right hand on goose, left raised. This is merely
type IV. reversed.

35, 36. Ermitage : terra-cotta. These two are described as
similar to the last by Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1863,
p. 55, n. 2.

37. Described in *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, p. 301, No. 155.

Regarded by Stephani, *ibid.*, as probably similar.

38. In University Library, Athens. *Annali d. Inst.* xxxi.
Tav. A.

Boy standing, leans against pillar, on which he presses down
a duck or goose with his left hand. This may appear

from the description to belong rather to type I. or II., but the position of the bird and left arm of boy are so exactly similar to the same in this type IV., that the figure seems rather a modification of the latter, perhaps for a fountain with jet set higher.

Type V. is perhaps now the best known of all, especially in consequence of the plausible conjecture above referred to, connecting it with Boethos. It represents a boy striving with his whole weight against a goose as big as himself, whose neck he grasps in his arms. Of this numerous examples exist, though not so many as of type IV.

39. Rome. Capitol. Clarac, 874, C. 2227. A.

40. Vatican. Clarac, 875, 2227.

41. Paris. Clarac, 293, 694.

42. Munich. Clarac, 875, 2232.

These are obviously all marble copies of a common original. To them may be added four terra-cottas.

43. Ermitage. *Ant. du Bosp. Cim.* Pl. lxxiii. 1.

44. *a, b, c.* Three more similar, also in the Ermitage, quoted by Stephani in the *Compte Rendu*, l.c.

45. A small bronze in the British Museum, from the Payne Knight collection. Described as 'Cupid with swan'; obviously a copy of this type.

46. A small bronze, of very rude work, in the British Museum, described as 'Cupid with eagle.' The boy has wings; their addition in this case tends to weaken any argument drawn from their presence in others.

47. Naples. Clarac, 876, 2223.

Boy, with his knee on the back of a goose, struggles with it from behind. The subject here is the same, but the composition and treatment entirely different, and certainly not so happy.

48. Ermitage: terra-cotta. Described by Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1863, p. 55.

Goose pursues boy, pecking at his left hand. Here again of course there is no connection of type with the preceding examples. It is inserted here merely as again showing active hostility between the two playmates.

Type VI. will include our last three examples; though these

8 A STATUETTE REPRESENTING A BOY AND GOOSE.

three seem quite independent of one another: but in all of them we find a boy seated on the ground, struggling with a goose.

49. Naples. *Ant. di Ercolano*, viii. *Le Lucerne ed i Candelabri d' Ercolano*, Pl. 19.

Bronze lamp. Winged Eros seated, goose stands by him, with chain of lamp round its foot. The boy holds with both arms the goose, which cries and struggles to get away.



No. 51

50. Ermitage: terra-cotta. *Compte Rendu*, 1863, Pl. i. 6.

Boy sits on the ground: on one side a dog, on the other a goose, attack him to get some of the grapes he holds.

51. British Museum: silver. Unpublished.

Found near Alexandria, together with coins¹ which prove it to have been buried in the early years of Ptolemy III., *i.e.*, about 240 B.C.

Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, breadth across shoulders $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Complete, but lower part of back crushed and contorted. The boy holds the goose which lies on its back by the legs with left hand, by the bottom of its neck with right hand. He turns his head to his right, away from the bird, which vigorously grasps his left ear in its beak. The boy has some drapery, a chlamys, round his waist; his hair is gathered on the top of his head into a plait which runs right over to the back. His position is not so awkward as may appear from the photograph; but it was necessary to take him thus, as he was fixed to the stand. It must be remembered, moreover, that his lower portions have suffered considerable contortion from pressure.

52. A small and very rude bronze in the British Museum, similar, but not identical in design with 51. It is described as 'Cupid with eagle.' The boy has wings added, as in 46.

Here ends the list of our material; it remains to consider what are the chief questions of interest to which the facts before us have given rise. Firstly, there is the meaning and character of the representation; then the period and school, if not the particular artist, to which our various types may be assigned; and in close connection with this comes the relation

¹ For the accompanying classification of the coins I am indebted to my brother, Professor Percy Gardner:—

Details of Mr. Harris's coins found with the Statuette of a Boy and Goose, in the year A.D. 1844.

	<i>Egypt.</i>		<i>Phoenicia.</i>		<i>Asia Minor.</i>	
	<i>A/</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>A/</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>A/</i>	<i>R</i>
Ptolemy I.	1		1			2
Ptolemy I. or II.			1			3
Ptolemy II.			53		1	4
Ptol. I. and II. with Queens .	1					
Arsinoë II.		24		1		
Ptolemy III.		1		8		1

The find is believed to have taken place at Alexandria, and the number of Phoenician coins contained in it is not evidence to the contrary, as the coins struck in Phoenicia circulated in Egypt. The whole seems to have been buried in the early years of Ptolemy III., about B.C. 240.

of these types not only to one another, but also to certain other works which have been thought to show affinity to them, especially the boy who extracts a thorn from his foot, of whom we possess two curiously different classes of representations.

The first of these questions admits of a simple enough answer. Clearly we have here before us a mere *genre* representation; the description 'boy playing or struggling with a goose' is perfectly adequate, and in no case need we look for any meaning beyond this. Somewhat similar statues, such as that seen by Pausanias¹ in the grove of Trophonius at Lebadea, may have had a mythological significance, but no such need be assumed in the examples we are now considering. The character of the representation may not in itself preclude this supposition, for of course in Hellenistic times even distinctly mythological subjects received a *genre*-like treatment. But where no religious meaning is obvious, and other explanations are easy to find, it seems quite superfluous to go beyond common life for the origin of our subject. If Eros, in a few cases,² takes the place of the boy, it is surely as the mere representative of boyish mischief, and not in any divine capacity.

To *genre* then this subject most unquestionably belongs, and to *genre* in the more strict and distinctive sense of the word. For we may accept the distinction drawn by Furtwängler, even if we refuse to follow him entirely in the application which he makes of it, and the conclusions he draws therefrom. A *genre* representation he observes, may be such in virtue of the execution of the work, as was the case with the statues of Lykios and other artists of the Myronic school; or in virtue of the subject. The boys with geese may be considered as examples of the latter class; and to see this fully it is necessary to make an assumption formerly probable, and now placed beyond all doubt; the assumption that at least some examples of this class are to be assigned to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The characteristic tendencies of this period which now concern us have been so clearly described by previous

¹ ix. 39, 3. This is a girl with a goose. Some examples of such figures occur, often hard to distinguish from Leda. But all such have been ex-

cluded from our present enumeration, which refers only to boys.

² Nos. 10, 46, 49, 52.

writers that here a mere hint will suffice. The people, cooped up in large towns and surrounded by the artificiality of city life, felt a craving for nature and simplicity; and this craving was met in two ways; in poetry by the striving of the pastoral after a fictitious rustic simplicity; in sculpture, by those representations of child-life, of which we are now considering the most numerous and perhaps the most interesting series. The pastoral may afterwards have influenced painting and even sculpture, but we can scarcely trace an independent impulse of the latter in this direction, and so these children remain as our sculptural record of the tendency of the times in art. That children should most often be represented with their favourite playmates is but natural; the goose, however, who here occupies this favoured position, has unfortunately been surrounded with associations so different in modern times, that it is very hard for us properly to appreciate these groups. First of all it is necessary for us to get rid of all our prejudices against the bird, and its unfortunate reputation for both stupidity and braggart cowardice. In ancient times it was not so regarded; the goose was considered valiant, and also, from its domesticated habits, the very model for a good house-wife. Geese were constant inmates of the house, and were the much-loved companions of their mistress and her children, from the time of Penelope downwards. Fully to realise this one should read M. Stephani's article; he devotes more than a hundred pages to an elaborate discussion of the importance both mythological and social of the goose and other kindred birds. But perhaps an analogy will help the historical imagination better than facts, however conclusive in their array. Without venturing to decide the vexed question whether the domestic cat was known in Greece or not, one may at least safely assert that it did not there occupy the same position which it now holds among us. But that position was, in almost every way, exactly filled by the goose, whether as a model of domestic content, or as the friend and playmate of children. Now in modern art the cat, and especially the kitten, is constantly represented in conjunction with children; and if we can only bring ourselves to look upon these ancient geese in the same light, we shall have gone far to surmount the difficulty of appreciation which here meets us.

If we proceed next to consider the period and school to which our various types may be assigned, we have before us a somewhat complicated question. It has already been stated, by anticipation, that the subject best suits the beginning of the Hellenistic age. The treatment of the child, carried out with complete truth to nature, points also in most cases to that time. But of course distinctions must be made between the different types; and first those must be selected which admit of some external evidence being adduced to help our decision; in the scantiness of this evidence, it will become clear how much we are helped by the new clew that we have gained. But for it, we should be almost entirely dependent upon Jahn's conjecture; which we must consider, and at the same time another subject which has been brought into connection with it—the boy extracting a thorn from his foot. This subject survives in two types, one severely stylised and archaistic (or archaic), of which we may take as a representative the bronze boy of the Capitol,¹ the other realistic, best seen in the recently discovered Castellani example, now in the British Museum.² To take first the most important and most probable conjecture, Jahn, learning from Pliny³ that Boethos made a boy throttling a goose, suggested that in the statues of our Type V. we have copies immediately derived from the work so described. This suggestion was so probable and brilliant that it at once met with universal acceptance, and has since been regarded as an established fact on which to found less certain theories. And indeed, although the description of Pliny would apply almost as well to the quite as numerous figures of our type IV., for instance, and although no facts can be adduced in its favour beside the coincidence of subject already referred to, Jahn's identification will probably still continue to hold its ground. In any case, it is very likely that we have extant examples traceable to this work of Boethos, and that to him may be assigned the origination of the subject which afterwards proved so popular. But so successful a conjecture was followed by

¹ Three others, marble copies, in the Villa Borghese, at Florence, and at Berlin. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik* II. p. 144.

² Another, in possession of Baron

Rothschild, at Paris. *Gaz. Arch.* 1882, 9—11.

³ xxxiv. 84. "Boethi...infans (ex aere!) anserem strangulat." Foreword. see Overbeck, *S. Q.* 1597.

another; Overbeck proposed to identify the bronze boy of the Capitol with the nude seated boy by Boethos, which Pausanias saw in the Heraion at Olympia. Such an identity is of course not impossible, but utterly lacks proof,¹ especially as no affinity of style can be affirmed between the bronze and other supposed works of Boethos. But on the other hand we should be going too far if we refused, with Furtwängler, to assign this boy to the same period, at least in the original design. His attempt to prove a connection with the school of Myron has not met with acceptance;² and Kekulé's suspicion that the bronze is an eclectic and Pasitelean rendering of an earlier work³ is confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the Castellani boy, which may represent more faithfully that original. Here our apparent digression leads us back again to our subject. For the Castellani figure, allowing for difference of size and material, shows an affinity both in type and in treatment with the silver statuette (No. 51), to which we are endeavouring to give its true place in the series.

What, then, is the relation of this statuette (No. 51), to the better known and more conspicuous of the types whose probable connection with Boethos we have just noticed? Perhaps we may here gain some help from literary notices. Almost all we know of that artist, beyond the facts already cited, is that he was especially famous as a worker in metal. Indeed Pliny,⁴ even when mentioning his boy with the goose, remarks that silver was the material wherein he excelled; a silver hydria by his hand was among the plunder of Verres. What then is more likely than that the one of his works which best suited the taste of his time, and therefore attained greatest popularity, may have given rise to numerous imitations either by himself, his pupils, or others working under his influence,

¹ The conjecture of Wieseler, *ἐνικυπτορ* for *ἐνίχυστορ* is by no means convincing. Even if it be accepted, Overbeck's argument is but slightly strengthened.

² The type of face, for instance, is anything but Attic. F. anticipates this objection by replying that we have no original Myronic head. Yet surely we recognise the type, as distinctly as that of Polykleitos, for which also

we depend on copies. The same objection will apply to Brizio's connection with Kalamis.

³ I learn that M. Kekulé has now given up this view, and holds that the statue is really archaic. Some archaeologists, however, still regard it as archaistic.

⁴ *L. c.* "Boethi quanquam argento melioris."

executed in that material of which he was an acknowledged master? Such an imitation we may now have before us; no exact or slavish copy of the original work, but a variation upon its subject, adapted to the size and material in which it is executed. And it is an imitation which cannot be removed by more than one generation from the artist himself, and which may very well proceed from his own period and influence.

Since then in this one case we may attain comparative certainty, or at least conjecture is restricted within narrow limits, let us utilise the advantage we thus possess to take a general view of the results hitherto gained. Firstly, then, the original conception of this group representing a boy struggling with a goose seems attributable to Boethos; his probable date, at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period, favours such a supposition. The type hit the popular taste, and in consequence we have numerous reproductions of it, whether direct copies, as our type V. or possibly IV., or mere imitations reproducing the same subject with endless varieties of character and composition (types III. IV. VI.).¹ Probably the origination of some of these varieties is not far removed from the time or influence of Boethos himself. In later times the demand for copies reproducing all these varieties became considerable, and such were made in great numbers; they seem to have been especially popular as a decoration to fountains, the water-pipe being in some cases introduced through the beak of the goose. A similar use seems to have been made of certain other figures of boys; for instance, in the case of the Castellani boy, the rock on which he sits is pierced with holes for water; this type; however, though probably belonging in its origin to the same period, cannot without further evidence be confidently assigned to the influence of the same artist. The adaptation of the subject to a fountain is obvious; a boy after a journey sits down to wash his feet, and draw a thorn from them at the fountain. And an aquatic bird also appropriately finds its place beside the water. To this fact is partly due the large number of the reproductions of a boy with an aquatic bird, which we still possess: but the

¹ Types I. and II. are too distinct to be immediately derived, but in them a result of the same influence may perhaps be seen.

majority of these were doubtless produced in Roman times to meet the demand of the numerous builders of artistically decorated houses and villas. It is therefore very fortunate that we are now able to add to their number one which is in time far less remote from the original conception of Boethos, and is also from its material likely to preserve more faithfully the peculiar characteristics of his style.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

SEPULCHRAL RELIEF FROM ATTICA, AT WINTON CASTLE, HADDINGTONSHIRE.

THE Attic sepulchral relief reproduced on Plate B, is the principal object in an interesting collection of antiques formed by the late Baroness Ruthven of Winton Castle, Haddingtonshire, and assigned by her to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The bulk of the collection, consisting of vases, mostly of a small size and of the black figured kind, but including several good Attic lekuthoi, is now deposited in the Museum, but the most notable objects remain still at Winton Castle. These comprise a fine *hydria* 13½ inches high, with a red-figured design (Paris, Helen and other figures with Erotes, etc.) very delicately drawn in the best style, and two sepulchral reliefs, of which one is small and of poor workmanship, and the other, now for the first time published, an interesting and charming work.

It is a *stèle* of Pentelic marble rounded at the top, 61½ inches in height 17½ wide at base, and about an inch less above under the architrave. On the face, upon an unmoulded plinth between pilasters which bear upon simple capitals a shallow architrave and cornice, stands in profile to the left the figure of a girl 41½ inches high, whose name, ΑΠΙΞΤΟΜΑΧΗ, appears inscribed on the architrave. Above the cornice is an anthemion ornament in relief of the usual design. The weight of the figure is on the right foot, the left knee being bent, and the right hand holds a small draped figure in a sitting posture—apparently a terracotta idol. The dress is a thin chiton, over which is an ample himation enveloping the figure and covering the left arm and hand. The head is slightly bent to look at the small figure, and the hair, bound with a fillet, falls down over the back of the



neck. The style and workmanship suit the fourth century B.C., with which date agrees the simple elegance of the forms of the anthemion ornament.

The characteristics of the Attic sepulchral relief are well represented here. There is undeniable style in the work, and much refinement and grace of expression in the figure, but at the same time there is in parts a curious neglect in the workmanship. The type of the head and the winning sweetness of the girlish features are fully representative of the best qualities of this interesting phase of Greek sculpture. The rendering of the folds of the himation is without elaboration and the forms are sharply-angled and square, but the work is that of a bold carver who knew his business well. In remarkable contrast is the neglect of the left hand under the robe, which the sculptor has not been at any pains to indicate, so that the effect is that of an arm cut off at the wrist. The hair is roughly worked, the feet somewhat clumsy. The hand holding the figure is, on the contrary, nicely felt. The relief is in the highest part about two inches from the ground; the back of the *stele* roughly chiselled.

The chief facts about the discovery of the relief, as far as they can now be ascertained, are as follows. Shortly before the breaking out of the Greek Revolution in 1821, Lord and Lady Ruthven spent a year in Athens, and acquired the use of some land containing ancient burial places near Cape Zoster, a few miles from the city. Here the relief of Aristomache was discovered a few feet below the surface of the ground, and with the rest of the proceeds of the excavations it was sent home to Scotland to be placed in the hall at Winton Castle. The wooden case, with the corners filled in with packing of Attic moss, still incloses the relief which was consigned to it in the Peiræus more than sixty years ago, and the red earth in which the marble was embedded still adheres to the surface. The freshness of aspect thus retained by the work is one of its titles to interest, and in connection with this it is to be observed that though the surface is innocent of the washing and scouring which the marbles in so many collections have undergone, no traces of polychromy are to be observed on it. Not less fresh and redolent of Greece was to the last the memory of its accomplished owner. Lady Ruthven, whose years numbered nearly a hundred, remembered well the days of her 'grand tour' and her stay in Athens. She

knew Ali Pasha who interested himself in her search for antiques, and was acquainted with Byron's 'Maid of Athens' though the poet himself she did not meet. An excellent artist in water colours in the bold and masculine style of 'Grecian' Williams, Lady Ruthven executed some valuable drawings of the ancient buildings of Athens in their then condition, and she still loved to talk about the beautiful scenes of Greece whither—with the enthusiasm of youth still unquenched—she would fain again have turned her feet. It gave her the liveliest satisfaction that the Hellenic Society desired to publish the charming relief which had been one of the delights of her life.

G. BALDWIN BROWN.

ODYSSEUS AND THE SIRENS—DIONYSIAC BOAT-
RACES—A CYLIX BY NIKOSTHENES.

PLATE XLIX.

FOUR years ago, in dealing with the *Myths of the Odyssey*,¹ I raised afresh the time-honoured difficulty of the art-form of the Sirens: Why are the sweet singers of Homer pictured as hybrid monsters—birds with the faces of women? Much that I then said about the Sirens may, I hope, still hold good; but the final solution or part solution of the difficulty which I arrived at, I now believe to be mistaken, and, with more complete material at hand, I hope in the present paper to offer a new, and possibly a more satisfactory, solution. I fell then into the not uncommon error of projecting into the mind of the Greek vase-painter a great deal of allegorizing tendency and somewhat mystical moral purpose which was really conspicuous by its absence; my familiarity with the literary forms and the literary growth of mythology was much wider than my acquaintance with the manner and the influence of artistic tradition. The power of tradition in an art and still more in a handicraft is not easily overestimated. The thought and expression of the handicraftsman is governed by the art forms that lie ready to his hand, just as the thought of a writer is moulded and fashioned by the language he employs. Each must use current phraseology, only elevating or debasing it a little according to his proper faculty. The more one becomes familiar with Greek vase-painting the more weight does one allow to this principle of typography—the more does one recognize the simplicity of the factors which, combined and recombined in almost mechanical fashion, make up the multiplicity of vase-compositions.

In determining the origin of a vase type we naturally look

¹ *Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature*. By J. E. Harrison (Rivingtons).

for a black-figured instance. In the case of Odysseus and the Sirens, I had long been aware of the existence of such an instance. Brunn, in his list of signed vases, gives, under the head of Nikosthenes, '42, aus Vulci, einst bei Durand (n. 418), dann bei Beugnot (n. 57), zuletzt bei W. Hope. (Odysseus und die Sirenen).' A description follows, correct, except in one particular, which I shall note later. Acting on this notice, I at once asked permission to visit the Hope collection at Deepdene, but my letter remained unanswered; nor did more influential pleading meet with better success. I felt sure that a vase by Nikosthenes would at least give the clue to the primitive type of the myth, but Brunn's description left the representation too obscure to serve as foundation for a theory, and, much disappointed, I gave up the question. Three years later, when investigating a quite different matter, I accidentally learnt that the Nikosthenes vase was not in the Hope collection at all, but had gone, owing to the sale of part of the collection, to the Louvre. The vases of the Louvre I had, in the meantime, so far as facilities could be obtained, carefully examined; but the cylix I so earnestly desired to see had escaped me. I tell the story of my search only to point two morals: First, the imperative need of a printed and publicly accessible record of all sales of private collections; second, the need of a printed catalogue of all public collections. The difficulty of collecting the mere materials for the study of vases is sufficient without these extra and most baffling hindrances.

What I have to say about the vase is best said under two divisions.

First, the connection of the design with the type of Odysseus and the Sirens.

Second, the connection of the design with other similar designs which I believe in all probability relate to nautical races in honour of Dionysos.

First as to the connection of the design with the type of Odysseus and the Sirens.

The cylix from which the design is taken is of the ordinary shape seen in the cut. This drawing, from a photograph, and those in Plate XLIX. I owe to the kind superintendence of M. Héron de Villefosse. The scenes on the obverse and reverse are very similar. On the obverse appear two ships, the one

slightly in advance of the other ; the prow of each is decorated with a boar's head, the stern shaped into a swan's neck and head. On each of the ships there stands, to the fore, apparently on the outlook, a draped male figure ; behind, in the stern, is seated the steersman with his two oars.



The outlook man of the foremost ship is distinguished from the others (probably with no special intent) by his long hair, formally arranged in a long stiff coil, after the familiar, archaic fashion of the Diskophoros. On the reverse the same design is repeated, but in the case of each ship the draped figure on the outlook is omitted, and each ship is further adorned by a large eye painted on the forepart—in the front ship in black, in the hinder one in white. All four ships have their white sails fully set, and to the stern of each of them is horizontally attached a landing ladder : just such a ladder as we see in actual use in representations of scenes from the myth of the Argonauts. To our modern minds these ladders seem attached in a fashion most inconvenient for sailing. The four ships are interesting specimens of ancient war galleys ; but, if they present any special features, I must leave the discussion of such to those who have a knowledge of shipbuilding, ancient and modern.

I pass to the remaining decoration. Under each of the handles of the cylix is a dolphin, placed there for the double purpose of filling decoratively the vacant space and of indicating the sea. On a spiral line coming out of the handle a Siren perches, with head turned in the direction of the ship, the body towards the handle. Brunn says, in his catalogue of the Nikosthenes vases, that 'gegen den Henkel je eine Sirene auf einem Felsen, die

nach den Schiffen zurückblickt;’ but manifestly no rock is indicated, nor do I think that the Siren is intended to be looking towards the ship. Sirens used *decoratively* make a better pattern with the head turned around in this way, and accordingly we find this attitude becomes the typical one. Sirens used in precisely the same fashion, and perched on a spiral, may be found not infrequently in vases of the mature black-figured and very early red-figured style. In Gerhard’s *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, xxviii., we have a Siren of precisely this pattern perched on a spiral—not, as in our cylix, as an ornament on a handle, but full in the centre of the design, and yet with no connection with the subject. Again, on a vase in the Hermitage (*Myths of the Odyssey*, pl. 44), we have another Siren perched on a spiral, at the foot of a palm tree. I formerly thought that this Siren—at whom the Apollo and Hermes of the rest of the design seem to look fixedly—formed an integral part of the design. I now believe her to be purely decorative.

It may rightly be asked on what grounds I have headed this paper, ‘Odysseus and the Sirens.’ Obviously the characteristic figure in this myth, Odysseus bound to the mast, is wanting. No less certain to my mind is it that the Sirens are mere decorative adjuncts. The picture, then, resolves itself into four galleys, possibly engaged in a race, and has no mythological meaning whatever. Such is my opinion; but, for all that, the design has, I believe, a very high mythological importance. We catch in it the *type* of Odysseus and the Sirens just at the very moment of formation. Let us turn for a moment to a red figured rendering of the same scene, the only one that, so far as I am aware, exists: I mean the well-known amphora of the British Museum (*Myths of the Odyssey*, pl. 37). Here the dead type is vitalized, translated from a mere *genre* scene into a design with a mythological meaning.

The Sirens, two before (*i.e.*, one to each handle), are three according to current, though not Homeric, tradition. By the very slightest addition of line the spiral ornament has become an actual rock. The steersman is there and the oarsmen (whom Nikosthenes leaves out), but, instead of the man on the outlook, we have Odysseus bound to the mast; instead of the full sails, they are partially reefed, for at the passing of the Sirens there fell a dead, noon-day calm. In the cylix of Nikosthenes the only

sign of intended connection between the ship and the Sirens is the fact that the men on the outlook seem to gaze her way, and that the Sirens are perched only on that side of the handle towards which the ships are steering. But, on the other hand, on the reverse the outlook men are not depicted, and I fear the position of the Sirens is determined merely by considerations of space.

Why I think the vase to be of great importance is that it seems to me that in this design we have a clear instance of what has taken place somewhat less obviously and strikingly in countless other cases. Forms accidentally and merely decoratively juxtaposed suggest the art-form for the expression of a myth. The *art-form* (which must always be carefully distinguished from the literary form and the origin of the myth) of the Myth of Odysseus and the Sirens, I believe to have been suggested by the merely accidental juxtaposition of two racing galleys and the Assyrian bird-women already long current in decorative art.

The cylix before us is signed. ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ is inscribed just above the white sail on the obverse to the right hand. A signed vase has its own importance with reference to the style of the potter. But as the manner of Nikosthenes is familiar to all I need not stop to consider it. Dr. Klein in his *Griechische Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*, has collected seventy instances of his signature. Our cylix stands as No. 60 in his list, and the further authorities on his style are cited *op. cit.* p. 24. The principal characteristic of the work of Nikosthenes is, however, somewhat important to the matter in hand. He stood on the boundary-line between the black and red figured masters, but in spirit he belonged to the past. He was above all things a mechanical decorator, caring little for mythological meaning, much for a certain mannerism of effect. Casting our eye over the list of his works we find a few mythological subjects, but these treated in a very abstracted, schematic, non-original fashion: such designs have the emptiness and lifelessness of an often repeated scheme which tends to lose its meaning and lapse into a mere pattern. What Nikosthenes best loves are such figures as dancing Satyrs and Mænads, sphinxes, panthers, Sirens, Hippalektryons. Black-figured types are getting exhausted, and Nikosthenes is not the man to revitalize them; he decorated a vase or two in accordance with the new red-figured *technique*,

but he never felt the impulse of the new Attic inspiration. Perhaps nowhere is the contrast between the new and old manner better seen than by the juxtaposition of the mechanical cylix before us and the amphora with the red-figured Odysseus and the Sirens already cited.

I turn to the second point: the connection of the design in the cylix of Nikosthenes with other similar designs, which, I believe, in all probability relate to nautical races in honour of Dionysos.

About the end of the black-figured period it is not uncommon to find a certain class of vases decorated with a design consisting of four or five ships following each other in regular succession. I have collected the following instances, to which no doubt many more might be added:—

a. Lebes. Munich, *Cat.* 781. G., *A. V.*, ccliv.

b. Kelebe. G., *A. V.* cclxxxv., vi.

c. Deinos. Millingen, *Vas. Coghill*, 52.

d. Deinos. Politi, *Descrizione d'una Deinos*.

e. Kelebe. Hermitage, *Cat.* 10.

f. Lebes. Hermitage, *Cat.* 86.

g. Deinos. *Bull.* 1873, p. 125.

These seven vases, it will be noted, are all of such shapes that they allow of decoration on the lip of the vase. When the vase was full of liquid, the ships painted on the vertical part of the lip would appear to be actually floating, and it is possible the artist may have been influenced by what seems a somewhat trivial conceit. Be this as it may the ships, four or five in number, are in all seven cases used as decoration for the lip.

It is of great importance to note what the remaining decoration of each vase is.

The Munich lebes (a) has the horizontal rim of its lip decorated with a frieze obviously agonistic, chariot-race, combat of armed warriors, judges seated on okladiai.

The Kelebe, once in the Feoli collection (b), has on the obverse, in red figures, a palaestric scene, bearded men in conversation with boys; this extends to the reverse. The horizontal rim has in black figures a complicated Dionysiac scene—Dionysos, seated on the capital of a short pillar, holds a rhyton in the right hand, a vine-branch in the left. To him advances Hermes with herald's staff. Hermes is followed by a bearded Satyr,

who leads a boy on horseback into the presence of Dionysos. After the boy—presumably a successful competitor in the horse-race—comes a representation of a Bacchic festival, Satyrs and Maenads with krotala, cithars, rhytons—the scene characterised by vine-branches, panthers, a snake, and wine vessels of various shapes, one a kelebe of the very shape of the vase it helps to decorate. We can, I think, scarcely escape the inference that Dionysos is here a prize-giver at games in his own honour, and that the galleys which are decorated in the inner vertical side of the rim are racing galleys contending at the same festival.

The deinos of the Coghill collection (*c*) is of the same type as the two preceding; on the horizontal surface of the lip is a continuous frieze, composed of five pairs of combatants, four boys on horseback, four figures seated on okladias, and sundry judges and ephebi; as usual the ships occupy the vertical surface of the lip.

The Politi deinos (*d*) repeats the same pattern—*i.e.* *horizontal* frieze of warriors arming, stepping into chariots, pairs of combatants; *vertical* frieze of five galleys.

The Hermitage kelebe (*e*), obverse Dionysos, viz. crowned and holding in the left hand a rhyton. Opposite him a female figure, possibly Ariadne; between them a vine-branch. Behind each a succession of Satyrs and Maenads. Under each handle Satyr and Maenad. Reverse, same scene, with slight alterations. *Vertical* side of lip, four galleys.

The Hermitage lebes (*f*) has no decoration except the five galleys on the vertical side of the lip.

The remaining deinos (*g*) has a garland of ivy around the neck, and on the horizontal side of the rim combats of hoplites and of chariots with charioteers.

The regular scheme of decoration for this class of vases stands as follows:—

Horizontal side of lip, agonistic types.

Vertical side of lip, galleys.

Where the shape (kelebe) admits of further decoration the design is either (1) agonistic or (2) Dionysiac.

In the case of one vase (*b*) the agonistic type is plainly referred to Dionysos, in the case of another (*e*) the galleys appear in conjunction with designs which are exclusively Dionysiac.

I am well aware that this evidence alone is too slender to

support a theory of galley races in honour of Dionysos. Literary testimony can, however, be added.

In a former number of the *Hellenic Journal* (vol. ii. p. 90 and p. 315) Prof. Gardner has brought together the evidence as to boat-races in general among the Greeks, and incidentally of races that seem to have been run in honour of Dionysos. In the Corcyra types of coins, which Prof. Gardner thinks refer to galley races, the head of Dionysos occurs twice on the obverse (vol. ii. p. 95), and one racing galley has, we note, the significant name of Κῶμος. Most important for our purpose is the passage of Pausanias (cited by Prof. Gardner, ii. 315, and in connection with vase-paintings by Gerhard, G., *A. V.*, ccliv. p. 24, n. 13) in which he speaks of the festival in honour of Dionysos Malanaigis (Paus. ii. 35, 1) in which there were contests in music, in swimming and with boats (καὶ πλοίων τιθέασιν ἄθλα). In Dumont's *L'Ephèbie Attique*, Inscr. viii. 54, we have noted a part of the service rendered by the Attic Ephebi to Dionysos ἐποιήσαντο δὲ καὶ ἄμιλλαν τοῖς πλοίοις. We can readily conceive that the Greeks, if they had boat-races at all, would have races of war-galleys. All the agonistic training of the Greeks was tinged with a certain fine, patriotic, utilitarianism; the friendly contest of racing war-galleys might be a fitting preparation to the more serious ἄμιλλα with an enemy's fleet. The God Dionysos does not himself disdain to go to sea. On a beautiful cylix in the Munich collection (No. 339) we have Dionysos of colossal size reclining in a galley shaped exactly like our Nikosthenes galleys; from the mast rise up vine-branches laden with huge bunches of grapes, and all around the ship dolphins are playing. On the outside of the cylix, on either side of the handles, are combats of hoplites; on the obverse and reverse are two eyes. According to Pausanias (ix. 20, 4) Dionysos contended with and overcame a Triton who disturbed his worshippers. Very frequently on vases of about the date of Exekias we have designs in which Dionysos or his symbols appear in connection with the sea; e.g. G., *A. V.*, viii. we have a cylix in which a white-haired man holding a trident rides a hippocamp, on either side a huge eye surrounded by vine-branches and bunches of grapes. Similarly an amphora, G., *A. V.*, viii., on the obverse Dionysos with cantharos in his right hand seated on an okladias, in front of him a bearded

man (a competitor in a musical contest?) playing on a lyre, between them a vine; reverse, a triton holding an ivy wreath, about him dolphins.

I would therefore suggest:—

1st. That it is possible, and even probable, that where the type of four or five war-galleys, in connection with other agonistic schemes appears, we have in the galleys a representation of a galley race.

2nd. That wherever Dionysiac attributes appear in conjunction with these galleys, the race was presumably run in honour of Dionysos.

3nd. That, considering the immense popularity of Dionysiac subjects about the time of the black-figured vases, just before the time of the red-figured Attic cylix masters, even where there are no Dionysiac symbols, it is probable the intention is Dionysiac.

4th. That the large eyes which so frequently appear about this date are Dionysiac, in the simple sense that they stand symbolically for galleys which ran races in honour of Dionysos.

5th. That with the general decline of Dionysiac subjects, and probably, to some extent, because of the unmanageable shape of the ships, their representations of galley-races went out of fashion in the period of the red-figured Attic cylix masters.

6th. That possibly the vases we have enumerated above, being all of the nature of mixing vessels, *i.e.*, *deinos*, *lebes*, or *kelebe*, were of the sort used as prizes in these Dionysiac festivals, or in some other way specially connected with the ceremonies.

7th. That the Nikosthenes vase represents a Dionysiac galley-race, but in just such a way as we should expect from a potter whose manner was mechanical. There is a technical advance in the representation of the race, inasmuch as the galleys are almost side by side, but the representation is taken from the rim of a mixing vessel, which it suits fairly well, and put on to the obverse and reverse of a cylix, which it suits very badly. The Sirens present are possibly borrowed from some definitely Dionysiac representation (on the connection of Dionysos and the Sirens see *Myths of the Odyssey*, p. 161); but such a meaning was scarcely present to the mind of the

mechanical Nikosthenes, who used the Siren merely as a piece of decoration.

Finally, resuming our first point: the representation of a boat-race in honour of Dionysos, the meaning of which was only half present to the vase-painter, together with the figure of the Oriental bird-woman decoratively used, supplied the type which was ultimately to represent artistically the myth of Odysseus and the Sirens.

JANE E. HARRISON.

Since writing the above, I have examined the vase collections of Northern and Central Italy and the collections of the Louvre, with a view to finding further instances of the connection between Dionysos and nautical races—with the following results. I letter the additions, so as to follow consecutively the previous list.

h. Lebes. Louvre, Campana coll.: white label 224, blue-edged label 1064—*horizontal* lip, ivy pattern; *vertical* rim, five ships with steersmen only.

i. Lebes. Louvre, of very large size—*horizontal* lip, a frieze of chariot races, armed combats, seated judges, Herakles and Nemean lion, Theseus and Minotaur; *vertical* rim, six ships in full sail, steersmen and oarsmen, white sails.

j. Patera. Louvre, black ware with boss in centre; round the boss frieze of ships racing. The fore parts only shown.

k. Cylix. Corneto (Bruschi coll.) black-figured—below each handle a ship, between each handle two Dionysiac eyes, and between each of these warriors. Vine branch decorations

l. Amphora. Corneto (Bruschi coll.) fine black-figured—*obverse* Dionysos seated in large ship; in left hand cantharos, in background vine and grapes, in outlook place Satyr. In rear of ship Maenad with lyre and Satyr with cup; below handles dolphins; *reverse* similar but differing in details.

m. Neck of amphora—(noted Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, Exekias 5), now in collection of Augusto Castellani, Rome, *vertical* rim for ships in waves, *horizontal* rim, inscription

Ε+ΣΕΚΙΑΣΜΕΓΟΙΕΣΕΧΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΜΜΧΔΟΚΧΝ+ΑΡΟΓΟΙ

None of these six last vases are, so far as I am aware, published—*h.* simply repeats the normal scheme we have noted with no

definite Dionysiac evidence—*i.* adds agonistic though not certainly Dionysiac evidence—*j.* belongs to the late embossed ware, and I only cite it because together with it were a number of other similar cups with chariot races, &c. so that it seems to make for the fact that the ships are an Agonistic type. *k.* is distinctly Dionysiac, as is shown by the eyes and vine branches—the warriors between the eyes probably represent an armed combat—*l.* belongs to the same type as the beautiful Munich cylix cited above (Munich No. 339). There is nothing in either case to indicate the subject of racing, but the vases are of course of great value as showing the connection of Dionysos and seafaring matters—*m.* I believe to be the neck of a *deinos*—it is valuable, as it enables us to take the *type* as belonging to the time of Exekias.

I would add to these two instances nearer hand which escaped my notice before.

n. A small black-figured cylix, British Museum, exterior decorated by four ships alternately war galleys and merchant ships. This is probably a mere decorative caprice of the vase-painters, as the two sorts of ships would scarcely be entered for the same race.

o. Cup in the form of the prow of a war galley, British Museum. "Round the lip of the cup are Sirens' heads, below which is Seilenos reclining in an arbour and playing on the flute. At the back of the prow is a Victory." Mr. Newton conjectures (Guide-book p. 17) that this cup may belong to the class called *trieres*.

ANCIENT MARBLES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

SUPPLEMENT II.

(Continued from Vol. V. p. 143–161.)

PLATES LVI.—LVII.

HAMILTON PALACE.

(*Ancient Marbles*, p. 300, 301.)

IT is well-known that the antiquities of this Palace were sold by auction in 1882. In the sale catalogue, however, published by Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, no mention is made of nos. 1, 7, 8, 9 of my catalogue. All these being *marble statues*, I have little doubt that they have remained at the Palace, which is said to be still to-day richly furnished also with busts and other smaller antiquities. A few notes extracted from the sale catalogue will serve to supplement the notices given in my book. The kindness of my friend Mr. Scharf enables me to add the names of the buyers, and the prices as given in the priced catalogue. The woodcuts of the illustrated catalogue, which I have not seen, are said to be very poorly done; tracings of them lie before me.

No. 190 (no. 6 of my catalogue). *Bust of Vespasian*, of black basalt, with (modern ?) drapery of oriental alabaster. Woodcut. This bust, which was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale for £220 10s., fetched £336; T. Agnew & Son.

No. 191 (no. 4). *Bust of Augustus*, of antique Egyptian porphyry, with gilt ornaments. The woodcut shows the emperor crowned with a wreath, and clad in a breastplate (decorated with two pegasi flanking a central ornament), and an aegis *below* it, a mantle covering shoulders and part of the breast. I dare not say from the woodcut whether the head is antique; the bust is

certainly modern. It was sold to E. Joseph for the enormous sum of £1,732 10s.

No. 192 (no. 5). *Bust of Tiberius*, of the same materials. Judging from the woodcut, Waagen seems justified in recognising Vespasian. The head is crowned like that of Augustus, to which it forms in every respect the counterpiece, and with which it shares the doubts about authenticity. Bought by S. Wertheimer for £525.

No. 469. *Bronze bust of Zeus Serapis*, on black marble stand, 9 inches (0·23 m.) high. The head only is antique, the rest restored by the Hon. Mrs. Damer, 1787. From the Barberini collection it passed, through the hands of Sir William Hamilton, into the possession of the Duchess of Portland, at whose sale it was bought by Horace Walpole (comp. *Ancient Marbles*, p. 69, and note 172). At the Hamilton sale it was sold to A. Castellani, for £106 1s. (Portland sale £173 5s., Strawberry Hill sale £78 15s.); I do not find it, however, in Froehner's catalogue of the Castellani sale (1883).

No. 470. Small antique *bronze bust of Alexander the Great*, on marble mount, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (0·11 m.) high. From Strawberry Hill (? not in the sale catalogue). Bought by W. Boore, £21.

No. 472. *Equestrian male figure*, on pedestal, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (0·11 m.) high. Bought by A. Castellani, £71 8s. In the Paris sale catalogue of the Castellani collection there is the following description, probably of the same figure: 'No. 440. *Jeune cavalier galopant vers la gauche. Buste et bras nus; la main droite levée tenait un javelot, et la tête se retourne vers l'ennemi qu'il s'agit de frapper. Applique. Haut., 10 cent. Larg., 16 cent.*'

No. 885 (no. 2). *Colossal marble bust of Venus*. From the Braschi Palace. A band encircles the hair. 'The tip of the nose is modern, and so is the lower lip. The eyeballs are not marked. The breasts are set into a bedding of modern marble. Very like the Cnidian Venus. Compare also the Holkham head, no. 37.' [G. SCHARF.] Bought by J. and W. Vokins, £120 15s.

No. 886 (no. 3). *Bust of the 'dying Alexander'*, erroneously styled 'bust of Niobe' in the catalogue. Woodcut. It is, according to Mr. Scharf, a modern copy of the Florentine bust. Bought by G. Sinclair, £409 10s.

No. 889. Antique marble *group of two Cupids*. No details known. Bought by Mrs. Williams.

No. 1005. *Bust of Homer*, in basalt, on bronze mount. 'Bearded and crowned with laurels. ΟΜΗΡΟΣ in front below.' [G.SCHARF.] Antique? Bought by T. Agnew & Son, £99 15s.

No. 1423. A pair of *Roman mosaics*, with birds, a mouse, and serpent.

No. 1426. Small antique *Roman bust of a boy*. Bought by J. and W. Vokins, £157 10s.

No. 1427. Antique *double terminal bust* (of Dionysos?), with ivy wreath in the hair. Bought by Duncan, £66 3s.

No. 1447. *Bust of Niobe*. Bought by J. R. Lorent, £84.

No. 1448. *Bust of a Roman Empress*. Bought by H. Samuel, £13 13s.

HILLINGDON COURT (Middlesex).

(*Ancient Marbles*, p. 301.)

In this seat of Sir C. MILLS, M.P., near Uxbridge, the *Attic bull*, once the property of Cockerell, is still in his old place under a yew-tree, the branches of which have not been able to protect the poor creature from the injuries of the damp English climate. The annexed Plate C. is copied from a photograph kindly taken by Mr. S. Gardner, with Sir C. Mills's permission. From a letter of Professor P. Gardner I copy the following remarks. 'The bull is rather carelessly finished and the details only superficially rendered. The head is the best part and the legs the worst. I have no doubt that he was set up on a base so as to be looked at rather from below; as the back is quite rough, it is clear that that was not intended to be looked at. He reminds me of the animals of the Dipylon cemetery [Salinas, *Monumenti sepolcrali scoperti in Atene*, 1863. Curtius and Kaupert, *Atlas von Athen*, pl. iv], and I should suppose that he must be of the same period, in spite of his somewhat archaic air. The marble is very hard and white; as the bull is covered with moss, it is not easy to examine its texture, but tradition says it is Pentelic. Mr. Constantine has been good enough to take for me the following measurements: length from top of head to root of tail 5 feet 8 inches (1·70 m.); height to top of head 3 feet 3 inches (0·98 m.); length of head 18 inches (0·45 m.). He would thus represent a very small animal, if intended to be of life-size.'



CASTLE HOWARD (Yorkshire).

(Ancient Marbles, p. 325—332.)

Of all the larger collections of ancient marbles in England, that of the Earls of Carlisle at Castle Howard was the only one which, when I collected the materials of my book, I had not had an opportunity of examining myself. With the kind permission of Mr. G. HOWARD, M.P., who is now residing in that vast palace, I have been able to fill up that gap, and to give a somewhat exacter account of the greater part of the marbles, which are scattered over the hall (nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 16), the long corridors, and some saloons of the house. Nevertheless, my catalogue is far from being complete, the number of antique sculptures being very large, and my time being limited; I feel sure, however, that no piece of any importance has been overlooked. I shall mention all those marbles which I have inspected myself.—Besides the fourth Earl of Carlisle (*d.* 1758), who began collecting in Italy, his successor the fifth Earl (*d.* 1825), followed the same line and added several specimens to the collection.

1. *Female statue.* The antique head, which has been added, is pretty; it is crowned not with laurel but with ears of corn. H. 1·38.

2. *Female statue* (only accessible with the aid of ladders). The antique portrait head is certainly the original head, It was broken, but the lines of the fracture prove that the two parts belong together; and so does the Parian marble which is of exactly the same quality in the head and the body. Several smaller restorations and patches are of no importance. The style is calculated for mere decoration. H. 1·78.

3. *Fortuna.* The head and the body are of different marble. The antique head, which shows a pretty countenance and is very well executed, including those portions of the hair which have not been retouched, is of Greek marble. The expression of the features is rather ideal, though not expressly characteristic for Venus, as Waagen supposed. Unfortunately, the head is much broken and patched, the nose, the lips, the chin, the stephanè being modern. The neck is inserted. The body, the execution of which is rather coarse but sufficient for the purpose of decorative effect, is made of Italian marble, and in excellent

preservation ; only half the left fore-arm with the cup, and the fingers of the right hand are new. The cornucopia contains an apple, ears of corn, a bunch of grapes, a pomegranate, a pineapple, and flowers. The back of the statue is but little worked, the chair only sketched. H. 1.59, with the pedestal, 1.73.

4. *Athenè*. She rests not on the left but on the right leg. The folds of the cloak before the stomach and the thighs are executed in an exceedingly simple, flat way ; similar is the treatment of the chiton. Cavaceppi's engraving (*Raccolta*, i. pl. 18), repeated by Clarac (iii. 471, 900), is so exactly like the statue, even in a number of small and insignificant details, that I have little doubt that it refers to this copy ; Brotherton's drawing taken from the original at Castle Howard itself (Clarac, iii. 462 B, 888 C), is less exact. Not only the right arm but also the shoulder, from the beginning of the cloak, is new.

5. *Hygieia*. Of remarkably perfect preservation ; even both the hands, though broken, are undoubtedly antique and her own, and so are the cup and the serpent (except the head and the neck from the goddess's hand). The right hand seems to have been broken in ancient times ; a hole within the palm and another opposite to it, in the body of the statue, may have served to fasten it. Another hole opposite the serpent's head will have served a similar purpose. The execution of the drapery is flat in general, but sharper in those folds which are more prominent. The fingers are not rounded but rather square. The statue itself is of Parian, the portrait head (nose new) of Italian marble. H. 1.64.

6. *Boy (Eros)*. No traces of wings. The curly head is certainly antique ; it was broken, but there is every probability that it is really the original head. Nose new. The pose of the boy is scarcely strained enough for the action presumed by the restorer ; it would rather suit a boy collecting fruits from a tree (see Richmond, no. 3). The work is very pleasant and of good execution. Greek marble. H. 0.68, up to the left hand, 0.74.

7. *Eros*. The torso is executed with tolerable softness but without great delicacy of feeling ; moreover it is much rubbed down, and patched in several places. The torso as well as the head are of Greek marble, but the quality is different. The pretty boy's head, with clusters of hair, has also suffered from smoothing. H. 1.25.

8. *Dionysos* (placed like no. 2). Notwithstanding the many pieces of which the statue has been recomposed, its preservation on the whole is very good; new: the panther's head, a few unimportant patches, the whole mask of the countenance all around to the hair, the head itself being antique and originally its own. In the hair which falls down over the neck there are remains of red colour. There is little doubt but that the nebris, which is worked in exceedingly flat relief, without sharply-defined edges, was also painted. It exhibits a rough surface, and so do the hair, the kantharos, the bunch of grapes, the sandals, the panther, and the tree; all the naked parts of the body being smooth and polished. The marble is Greek, of large grain, much like the Thasian. H. 1.58. The pedestal, also with rough surface, has rounded corners, and shows a very simple flat moulding, with a profile similar to that given in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1876, pl. 2. no. xii.

9. *Boy riding on a goat*. The garland is composed of flowers, not ivy; the stick in his right hand is a small pedum. The goat is heavy, its flocky fleece well characterised though superficially executed; the boy is better. Half of his left foot is antique, the end of the goat's beard new.

10. *Sleeping Seilenos*. Undoubtedly modern.

11. *River god* (over the main entrance, accessible by a narrow staircase). The main portion of the body, including part of the pedestal, made of a greyish stone (marble?), seems to be antique. The workmanship is not refined but does not want feeling for form. New: head, both the arms and shoulders, great part of the legs from below the knees. H. 0.71. Actual length of plinth 1.20.

12. *Serapis*. The middle head of the Kerberos (muzzle new) looks like a lion's, the two side heads like dogs' heads. Waagen's description (p. 329) refers not to this statue but to

12a. *Small bust of Serapis*, placed near no. 4; of very transparent Greek marble; new: the modius of rosso antico, the bust of coloured marble.

13. *Youthful Roman in the toga*. Much rubbed down. Head inserted; new: nose, mouth, chin, portions of drapery, scrinium and inferior part of the legs, from the middle of the calves downwards.

14. *Augustus*. The head, without any restoration, is very

much repolished; it has never been separated from the body. Drapery crowded at the left shoulder, poor in other places. On the whole the antiquity of the statue is very open to suspicion. The many fractures and restorations (right arm, left fore-arm with the globe, greater part of the legs) bear witness of the statue having remained a long time in the open air, or in some other exposed place. H. 1·73.

15. *Statuette of a nude youth.* Certainly modern.

16. '*Marcus Aurelius.*' The completely preserved head, to judge from the treatment of the hair, appears to be modern; and so are the pedestal, the trunk, the right leg from the knee, etc. The body is of soft work. H. 1·63.

17. *Statuette of Athènè.* Modern, of about the seventeenth century.



18. *Two Panes.* This is no group but a *relief*, and a very pretty one, the authenticity of which I see no reason to doubt. It belongs to a series of delicately-carved miniature reliefs, the

best known specimen of which may be the Lateran relief of an actor and a muse (Benndorf-Schoene, no. 245, comp. London. Lansdowne House, no. 72), and is executed in a beautiful yellowish Greek marble of fine grain. The relief is tolerably high; the head of the elder Pan was in great part detached from the ground. The field of the relief is not even, but on different levels. The sculpture is full of fresh life, by no means dry. An engraving by H. Moses, privately made and never published, some copies of which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Howard, is here repeated, with some corrections of little consequence. It dispenses me from giving a detailed description. Far the greater portion is antique and intact, including the frame which shows a simple moulding. The line of restoration crosses the right leg, the tail, the skin, the head (the upper part of which is modern), the left wrist (hand and thyrsos new) of the elder, and the horns of the younger Pan, at the left cheek of whom there is a patch. H. 0.25. L. 0.28.

19, 20. *Two groups of a lion tearing a bull.* The two groups were evidently to serve as counter-parts, being composed in opposite directions, and of nearly the same size (H. 0.67, and 0.69; L. 1.21, and 1.15). Preservation excellent; restorations of little consequence. The bulls are fallen on all four legs, the necks bent back; the lions have jumped from behind, and are biting the bulls' necks. Italian marble.

20a. *Small goat, capering.* Decorative work. The horns, being let in, and made of real horn, are no doubt a modern addition. H., including the pedestal, 0.43. L. 0.44.

BUSTS.

21. *Bust of Minerva.* Modern. Head and helmet of black marble, bust of oriental alabaster.

22. *Mask of bearded Bacchus.* Much patched, and very coarse, if at all antique. H. 1.05. Length of face 0.46.

23. *Bust of Bacchus.* See Catalogue.

24. *Head with Phrygian cap.* Turn of the head and expression somewhat sentimental, reminding us slightly of the portraits of Alexander the Great. Workmanship not bad, but rather poor. New, also bust and top of cap. Parian marble. Length of face 0.22.

25. *Head of Io*. One would think of a Juno, of insignificant expression, but for the two little horns which are certainly antique.

26. *Hieratic head of Athenè*. The style is similar to that of the famous Artemis at Naples (Müller-Wieseler, i. 10, 38); the helmet seems best to suit Athenè. The wreath of flowers forms the ornament of a kind of stephanè, below which the forehead is covered by a mass of stiff hair, an arrangement very much like that of the 'Zeus Talleyrand' (*Arch. Zeit.* 1843, pl. 1. 1874, pl. 9). The ears are covered by a flat, curved garland, as it were, of hair, similar to the arrangement on certain Athenian tetradrachms (Müller-Wieseler, i. 16, 70). Longer tresses fall down behind the neck. The low, round helmet was decorated with an animal at the top, and a crest, remains of both of which are preserved. Traces of red colour are visible also in the eyes.

27. *Youthful head*. This unusually beautiful head, which shows no marks of special Heraklean character, is far the finest specimen of the whole collection. It belongs to the Lysippic type and may be best compared with such heads as that of the Meleagros at Berlin or in the Vatican, to which corresponds also the turn of the head. All the peculiarities of fine Lysippic heads may be traced, though a little tempered, executed not with that feeling of individuality which we should find in a Greek original, but still with a fine rendering of the whole character. The head is of a beautiful Greek marble of large grain, perhaps Parian, the bust of Thasian marble. Length of face 0·18.

28. *Head of Seilenos*. The pointed ears confute Waagen's opinion that it might be the portrait of a poet. Very noble type, without any vulgar feature. Beard pretty long. New: top of nose. Thasian marble.

29. Dallaway's '*Dioskuros*' seems to mean no. 27; at least I have found no head of Dioskuros in the collection.

My time did not allow me to go carefully through the very large number of *Roman portrait busts*, which occupy the walls of the long corridors; consequently I have nothing to add to nos. 30—44. A cursory inspection, however, seemed to prove that there are no busts among them of peculiar interest or artistic value.

RELIEFS.

45. *Nikè*. See Catalogue.

46. *Bacchante and youth.* Right fore-arm and hand of the Maenad, except the index and the middle finger, are new.

47. *Sepulchral relief.* The attendant stands to the left of the youth, the tree is to his right. High relief (0.06). Roman work. H. 0.46. L. 0.43.

48. *Child's sarcophagus.* All the figures of the whole sarcophagus are moving right, our description follows the opposite direction. *Front side:* A tree at the right extremity of it indicates that the whole procession begins with the girl preceding Dionysos; before her feet is a panther. Dionysos turns his head towards the attendant boy who supports him. *Left end:* The basket (head of snake quite clear) is near the god's attendant; the Satyr boy moves towards it; behind (not before) him is the girl with tympanon in the upraised left hand; her right arm is grasped by Pan, who is followed by the Centaur; the closing girl, who looks much like a Maenad, is half concealed by the Centaur. *Right end:* After the *back* with the boys treading grapes, comes the boy with flute, partly concealed by the female Centaur; the boy with lyre follows; after him a basket on the ground, with a serpent; then the Satyr boy with pedum and nebris; finally the tree, which separates this group from that on the front. H. 0.29. L. 0.91.

49. *Ploughman*. The oxen move left. The kind of relief is a little like that of no. 18, but much coarser. The old piece is h. 0·18, l. 0·43.

50. *Cippus of P. Aelius Taurus.* See Addenda, p. xxiv.

51. *Double cinerarium*. The inscription runs thus:—

Ammon's head	garland	<p>M · VIGELLIVS LOGVS · ET VIGELLIA' IVCVNDA FECERVNT · SIBI · ET</p>	garland	Ram's skull.	garland	<p>VIGELLIAE ANTHVSAE VIXIT · ANN · XXXXV</p>	garland	Ammon's head.
		garland				garland		

Within the garlands, birds and locusts; beneath the ram's skull,
bird and snake.

51a. *Triple cinerarium*. The fields to the left and to the right are empty, in the middle field the inscription :—

VIGELLIAE

M . L .

ERATÓNIS

Ornaments of no importance.

52. *Round cinerarium*. See Addenda, p. xxiv.

53. *Round pedestal*. H. 1·02. Diameter 0·75.

BRONZES.

59. *Venus*, with diadem. Same type as Stanmore, no. 1. *Arch. Zeitung*, 1870, pl. 38.

60. *Fury*. Undoubtedly modern.

MOSAICS.

64. *Young Pan*, sitting. The wine-skin lies on the ground, Pan holds its mouth in his right hand. The large cup is yellow. Two masks on the ground, the one of a bearded man with ruffled hair, the other of a bald-headed Seilenos; a third grey-bearded mask lies on the krater. Between this and Pan, in the middle of the picture, an altar with fruits lying on it. L. 0·55. H. 0·55.

65. *Aphroditè*. L. 0·535. H. 0·535.

PAINTED VASE.

66. *Krater of Python*. See Addenda p. xxiv., and Engelmann *Annali dell' Inst.* 1872, p. 7. In the *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia*, iv. p. 124 &c., is reproduced a catalogue, made in 1796, of the new museum of the manufactory of porcelain at Naples; among the vases dug up by order of the royal government at S. Agata de' Goti and deposited in that museum are, besides others, the famous vase of Kadmos slaying the dragon, by Assteas (No. 53), and our vase (p. 133 No. 119), with the additional remark '*è stato ripulito, e ritoccato*.' As far as I could observe, this remark may refer to the upper parts of the two rain-pouring Nymphs; the legs, the head, and perhaps some further details of Antenor; some parts of the head of Aos. Generally the colours are less glaring than they

appear in the engraving. The sceptre of Zeus, with its curious prominences, is painted white at both extremities, as far as they stand out from the body. The back is of very superficial execution. H. 0·57. Diam. 0·53.—Sant' Agata de' Goti, though situated in Campania, is known for the later style of its vases very similar to those of Lucanian origin. Of Python this is the only known specimen; of the five vases of Assteas three were found at Paestum, the above-named at S. Agata (not at Bari in Apulia), the fifth which was originally in the possession of the Bishop of Nola, may also have come from the neighbouring place of S. Agata. Comp. Klein, *Griech. Vasen mit Meister-signaturen*, p. 84.

INCE BLUNDELL HALL.

(*Ancient Marbles*, p. 333—415.)

In the *Athenaeum* of 1883, Nos. 2917—2919, pp. 375, 408, 439, an account is given of the ancient marbles of that large collection, the author of which offers suggestive remarks and criticisms on a great number of the most conspicuous specimens, of most of which he quotes the numbers of my catalogue.¹ It would be impossible to give here an extract of all what is new in those observations; the only specimen of some interest overlooked by me seems to be 'a Greek male left thigh, possessing exquisitely carved work about the knee, which has, with the finest style, the pulpiness and energy of life' (p. 376; in the Pantheon).

¹ The same critic, in a very kind review of my book, in the *Athenaeum*, 1883, No. 2895, p. 512, objects to my having 'overlooked Fouquet' in my Introduction. I am not aware of any ancient sculpture of Fouquet's collection having come into English hands. I had therefore no reason to speak about that collection in an account which deals with 'the influx of ancient sculptures

into Great Britain' only, not with 'the development of the taste for antique sculptures on this side of the Alps.' The further reproach that 'due honour is not given to Haydon,' will easily be refuted by a reference to pp. 140, 145, 148, to which I may add what I have stated in an article quoted p. 138, note 354.

LONDON.

H. ATKINSON, Esq.

(Ancient Marbles, p. 431.)

Owing to the goodness of Richard Fisher, Esq., I have had access to the Athenian marbles mentioned in my Catalogue. According to a notice by Mr. Fisher they were collected by WILLIAM ATKINSON, an architect of reputation and an intimate friend of the Athenian Lord Elgin, part of whose marbles were first deposited in the grounds of Mr. Atkinson's house at St. John's Wood. It may have been on this occasion that Lord Elgin presented his friend with some of his acquisitions. On that gentleman's death, his son, HENRY ATKINSON, took the marbles in question to 61, Upper Gloucester Place, Dorset Square, where they were sold by auction in March last, Mr. Atkinson having died intestate. Of the ten pieces which the collection is said to contain, I have been shown the following seven by the housekeeper, who knew of no more specimens. Although there are no fragments from the Parthenon among these relics, still their Athenian origin secures them a certain interest.

1. *Attic sepulchral stelè*, of simple shape. The top, of semi-circular form, is quite plain. A simple moulding separates it from the main field, on which is represented a girl, standing to the right, the hair encircled by a ribbon, draped in chiton and cloak, and holding on the left hand a little bird which she caresses with her right hand. Pretty low relief; from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century. The slab is broken below. H. 0·39 (slab 0·25, top 0·14). L. 0·20. *Purchased at the sale by Mr. Woolner, the sculptor.*

2. *Upper part of an Attic sepulchral stelè*, including the top decorated with a fine anthemion in relief and ending in three rounded akroteria, a simple cornice, and the uppermost plain part of the slab itself. H. 0·48. L. 0·35. *Now in Brit. Mus.*

3. *Attic sepulchral lekythos of Hippokrates and Eukolinè*. Half the neck and foot wanting. Hippokrates, an elderly, bearded man, with portrait-like countenance, is sitting to the

left, turned to the right, back, left arm and legs enveloped in his cloak, raising his left arm as though he were holding a sceptre, and holding hands with an unveiled female (Eukolinè) draped in chiton and cloak, who stands opposite him in a quiet pose. Above the heads the inscriptions:—

ΕΥΚΟΛΙΝΗΕΥΡΟΛΕΜΟ
 ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ head ΓΛΑΥΚΙΣ
 ΛΥΚΕΟ
 head

The word *Γλαυκίς*, incised less deeply, is evidently an addition, though not much later than the rest. The *Ο* instead of *ΟΥ* indicates the first quarter of the fourth century. Relief low, not very careful and rather defaced. H. 0·52. Diam. about 0·30. *Purchased at the sale by Mr. Trist.*

4. *Upper part of a large Attic sepulchral amphora*, including part of the high and slender neck, and of the large handle decorated with beautiful flowers and scrollwork in low relief H. 0·28. W. 0·28.

5. *Fragment of an Attic relief*, of a very singular kind. The lower right corner only preserved. Remains of a draped figure in very high relief, with the right arm lying in the lap, sitting on a simple stool with tapering legs and cross beams between them; under the stool in lower relief a lying bull, very pretty. The stool rests on a kind of square pedestal, the right extremity of which only is remaining. On this are represented in very low relief three figures, all turned to the left, and all bent a little forward; to the left slight traces of a fourth figure. The three remaining figures are a naked youth, bearing a box on his left hand, and stretching out his right hand which seems to hold a cup; behind him a bearded man, enveloped in his cloak, and supporting on a staff his body which is much bent forward; finally a bearded man, draped in his cloak, with lowered right arm. I am not aware of any similar kind of sculpture. If the fragment be part of a sepulchral relief, I should be at a loss to mention an analogous specimen. Can it be part of a copy of a seated statue of some divinity, including its pedestal decorated with reliefs? H. 0·32. L. 0·18.

6. *Front of a small Corinthian capital of pilaster*. At the lower edge part of an ovolo, which gives the whole sculpture the

character of a composita-capital. H. 0·29. L. 0·25. *Now in Brit. Mus.*

7. *Base of a column.* Round the whole the σπεῖρα Ἀττικουπυγῆς, the tori decorated with ornamental patterns; at the top another trochilus of smaller size, an astragalus, and a small torus. The plinth at the foot was only meant to be inserted somewhere, as is shown by its roughly worked surface. H. 0·21. Diam. about 0·55. *Now in Brit. Mus.*

The British Museum acquired, besides the three marbles already mentioned, architectural fragments.

STOURHEAD HOUSE (Wiltshire).

(*Ancient Marbles*, p. 661.)

According to the newspapers, the picture gallery and the library of Sir Henry Hoare have been sold by auction, in June and August, 1883. What may have become of the statue, or statues, mentioned in my book?

SUNDORNE CASTLE (Shropshire).

This place, the possession of the Rev. J. DRYDEN PIGOTT CORBETT, is situated not far from Shrewsbury. Professor Colvin has directed my attention to a passage in Murray's *Handbook for Shropshire, Cheshire and Lancashire*, 1870, p. 60: 'In the drawing room is a statue of *Venus*, brought from Rome, for which Nollekens is said to have offered a thousand pounds.'

WEST PARK (Hants).

I owe to a kind communication of F. Haverfield, Esq., of New College, Oxford, the notice of a *marble bust* preserved at West Park, a country house near Fordingbridge, not far from Salisbury, in the possession of EYRE COOTE, Esq. Two photographs, unfortunately executed on a very small scale, serve to illustrate Mr. Haverfield's description. The bust is covered by a plain breastplate, the midst of which is occupied by a Medusa's head. The neck is rather long. The youthful

head bears a small lion's skin cap instead of a helmet. Mr. Haverfield had already alluded to the bust in the *Journal of Philology*, xii. p. 296, as being 'perhaps the head of a Roman emperor.' Now he is rather inclined to take it for a female head, and, instancing the famous statue of the lion-helmeted Athenè in the Villa Albani, he supposes it to represent the same goddess in similar attire. However, the shape and the material of the breastplate, which is evidently meant to be of metal, as well as the leathern stripes covering the shoulders, would be scarcely consistent with a representation of Athenè; at least I know no example of the kind. It would rather lead us to think, in accordance with Mr. Haverfield's former impression, that the bust represents a youthful warrior; although I am obliged to confess that neither the lion's skin admits of an easy explanation, nor seems the countenance to bear a resemblance to any one of the Roman emperors who might have been represented under the shape of a young Hercules. Perhaps a closer examination of the original would lead to a more satisfactory explanation. The nose and the neck are slightly touched up. The bust is supposed to have been brought from Alexandria, together with a Latin inscription (*Journ. of Philol.* l. cit. *Ephem. Epigr.* v. p. 3 no. 10, p. 259), at the beginning of this century by Major-General Sir Eyre Coote, K.C.B.

Mr. Haverfield further observes that in the second edition of Thomas Walsh's *Journal of the late Campaign in Egypt* (the first edition appeared in 1803) there is an appendix containing a list of ancient remains brought home by the English troops in 1801-2, and among them 'two statues supposed to be of *Severus* and *Marcus Aurelius*, in white marble.' Neither of these statues is at present in West Park.

At the end of this article which deals with ancient monuments hitherto hidden or not sufficiently known, I beg leave to draw once more (comp. *Anc. Marbles*, p. 161, note 432) the attention of the readers of this Journal to one of the most curious antique marbles which were ever brought to England, long since utterly lost sight of:

THE CORINTHIAN PUTEAL.

The history of this sculpture is strange enough. About the beginning of this century it was in the possession of a certain Notará at Corinth, a descendant of a noble and ancient Greek family. He had got the marble, being 'a cylindrical piece of marble, pierced in the centre, a foot and a half in height, and sculptured with ten human figures in very low relief,' from a Turk in whose house it had served as the mouth of a well. 'From the friction occasioned by those who drew water from it, the figures were much injured, and most of the heads destroyed.' Notará placed the marble in his garden and adapted it to the same use, but 'the completeness of the stone at the bottom, and the incompleteness at the top, induced Mr. Notará to place the former side upwards, and thus to reverse the figures.' As the European travellers at that epoch used to stay in Notará's house, the *puteal* could not but awake their lively interest. Among those visitors to Corinth were Edward Dodwell, in December 1805, and Martin Leake, a few months later, in April 1806 (Dodwell *Classical Tour*, II. p. 200-202. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, III. p. 264-268). Notwithstanding the reversed position of the marble, Dodwell had a drawing of it made by his Italian companion Pomardi, which he published first in his *Alcuni bassirilievi della Grecia* (Rome 1812), and afterwards in his *Classical Tour*; and Leake was among the first who suggested the right explanation (marriage of Herakles and Hebe). A cast also was made and brought to Athens. There Baron Stackelberg, in 1811, made a new drawing of it, which was reproduced in Gerhard's *Antike Bildwerke*, pl. 14-16 (comp. Gerhard's *Hyperbor.-röm. Studien*, II. p. 303). Both drawings have often been repeated. The interest shown by the foreign *dilettanti* had meanwhile induced the owner to transfer the original to Zante, a favourite place for art-dealing at that epoch, and there, I suppose, it was bought by Frederick North, afterwards Lord Guilford, in whose possession it was already in 1819, when Dodwell published his *Journal*. The further fate of the marble can be traced mainly on the basis of authentic information gathered with great care, and kindly communicated to me by Professor Newton. The sculpture was brought to London and there placed in the garden of

Lord Guilford's house, 24, St. James's Place, in which the owner never lived but which was only used as a 'storehouse for books and odd things.' After Lord Guilford's death, in 1827, the *puteal* was sold with the house to Mr. Thomas Wentworth Beaumont who, according to the recollection of Baroness North, a niece of Lord Guilford, declined to part with the marble when either a member of the North family or some lover of art wished to buy it. When I visited London for the first time, in 1861, and together with my friend the late Professor Friederichs made several attempts to rediscover the lost marble, which meanwhile had found its fixed place in all the treatises on the history of Greek art, nobody could tell us where to go in search of it. Nevertheless, it seems certain that at that time it was still in its old place, and that it disappeared only a few years later when, after the death of Mr. Beaumont, the widow sold the house, with the *puteal*, to the present owner, Mr. Jardine, who pulled the house down and rebuilt it. From that time every trace of the marble is lost, and only some poor blackened fragments of a cast bequeathed to the British Museum by the late Earl of Aberdeen remain to give an exact idea of the style of the relief.

The Editors of this Journal have thought it advisable to have a woodcut made from Gerhard's plates, with indications to show of what parts casts now exist, those not remaining being drawn in dotted lines; also to have those parts of these fragments which could be recomposed so as to form complete figures, reproduced on Plates LVI., LVII. They represent Peitho and Hermes, Herakles and Alkmene, according to the common interpretation. The photographs, notwithstanding the fragmentary character of the figures, will serve to show that, on the whole, Pomardi's drawings are materially more trustworthy than those by Stackelberg, but that neither of them is satisfactory as to style. In the figure of Hermes, for instance (which is evidently bearded, not beardless as in Stackelberg's drawing), the contrast between the somewhat slight body, with the characteristic flatness of the abdomen, and the very robust thighs is not well rendered in the engravings. The graceful figure of Peitho is treated on the cast in a much simpler way; the body is broader and less rounded in its outlines as well as in its modelling; that part of the drapery which falls down from

the left arm, shows a more severe and rectilinear arrangement and a flatter treatment; in that part which is grasped with the right hand, the lines of the fold are much harder, the individual folds are far more separated by flat valleys as it were, and they are detached from the leg much nearer to its back outline so as to leave this more distinctly visible; such a separation between body and drapery being a general feature of archaic sculpture. The character of real archaism is still more traceable in the figure of Alkmene, the hard archaic treatment of whose drapery is scarcely to be recognised in the engravings. It strongly recalls some figures of the Thasian relief of Apollo Nymphegetes in the Louvre, the style of which can now be better studied since, on the request of Prof. Colvin, casts have been made. An entirely new feature of the relief is the gentle bending of Alkmene's head, instead of the stiff upright position assigned to it in the former drawings. On the whole, the photographs strongly corroborate the views of those scholars who would like to ascribe the marble not to some later period of imitated archaism, but to an earlier epoch in which true archaic feeling began to be blended partly with a certain dawn of freedom (so especially in the figure of Peitho), partly with a slight exaggeration of traditional habits (so in the figure of Hermes). This conviction cannot but strengthen our wish that the lost original itself might be rediscovered and allow a fuller and final examination.

The question is, Where can this original lie hid? If, as one might suppose, the original was removed with the rest of the demolished house by the contractors who undertook to rebuild it, who knows in what marble mason's yard, or in what cellar the *puteal* may now be cast away? It is well known that the Strangford marbles, now in the British Museum, were discovered by Prof. Newton in a cellar; and so was Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's statue of Hercules which has since entered Mr. Cook's collection, at Richmond. On the other hand, another capital piece of Lord Guilford's collection, a very fine Attic sepulchral relief, has reappeared in the northernmost part of England, in Lord Lonsdale's collection at Lowther Castle (*Anc. Marbles*, p. 492, no. 37), but nobody can tell in what way it came there; the late Lord Lonsdale formed his collection mainly by individual acquisitions at sales and

To face page 48.



on similar occasions. These examples may shew that it is no ways a hopeless endeavour to track such lost treasures, and that sometimes a happy chance may help those to discover them who remember in time what has been lost and what is to be recovered. In the present case, the subjoined sketch will serve to help the memory. It is well worth the common efforts of all the English, and especially the London readers of this Journal, to search after such a capital monument as the Corinthian *puteal*. Who will succeed in finding it out? 'Ο παντὰς γέρας ἔξει.

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSBURG.

NUMISMATIC COMMENTARY ON PAUSANIAS.

I.

BOOK I. 39-44.—MEGARICA.

BOOK II.—CORINTHIACA.

THE following paper is the first of a series of two or three which will bring into contact the extant coins of Greece and the text of Pausanias, thus furnishing to many passages of the traveller's writings a running numismatic commentary.

The main object we have set before us is to collect and set forth the numismatic reproductions of works of art mentioned by Pausanias; but we have not excluded any numismatic types which at all illustrate the cults and the legends mentioned by him as existing in the various cities of Peloponnesus.

The importance of the work cannot be doubted when we consider that in the case of many of the statues mentioned by Pausanias the only copies known are those upon coins; we may therefore hope to reconstruct from numismatic evidence, at least the general schemes of many great works of art wholly lost, and thus furnish very important material for recovering the history of Greek art; especially the history of the succession of types of the chief deities of Greece, which is a subject of great and increasing interest to archaeologists.

Generally speaking, the coins on which we can place the most reliance as sources of information as to the monuments are those of Hadrian and the Antonines. These coins are also the best in point of execution; and we may add that they are contemporary with the travels of Pausanias.

To discern whether the types of Greek coins of the Imperial class, with which chiefly we shall have to do, are merely conventional representations of deities, or whether on the other hand they are copies of statues, is not an easy task. But a few rules may be laid down which may be safely used in judging of this matter.

There is reason to suppose that the figure of a deity on a coin is a copy of a cultus-statue in the following cases :—

(1) When it is represented within a temple or shrine. This is the surest of all indications of an intention to copy; and few or no instances will be found in which on coins a merely conventional figure of a deity is placed in a temple. Of course we cannot trust the small and careless representations on coins for accuracy in such details as the number of pillars in a temple, or the design of the pediment; and even in representing the cultus-statue, a die-sinker might take strange liberties. But it seems that in every case he meant to copy so far as his ability and memory served.

(2) When the figure stands on a pedestal, the intention is obviously to represent a statue. By parity of reasoning, when the figure on the coins leans on a pillar, or otherwise is of a design fitted for the round but not for reliefs, it is probably inspired by a statue.

(3) The presence of an altar on a coin is also an indication, although a less trustworthy indication, of the intention to portray a cultus-statue.

(4) So is also any indication of locality, such as a river-god or acropolis-rock. But of course such proofs as these must not be seriously relied on.

(5) When an identical type recurs unchanged on the coins of a series of emperors stretching over a long period, then there arises a presumption that such uniformity is caused by the existence of a sculptural original, constantly under the eyes of successive die-sinkers. They may in some cases have copied the coins one of another, but this is less likely.

(6) Sometimes the language used by Pausanias enables us to determine the connexion of a statue and a coin-type. For instance, he may describe the statue in detail and the description may apply to the coin-type; or he may state the age and the

author of the statue, and these may completely suit the figure of the coin.

(7) In some cases, especially where archaic types are concerned, the figure on the coin may bear sufficient internal evidence of being copied from a statue, and we may in some cases be able to identify that statue from information otherwise gained.

The only previous writer who must be acknowledged as our predecessor is Panofka, who published in 1853-5, *Archæological Commentaries* on certain portions of Pausanias, more especially II. 24, which describes the citadel of Argos. Of course the material at our disposal is far more abundant than that which he could command.

A word must be said as to the share taken in this paper by the two compilers. They began the task independently; for the present article it was found advisable to use the numismatic lists of the Swiss colleague, which were more complete, as a basis: he has also furnished the casts used for illustration in the case of all coins not in England or Paris. The English colleague has added some material and put the article into final form, and is responsible for the comments added after the lists of coins.¹

The text used is that of Schubring (Teubner 1881).

F. IMHOOF-BLUMER.

PERCY GARDNER.

¹

Abbreviations.

A I. II. &c., B I. II. &c., and so on to
M are references to the accompanying
plates.

Mion. Mionnet.

M. S. Mionnet, *Supplement*.

B. M. British Museum.

Arch. Z. *Archäologische Zeitung*.

Imh. Imhoof-Blumer's Collection.

Æ copper.

Æ silver.

Obv. Obverse.

Rev. Reverse.

Sup. Supplement.

Sanc. Museo Sanclementi.

Auton. Autonomous.

R. and F. Messrs. Rollin et Feuardent.

P.O. Count Prokesch-Osten.

Mus. Nap. Museum of Naples.

Arig. Arigoni *Catalogue*.

St. Flor. Museum des Stiftes St.
Florian.

Mil. Rec. Millingen *Recueil de Monnaies*, &c.

Mil. A. G. C. Millingen, *Ancient Greek Coins*.

Overbeck K. M. *Kunstmythologie*.

Berl. Bl. *Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel- u. Wappenkunde*.

Ann. d. Inst. *Annali dell' Inst. arch. di Roma*.

MEGARA.

- 1.—Paus. I. 40, 2. Τῆς δὲ κρήνης οὐ πόρρω ταύτης ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ἱερόν . . . καὶ ἀγαλμά τε κείται χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπικλήσιν Σωτείρας . . . τὴν δὲ Ἀρτεμιν αὐτὴν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησε. Cf. 44, 2, statue of Artemis in temple of Apollo.

ARTEMIS running to the right in short chiton; holds torch in each hand.

Æ Auton. *Obv.* Apollo-head. Neumann I. pl. VII. 4. Mion. II. 141, 319.

Auton. *Obv.* Head of Eucleides. B.M. Mion. II. 141, 318. (A I.).

Ant. Pius. Leake, p. 74. M. Aurel. M.S. III. 588, 377.

Commodus and Sept. Severus. B.M.

This type of Artemis recurs on coins of Pagae in exactly similar form. It is, as we shall show in treating of that city (*infra*) undoubtedly a copy of the work of Strongylion.

The head of Eucleides of Megara is very peculiar. The philosopher, though bearded, wears the veil and the earring of a woman. It has been suggested by Visconti that this is obviously in allusion to the tale told about Eucleides, that he came disguised as a woman, and veiled, from Megara, to attend the lectures of Plato, at a time when access to Athens was forbidden to the Megarians under pain of death. See Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* VI. 10.

- 2.—Paus. I. 41, 3. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Ἰλλου μνήματος . . . ναὸς . . . Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος . . . Ἀλκάθουν τὸν Πέλοπος . . . τὸ ἱερόν ποιῆσαι τοῦτο Ἀγροτέραν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀγραῖον ἐπονομάσαντα.

Artemis Agrotera in long chiton running to the right, holds bow in left hand, and with right draws an arrow from her quiver.

Æ Caracalla. B. M. (A II.) *Revue Belge*, 1860, pl. II. 6.

Sept. Severus. B.M.

See also Apollo.

- 3.—Paus. I. 40, 4. Ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναὸς ἐστὶ θέας ἄξιος . . . τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δὲ οἱ Φειδίαν.

ZEUS seated on throne, holds Victory.

Æ Ant. Pius. *Arch. Z.* 1843, p. 148, 16.

M. Aurel. B. M. (A III.) M. S. III. 588, 375.

Zeus seated, holds eagle.

Æ Sept. Sev.

The figure on the coins is the usual conventional representation of a seated Zeus by Pheidias, such as that found on the coins of Elis, of Alexander the Great, &c. It is curious that the Zeus on the coins bears sometimes a Victory and sometimes an eagle. The statues doubtless held a Victory, and it was the natural instinct of Greek art in the good period, in engraving so small a thing as a coin die, to substitute for the Victory a simpler device of the same meaning, such as an eagle, the bird of victory. Accordingly on Alexander's own coins, the Olympian Zeus invariably carries an eagle; on the coins of his successors, a figure of Victory is sometimes substituted.

4.—Cf. Paus. I. 43, 6. *Καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος.* Cf. 40, 6, *Διὸς Κονίου ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον.*

Zeus striding to the right, naked, holds thunderbolt and eagle.

In some cases he seems to stand on a basis, and so to represent a statue.

Æ Caracalla. M.S. III. 590, 384.

L. Verus. Imh. (A IV.)

5.—Paus. I. 40, 6. *Ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι . . . ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου.* Cf. 43, 5, *ὠκοδόμησε δὴ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸ ἱερὸν Πολύειδος, καὶ ξόανον ἀνέθηκεν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἐφ' ἡμῶν πλὴν τοῦ προσώπου. . . . τοῦτον μὲν δὴ Πατῶν καλοῦσιν ἕτερον δὲ Διόνυσον Δασύλλιον ἐπονομάζοντες κ.τ.λ.*

DIONYSUS standing, clad in short chiton, holds in right hand kantharos, left rests on thyrsos.

Æ Sept. Sev. Imh. Mion. II. 142, 331 (A V.)

6.—Paus. I. 40, 6. *Τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα Βρύαξις καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν Ὑγίειαν ἐποίησεν.*

ASKLEPIOS and HYGIEIA, side by side, in usual attitudes.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (A VI.)

Asklepios standing.

Æ Commodus. Imh. (A VII.)

Caracalla.

Hygieia standing, feeds serpent.

Æ M. Aurel.

Caracalla M. S. III. 590, 386. Leake, Sup. 134.

These figures are of quite conventional type; and as they do not appear in a temple there is no strong reason to suppose that

they repeat the statues of Bryaxis. But at the same time there is nothing at all improbable in such a view. Mr. Wroth, who has made a most careful study of the artistic representations of Asklepios and Hygieia, states his opinion (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* v. p. 90) that the customary late schemes of the pair came into existence about the time of Scopas, and were possibly due to that artist. But the only figure of Asklepios by Scopas, of the details of which we know anything, was beardless (Overbeck, *G. P.* II. 11): so that perhaps the claims of Bryaxis to the origination of the usual type are preferable to his, in the existing state of knowledge.

- 7.—Paus. I. 44, 2. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν.

OBELISK between two dolphins.

Æ aut. B. M. (A VIII.) Obv. ΜΕΓ Πrow.

For the Greek custom of representing deities in columnar form, Daremberg and Saglio s.v. *Baetylia*, Gardner, *Types*, &c., p. 77, &c. Apollo is thus represented on coins of Ambracia, and commonly in front of Greek houses, as Apollo Ἀγυαίος.

- 8.—Paus. I. 42, 5. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος πλίνθου μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός· ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑποδόμησεν Ἀδριανὸς λίθου λευκοῦ· ὁ μὲν δὴ Πύθιος καλούμενος καὶ ὁ Δεκατηφόρος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα εἰκόασι ξοάνοις, ὃν δὲ Ἀρχηγέτην ἐπονομάζουσιν Αἰγινητικοῖς ἔργοις ἐστὶν ὅμοιος. Cf. 44, 2. Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ Προστατηρίου . . . Ἀπόλλων δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται θέας ἄξιος καὶ Ἀρτεμις καὶ Δητώ, καὶ ἄλλα ἀγάλματά ἐστι Πραξιτέλους ποιήσαντος, Δητῶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. 42, 2. Τότε δὲ αὐτῷ τειχίζοντι, ὥς φασιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, συνεργάζεται τε Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὴν κιθάραν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον· ἦν δὲ τύχη βαλὼν τις ψηφίδι, κατὰ ταῦτα οὗτός τε ἤχρησε καὶ κιθάρα κρουσθεῖσα.

Cf. also Apollo Agræus, above.

Head of APOLLO. *Rev.* Lyre, tripod, dolphin or quiver.

Æ Æ Auton. B. M.

Apollo standing, holds plectron and lyre.

Æ Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 142, 330 (holds branch instead of plectron).

Carac. M. S. III. 590, 385.

Geta. B. M. Beside Apollo omphalos surmounted by eagles, or altar on which ravens. (A IX.)

APOLLO ARTEMIS and LETO.

Æ Sept. Severus. Athens Mus. 3218. (A x.)

We have here a most important type, which should be a copy more or less free of the statues of Praxiteles. It merits a detailed description. To the left is Leto clad in long chiton; in her raised right hand she holds a long sceptre, her left hand hangs by her side. In the midst stands Apollo in citharoedic dress, holding in his right hand a plectrum, and in his left a lyre. To the right stands Artemis clad in long chiton with diplois, holding in her left hand a plectrum, and with her right drawing an arrow from the quiver at her back. None of these schemes are in conflict with the style of Praxiteles.

- 9.—Paus. I. 42, 4. *ῥκοδέμηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ναὸς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ χρυσῶν πλὴν χειρῶν καὶ ἄκρων ποδῶν ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν ἐστιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ ἕτερον ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς πεποιοῖται καλουμένης Νίκης, καὶ ἄλλο Αἰαντίδος.*

ATHENE erect, spear in raised right hand, shield on left arm.

Æ L. Verus. *Rev. Belge*, 1860, Pl. II. 5.

S. Severus. R. and F.

Geta. B. M. (A xi.) Imh.

It would seem that this rather archaic and stiff type is most appropriate to Athene Aiantis.

- 10.—Paus. I. 40, 6. *Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ καλούμενον Μέγαρον. Cf. 42, 6, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Θεσμοφόρου.*

DEMETER standing veiled clad in chiton with diplois, holds in either hand a torch; before her, large torch fixed in the ground.

Æ M. Aurel. Imh. (A xii.) Verus Commodus. M. S. III. 376-9.

Sept. Severus. Geta. (A xiii.) B. M.

- 11.—Paus. I. 43, 6. *Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ναοῦ Τύχης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Πραξιτέλους καὶ αὕτη τέχνη.*

TYCHE wearing mural crown, holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Commodus. M. S. III. 589, 380.

Sept. Severus. B. M. Altar before her.

Domna. Mion. II. 143, 332.

Geta. B. M. (A xiv.) Tyche facing, altar beside her.

The mural crown, which is clear on some specimens, may be a mere later addition, but it is by no means unlikely that the scheme of the coin, though quite ordinary, may be copied from the statue of Praxiteles. It is said that Bupalus is the earliest sculptor who made a statue of Tyche; but Praxiteles and

Damophon of Messene set the fashion, so greatly followed in later times, of setting up cultus-statues of the goddess. In all probability the normal type, as represented on our coin, was the invention of one of them. The altar beside Tyche on the coin is an indication of locality which tells in favour of the view that we have to do with a copy of a statue.

12.—OTHER TYPES at Megara :

Herakles resting.

Æ Carac. P. O. Abh. 1845, pl. II. 32.

Sept. Sever. Sancel. II. xxv. 221.

Nemesis (?), right hand on her mouth, leaning on pillar (possibly Paregoros, statue by Praxiteles. Paus. I. 43, 6).

Æ Geta. M. S. III. 590, 389.

Terminal figure, with long hair, between pillars of a temple; before it, a railing.

Æ Geta. Imh. (A xv.)

13.—Paus. I. 40, 3. Statues of twelve gods.

41, 3. Temple of Isis.

42, 7. Heroon of Ino.

43, 5. Satyr of Praxiteles.

43, 6. Temple and statue of Aphrodite Praxis; in it, Peitho and Paregoros by Praxiteles; Eros, Himeros, and Pothos, by Scopas.

PAGAE.

1.—Paus. I. 44, 4. *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Παγαῖς θέας ὑπελείπετο ἄξιον Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτέρας ἐπὶ κλησὶν χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα, μέγέθει τῷ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἴσον καὶ σχῆμα οὐδὲν διαφόρως ἔχον.*

ARTEMIS running, clad in short chiton, holds torch in each hand.

Æ M. Aurel. Sanclementi II. xxII. 175.

Commod. Mion. II. 143, 335. M. S. III. 592, 396.

Similar figure on basis, altar before her.

Æ M. Aurel. Arig. I. 81, 67.

Commod. Mus. Font. I. pl. v. 8. Imh. (A I.)

S. Severus. M. S. III. 593, 400 (Vienna). Leake, Suppl. 137.

Similar figure in temple: tree on either side.

Æ Commod. M. S. III. 592, 397. Munich. (A II.)

This figure of Artemis was (cf. Paus. I. 40, 2) a replica of that made by Strongylion, the contemporary of Pheidias, for the people of Megara. The coins of Megara and Pagae present us

with figures of Artemis exactly alike. At Pagae this figure appears in a temple and on a basis. There can therefore be no doubt that it reproduces Strongylion's statue. This has been already stated by Streber, and accepted in Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmaeler*, II. 174 b. Pausanias gives (*l.c.*) an account of the tale which led to the erection of the statue, in which Artemis seems to be embodied as the goddess of night, and is assimilated to the Thessalian Hecate, who also is represented on coins of Pherae of the fourth and third centuries as bearing two torches.

2.—OTHER TYPES at Pagae.

Dionysus seated, holds kantharos and sceptre; panther before him.

Æ Sept. Sev. Turin. Panther at his feet. (A III.)

Cybele seated, holds patera and sceptre; lion beside her.

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (A IV.)

Isis in temple.

Bust of Tyche.

Gate with three doors, and figures over them.

Æ S. Sev. Vienna. (A V.) Athens. (A VI.)

Herakles on basis in building of two stories, surmounted by statues.

Æ S. Sev. Vienna. (A VII.)

AEGOSTHENA.

1. Paus. 1, 44, 5. Ἐν Αἰγοσθένοισι δὲ Μελάμποδος τοῦ Ἀμυθάονος ἐστὶν ἱερόν, καὶ ἀνὴρ οὐ μέγας ἐπειρηγασμένος ἐν στήλῃ.

Round BUILDING, whence rises a tree, entwined by a serpent.

Æ Geta. Athens. *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1866, 336.

Child suckled by she-goat. (MELAMPUS ?)

Æ Sept. Sev. B. M. (A I.)

The tree entwined by a serpent is a regular symbol of the grave, and this is sufficient proof that the building represented on the coin of Geta must be a well-known tomb; but as to details we have no information.

I am not aware that there is any record of the existence of a tradition that Melampus was suckled by a she-goat: but nothing is more likely. Such stories were told of highly-gifted men, and it is fairly certain that the type of the coin must refer to a noted native of Aegosthena, and so to Melampus, who was its only remarkable man.

2.—OTHER TYPES at Aegosthena.

Artemis as huntress.

Æ Sept. Sev. *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866; 336.

CORINTH.

In criticising the types which we meet on the coins of Corinth we must always bear in mind the words of Pausanias:

(II. 2, 6.) Λόγον δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ μὲν λειπόμενα ἔτι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐποιήθη τῆς ὕστερον.

It will seem unlikely that a sack, like that of Corinth in B.C. 146, would spare any works of art existing in the city. Yet it appears, alike from the general statement of Pausanias just quoted, and from the remarks which he makes as to various temples and statues, that there were in Roman Corinth a great number of works of early Greek art. Of these some may have been brought into Roman Corinth from neighbouring towns; but others are in character so local that we can scarcely doubt that they belonged to the early city, whatever theory we may form as to the manner of their survival.

The Roman colonists, entering on a wealth of Greek art and legend, adopted both with enthusiasm, and were very proud of both. There is no other Greek city whereof the coins give us so extensive information on the subject of temples and statues, legends and cults. The imperial series of Corinth furnishes a very full archæological commentary on the text of Pausanias: indeed the correspondences between the two are so many and so close, that it seems rather the rule than the exception for coin-types to be copies of works of art, more especially works of early Greek art.

- 1.—Paus. II. 1, 3. Προϊούσι δὲ ἡ πῖτυς ἄχρι γε ἐμοῦ πεφύκει παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ Μελικέρτου βωμὸς ἦν. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐκκομισθῆναι τὸν παῖδα ὑπὸ δελφίνου λέγουσι ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

MELICERTES reclining on dolphin, under pine. Cf. Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1864, 209.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. Imh.

M. Aurelius. Imh. (B I.)

Commodus. B. M. In field, wreath. (B II.)

J. Domna. Imh. In field, two pines, wreath, and palm. (B III.)

J. Domna. M. S. IV. 119, 816. Three trees.

Melicertes on dolphin on altar, under pine (Isthmus sometimes present *q. v.*).

Æ M. Aurel. Mus. Benkowitz. B. M. Isthmus standing by, holds rudder. (B IV.)

M. Aurel. B. M. Athlete by, holds palm. (B V.)

Domna. M. S. iv. 119, 817. Table, Triton, &c. in field.

M. Aurelius. Copenhagen. Poseidon standing by. (B VI.)

Melicertes lying on dolphin under pine: the whole on table.

Æ Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 181, 244. (B VII.)

Melicertes lying on dolphin, draped.

Æ Auton. Mus. Hunter. Imh.

Auton. Obv. Pegasus. Rev. Melicertes on dolphin, head raised. Munich. (B VIII.)

L. Verus. B. M., &c.

Paus. II. 1, 7. Τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ μείζονι ἐφεστήκασιν
Τρίτωνες χαλκοί. καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ,
δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, τρίτον δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτης, καὶ Θάλασσα,
καὶ αὕτη χαλκῇ. τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀνέθηκεν
Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναῖος, ἵππους τέσσαρας ἐπιχρύσους πλὴν
τῶν ὀπλῶν· ὀπλαὶ δὲ σφισίν εἰσιν ἐλέφαντος. καὶ
Τρίτωνες δύο παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους εἰσὶ χρυσοί, τὰ μετ'
ἱξὺν ἐλέφαντος καὶ οἵτοι· τῷ δὲ ἄρματι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ
Ποσειδῶν ἐφεστήκασιν, καὶ παῖς ὀρθός ἐστιν ἐπὶ δελ-
φίνος ὁ Παλαίμων· ἐλέφαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ οἱ
πεποιήνται.

Palaemon standing on dolphin, draped.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 98, 666.

Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 181, 245. Imh. (B IX.)

S. Severus. Mus. Arig. iv. pl. VII. 35. Isthmus seated by. Turin. (B X.)

Paus. II. 2, 1. Τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐντὺς Παλαίμονος ἐν
ἀριστερᾷ ναός, ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν καὶ
Λευκοθέα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παλαίμων.

Round temple of Palaemon: within, sometimes Palaemon lying on dolphin.

Æ M. Aurel. B. M. Ox approaching for sacrifice. (B XI.)

L. Verus. B. M. Trees around. Imh. (B XII.)

Geta. B. M. Ox approaching.

Caracalla. M. S. iv. 122, 837. In front priest and ox. B. M. (B XIII.)

Paus. II. 3, 4. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ Ποσειδῶν καὶ
Λευκοθέα καὶ ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐστὶν ὁ Παλαίμων.

Palaemon (or Melicertes *q. v.*) lying on dolphin.

Palaemon sitting on dolphin.

Æ Auton. M. S. iv. 50, 338. Imh. P. holds thyrsus.

M. Aurel. B. M.

L. Verus. Mion. II. 185, 280. (B XIV.) Florence. (B XV.)

S. Severus. M. S. iv. 115, 784. P. holds wreath, Isthmus seated near.

Commodus. Imh. Group on altar. (B XVI.)

Carac. Parma. Dolphin bridled. (B XVII.)

It is evident from Pausanias' statements, confronted with the coins, that the one among the many stories as to the history of Ino and Melicertes or Palaemon which was accepted at Corinth was that which represented that Ino and Melicertes leaped into the sea at Megara, and Palaemon was borne by a dolphin to the part of the Isthmus where was the sanctuary of Poseidon; that he there died and was buried, and after death was worshipped as a hero, and honoured by funeral games.

It is not easy to reconcile this tale, and the peculiar artistic representation of Melicertes as a young boy which prevailed at Corinth, with the view of those who suppose Melicertes to be a form of the Tyrian god Melkarth. But this matters little to the present purpose, for it is certain that the Corinthians knew nothing of the proposed identification.

On coins there are three schemes of Palaemon and the dolphin: sometimes he is sitting on it, sometimes standing, sometimes lying; the standing figure certainly belongs to the group of gold and ivory set up by Herodes Atticus in the temple of Poseidon; the lying figure is connected with the pine-tree and the altar under it, as well as with the round temple of Palaemon; the seated figure may perhaps be copied from the statue mentioned by Pausanias lower down (II. 3, 4). But of course such distinctions are too nice to be strongly insisted on.

Figures of Ino and Melicertes, as of Poseidon and other types of Corinthian coins are to be found on the splendid cameo of Vienna (Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* III., Gemmentafel II. 8), which presents us with an abridged picture of the region.

2.—Paus. II. 1, 9. 'Ανάκειται Γαλήνης ἄγαλμα καὶ Θαλάσσης, καὶ ἵππος εἰκασμένος κήτει τὰ μετὰ τὸ στέρνον, Ἴνώ τε καὶ Βελλεροφόντης καὶ ὁ ἵππος ὁ Πήγασος.
(For Ino, cf. I. 44, 7 and 8.)

INO with her veil: beside her, hippocamp.

Æ Ant. Pius. Imh. *Choix*, pl. II. 50. Vienna. (B XVIII.)

L. Verus. Berlin.

INO holding Melicertes in her arms.

Æ M. Aurel. Imh. (B XIX.)

Domitian. Berlin. (B XX.)

Domitian. M. II. 177, 218. Isthmus seated on rock, *q.v.* B. M. (B XXI.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Isthmus seated on rock. Imh. (B XXII.)

Sept. Severus. M. II. 187, 292. Ino on a rock; before her, dolphin.
Vienna. (B XXIII.)

Caracalla. Imh. *Monn. Gr.* p. 160.

Ant. Pius. Mus. Nap. 7441. Ino and Melicertes: Sea deity holding out his arms to receive the child. (B xxiv.)

The presence of the hippocamp suggests that the type first described, which represents Ino without her child, may represent one of the anathemata of the temple of Poseidon, there set up in Roman times.

The second type, which appears full-face, represents Ino as holding her child on her left arm, and grasping with her right hand the end of her veil. In the third type she is in rapid motion towards the sea, which is represented on one coin by a marine deity, on others by a dolphin. Sometimes, however, the locality is changed, and in the place of the sea appears a seated figure of Isthmus. As this figure of Ino persists unchanged from the time of Domitian to that of Septimius Severus, it would seem to be based on some work of art.

3.—Cf. 2, 4. Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ, κ.τ.λ.

BELLEROPHON leading Pegasus: holds spear.

Æ Sep. Sev. Imh. (C xxv.)

Bellerophon taming Pegasus: holds shield.

Æ Nero. B. M. Imh. (C xxvi.)

Hadrian. Paris. (C xxvii.)

Caracalla. B. M.

Bellerophon seizing Pegasus near spring Peirene.

Æ Anton. B. M. (C xxviii.)

Bellerophon watering Pegasus: near by, Acropolis.

Æ Sept. Severus. B. M. (C xxix.)

Pegasus drinking.

Æ Aut. Imh. (C xxx.)

4.—Cf. Paus. II. 3, 5. Κρῆναι. . . . θέας δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία ἡ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἐπεσσι, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ δι' ὀπλῆς ἵππου ρεῖ τοῦ Πηγάσου.

Bellerophon slaying Chimaera; beside him seated Artemis who holds bow.

Æ Caracalla. A. Z. 1843, pl. ix. 13. B. M. (C xxxii.)

Bellerophon slaying Chimaera, on Corinthian column.

Æ Geta. Mion. II. 189, 304.

Bellerophon slaying Chimaera, mounted on Pegasus.

Æ Anton. B. M. (C xxxi.)

Æ Hadrian. B. M.

L. Verus. B. M., &c.

[A list of Monuments on which the myth of Bellerophon is depicted, by Engelmann, in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1874, p. 1, pls. A—F.]

The presence of Artemis, and the use in some cases of a column to support the group of Bellerophon and the Chimaera, alike indicate that it is copied from the sculptured group of the fountain. The water would flow from one of the forefeet of Pegasus.

5.—Paus. II. 1, 6. *Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι Ποσειδῶνα ἐλθεῖν Ἑλλάδι περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν.*

Coin with head of HELIOS on one side, Poseidon on the other.

Æ Aut. Roman period. B. M. Imh.

Cf. Poseidon, below.

6.—Paus. II. 1, 5 and 6. *Καθήκει δὲ ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸς τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρέαις, τῇ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίῳ θάλασσαν.*

ISTHMUS personified as a young male figure, standing, holding rudders.

Æ Auton. Roman. B. M. (C xxxiii.) Imh. (C xxxiv.)

Domitian. B. M. (C xxxv.)

M. Aurel. *Z. f. N.* x. p. 75.

Sept. Sev. St. Florian. (C xxxvi.)

Isthmus seated, holds rudder.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. Isthmus seated in temple, right hand rests on head, left on rudder. (C xxxvii.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Similar, no temple. (C xxxviii.)

Hadrian. Isthmus seated on rock, holds inverted rudder; legend ISTHMVS. W. Froehner. (C xxxix.)

S. Severus. Imh. Isthmus seated left, holds rudder and palm; before him Ino and Melicertes, *q. v.*

Domitian. M. II. 177, 218. Isthmus seated on rock, at his feet sea and dolphin; opposite Ino with Melicertes in her arms. (Millin. *G.M.* ex. 400, B xxi.)

See also above, (B iv.) and (B x.)

The coin which represents Isthmus as seated within a temple (C xxxvii.) repeats a Corinthian cultus-statue. No doubt Isthmus was personified as a local hero; and tradition must, as the coins show, have connected him with the history of Ino and Melicertes. In his temple he was represented as a young and naked man, seated on a rock, resting his right hand on his head, and supporting himself on his rudder, in an attitude of complete repose. His face is turned backwards, implying probably that Isthmus faced both the eastern and the western sea. Compare a very similar figure of Haemus on the coins of Nicopolis.

If the standing figure of the coins represents a work of art, it might well be a bronze statue erected in the neighbourhood of the Isthmian temple; such a statue is not mentioned by Pausanias. The two rudders in the hands clearly refer to

the two harbours which existed, one on each side of the isthmus.

7.—The two harbours, LECHAEUM and CENCHREAE.

(1) As nymphs turned opposite ways, each holding a rudder.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. Inscribed LECH, CENCH. (C XL.)

(2) As reclining male figures.

Æ Sept. Sev. Mill. *Sylloge*, pl. II. 30. Acropolis; at the foot, on either side, male figure reclining, one holds rudder, one anchor. See below, (G CXXXIV.)

8.—Paus. II. 2, 2. 'Ο δὲ Ἰσθμικὸς ἀγών, κ.τ.λ.

ATHLETES: Two naked wrestlers or boxers.

Æ Aut. Roman. Imh. Wrestlers. (C XLI.)

Aut. Roman. Imh. Boxers. (C XLII.)

Aut. Imh. Boxer striking one who has fallen. (C XLIII.)

Runners.

Æ Anton. *Rev. Num.* 1851, p. 402. Armed runner.

Anton. Imh. Unarmed runner, holds palm. (C XLIV.)

Domitian. Imh. Unarmed runner, holds palm. (C XLV.)

Commod. M. S. IV. 111, 755. Armed runner.

Other Athletes.

Æ Anton. Imh. Athlete standing, holds palm.

M. Aurel. B. M. Athlete standing, holds palm, beside Melicertes and pine. See above, (B V.)

Conical building; perhaps a spring-house; possibly an obelisk within a stadium.

Æ Domitian. Arig. I. 67, 43. Berlin. (C XLVI.)

Hadrian. *Revue Belge*, 1860, pl. II. 7. Imh. (C XLVII.)

On the Berlin coin the representation varies. There is a door in the midst, flanked by standing figures, and surmounted by a horseman.

BUILDING, from the midst of which rises a column surmounted by a naked male figure, holding sceptre: and over each side an equestrian statue.

Æ M. Aurel. M. II. 184, 264. Leake, *Eur. Gr.* p. 41.

L. Verus. W. Froehner. (C XLVIII.)

S. Severus. Mion. IV. 117, 806 (where the equestrian statues are wrongly described as racing horses.)

Caracalla. Mion. IV. 124, 849.

This building may be meant for a stadium or a hippodrome; the latter is not mentioned by Pausanias.

ISTHμία in wreath.

Æ Nero. Imh. Anton. Pius and L. Verus. B. M. &c.

9.—Paus. II. 1, 7. Ἐλθόντι δὲ εἰς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν

πιτύων δένδρα ἐστὶ πεφυτευμένα ἐπὶ στοίχον, τὰ πολλὰ
εἰς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντα. τῷ ναῷ δὲ ὄντι μέγεθος οὐ
μείζουσι ἐφεσθήκασιν Τρίτωνες χαλκοῖ.

Tetrastyle temple of POSEIDON surrounded by Tritons; tree beside it.

Æ L. Verus. M. S. iv. 103, 701.

Geta. Imh. *Choix*, pl. II. 51. (D XLIX.) Vienna. (D L.)

Æ Aut. &c. Tetrastyle temple. (See E xcv.)

The details of architecture are among the matters as to which the representations of coins are least trustworthy. But in this particular case there is an obvious intention to represent the temple of Poseidon as faithfully as space would allow. The tree in front of the temple and the Tritons over the angles of the pediment are certainly taken from the Poseidium. We may therefore venture to accept the numismatic testimony that the little temple of Poseidon was not peripteral but either prostyle or amphiprostyle; and we may even regard it as probable that the temple was tetrastyle.

10.—Καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἐν τῷ προνάῳ δύο μὲν Ποσειδῶνος, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 2, 3, ἐν Λεχαίῳ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν, καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν. 2, 8, κρήνη καὶ Π. ἐπ' αὐτῇ χαλκοῦς.

Head of Poseidon, trident over shoulder.

Æ Auton. B. M. Imh.

Hadrian. Imh. (D LI.)

M. Aurel. Imh. &c. Overbeck, *K. M.*, Munzt. v. 14.

Poseidon, naked, seated on rock, holds trident.

Æ Auton. Imh. B. M. (D LII.)

Poseidon standing, holds dolphin and trident, one foot on rock.

Æ Domitian. B. M. Imh. (D LIII.)

M. Aurel. Turin. Behind Poseidon, tree.

Sept. Severus. Imh. Behind Poseidon, tree.

Poseidon standing, left foot on dolphin, in right hand trident.

Æ Domitian. Berlin.

Æ Domna. Aplustre in place of trident.

Poseidon seated, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Trajan. B. M. (D LIV.)

Hadrian. *St. Flor.* pl. II. 16.

Commodus. Imh. B. M. Pallas standing before him. (D LV.)

Verus. Imh. Victorious athlete before him. (D LVI.)

Poseidon standing, holds patera and trident, before altar of Melicertes *q. v.*

Æ M. Aurel. Copenhagen. Near by, tree.

Poseidon standing in chariot drawn by two Tritons.

Æ Domitian. Overb. *K. M.* III. pl. VI. 21. Imh. (D LVII.)

Nero. B. M. (D LVIII.) Octavia. B. M.

Poseidon standing in chariot drawn by hippocamps.

Æ Nero. B. M. Domitian. Imh. (D LIX.)

These figures in chariots may be confronted with Pausanias' description, II. 1, 7 above quoted, of the group of Poseidon and

Amphitrite in a chariot drawn by four horses. The coins cannot, however, embody a reminiscence of the group, as the date of Herodes is later than that at which they were struck.

Of the various figures of Poseidon thus far mentioned the only one which can be regarded as a copy of a statue is that which figures Poseidon as seated (**D LIV.-VI.**), holding dolphin and trident. This type has the air of the cultus-statue of a temple; but we cannot be sure of the particular temple, for on one coin the seated Poseidon is confronted with an athlete which seems to point to the Isthmus, in another with Pallas, which seems to indicate the market-place. (See below.)

11.—Paus. II. 2, 3. *Ἐν δὲ Κεγχρέαις Ἀφροδίτης τέ ἐστι ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐρύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρασ τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἰσίδος ἱερά.*

Views of harbour of CENCHREAE, flanked on either side by temple, and containing standing colossus of Poseidon and three ships.

Æ Ant. Pius. Imh. Millingen, *Réc.* pl. II. 19. Vienna. (**D LX.**)

POSEIDON standing naked, holds dolphin and trident.

Æ Auton. B. M. *Obv.* Head of Helios. (**D LXI.**)

Commodus. B. M. At feet of Poseidon, second dolphin. (**D LXII.**)

Plautilla. Vienna. Opposite Poseidon armed Aphrodite. (**D LXIII.**)

ISIS Pharia, holds sail. Cf. II. 4, 6, Isis Pelagia and Aegyptia.

Æ Plotina. Mion. II. 179, 226.

L. Verus. Imh. (**D LXIV.**)

Head of APHRODITE: below, galley inscribed CENCHREAE.

Æ Nero. B. M. (**D LXV.**)

The coin of Millingen (**D LX.**) is important, as it enables us to identify positively the type of Poseidon represented in the bronze statue of the mole. Poseidon stood erect and naked with a dolphin in one hand and a trident in the other, a figure well adapted for execution in bronze and for a statue of great size. The date of its erection must have been subsequent to the colony of Cæsar; had it belonged to the old city Mummius would scarcely have spared such a mass of metal. In case of the B. M. coin (**D. LXII.**), the second dolphin at the feet of the god may be held to stand for the water of the harbour which flowed at his feet.

The head of Aphrodite on the last coin cited must stand for an abbreviated representation of the temple dedicated to her.

- 12.—Paus. II. 2, 3. Τὴν δὲ εἰς Κεγχρέας ἰόντων ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανον ἀρχαῖον. Cf. 3, 5, μετ' αὐτὸν (Poseidon) Ἀρτεμις θηρεύουσα ἔστηκε (in the baths of Eurycles).

ARTEMIS as huntress : holds torch and bow.

Æ Hadrian. Imh.

Hadrian. Arig. I. 95, 41. Dog and stag beside her.

L. Verus. M. II. 185, 271. B. M. Dog and stag beside her. (D LXVI.)

S. Severus. M. S. IV. 113, 770. B. M. Dog and stag beside her.

Commod. Imh. As before.

Hadrian. M. S. IV. 82, 549. Pillar and stag beside her.

Ant. Pius. B. M. Dog running beside her. (D LXVII.)

Artemis hunting, in temple, holds torch and bow.

Æ Sept. Severus. St. Flor. III. 1. Dog and stag beside her.

Plautilla. On either side of temple, tree. R. and F. (D LXVIII.)

Statue of Artemis, her right hand on her hip, in her left a bow ; opposite, Poseidon (?) ; before each a cippus, that of Poseidon surmounted by a dolphin.

Æ Commodus. Imh. (D LXIX.)

The hunting Artemis in D LXVIII. must be a copy of a statue in her temple ; not the archaic xoanon, but a later figure such as the Greeks from the fifth century onwards commonly set up in the cella in place of the early statues, still retaining the latter in the background.

The figure in D LXIX. would seem to be a copy of the statue which stood in the baths of Eurycles near a statue of Poseidon, and in the neighbourhood of his temple. On the coin the figure of Poseidon is nearly obliterated : it is not indeed certain that Poseidon is the deity represented : the figure seems to wear a long chiton.

- 13.—Paus. II. 2, 4. Πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσων ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελανίδος. Cf. 2, 8, ἀγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης, Ἑρμογένους Κυθηρίου ποιήσαντος.

APHRODITE standing ; holds sceptre and apple.

Æ Auton. (Obv. Head of Lais ?) Munich.

Sabina. Imh.

Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 181, 242.

M. Aurel. Vienna. (D LXX.)

Caracalla. Imh.

L. Verus. B. M.

Aphrodite naked, her right hand raised to her hair.

Æ Carac. St. Florian. (D LXXI.)

Aphrodite in a biga drawn by Tritons.

Æ Nero. Munich. Holds mirror.

Agrippina, Jun. Turin. (D LXXII.)

Compare the figure of Poseidon in a similar biga mentioned above.

In regard to Hermogenes, Brunn remarks (*Gr. Künstler*, i. p. 522) that he must be assigned to the period of Greek autonomy and not to the Roman age. The coins offer us no safe data for further conclusions.

14.—PAUS. II. 2, 4. Καὶ τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λείαινα ἐπίθημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν.

The monument of LAÏS; a lioness standing over a prostrate ram, on Doric column.

Æ Auton. Obv. Head of Laïs or Aphrodite. B. M. Imh. (E LXXIII.)

Copenhagen. (E LXXIV.)

Brera. (E LXXV.)

St. Florian. (E LXXVI.)

Sept. Severus. Vienna.

Geta. Imh.

This identification of the tomb of Laïs the Elder has long been accepted, and is so certain as to be beyond dispute. On a B. M. specimen not here figured Leake read on the capital of the column the letters EY. . . which he supposes to be an artist's name (Leake, *Supp. Europe*, p. 121). I am inclined to think that the appearance of letters is fallacious, and due merely to the oxidation of the coin. But if we accept Leake's reading it is likely that the word beginning Eu is not an artist's name, for artists did not put their names in so conspicuous a position on monuments, but some heroic name by which Laïs may have been, so to speak, canonised after her death. The name ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΑ would suit the space very well, and there is certainly at the end an appearance of the letters . . . NA, as well as of EY . . . at the beginning.

The head on the obverse of the coin may be intended either for Aphrodite or for Laïs herself.

15.—PAUS. II. 2, 6. Ἔστιν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς

Ἄρτεμις τε ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἐφεσία, καὶ κ.τλ.

ARTEMIS EPHEsia: archaic simulacrum.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 92, 626.

Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 112, 769. Beside her, Aphrodite holding shield.

16.—PAUS. II. 2, 6. Καὶ Διονύσου ξόανα ἐπὶ χρυσῇ πλὴν τῶν προσώπων· τὰ δὲ πρόσωπα ἀλοιφῇ σφίσιν ἐρυθρὰ κεκόσμηται. Λύσιον δέ, τὸν δὲ Βάκχειον ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα ἐς τὰ ξόανα καὶ ἐγὼ γράφω.

Bearded DIONYSUS standing to right, fully clad, holds kantharos and thyrsos; at his feet, panther.

Æ Hadr. Fox. (E LXXVII.)

Young Dionysus, clad in short chiton, holds bunch of grapes and thyrsos; at his feet, panther.

Æ Ant. Pius. B. M. (E LXXVIII.)

Young Dionysus wearing himation about his loins and leaning on pillar: holds kantharos and thyrsos; at his feet, panther.

Æ Trajan. Copenhagen. (E LXXIX.)

Young Dionysus clad in short chiton; holds kantharos and thyrsos.

Æ Ant. *Obv.* Head of Kronos. Copenhagen. (E LXXX.)

Young Dionysus seated on throne, holds thyrsos erect.

Æ Ant. Pius. B. M. (E LXXXI.)

Vienna. At his feet, panther. (E LXXXII.)

17.—Paus. II. 2, 8. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τύχης ναός. ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν Παρίου λίθου.

TYCHE standing, holding patera and cornucopiae, in hexastyle temple; before her, altar.

Æ Ant. Pius. *St. Florian*, pl. II. 19.

Tyche, holds patera, rudder, &c.

Æ Anton. M. S. iv. 53, 358. Holds rudder and patera over altar.

Hadrian. M. S. iv. 83, 555. Holds rudder and cornucopiae.

M. Aurel. Mion. II. 183, 257. Holds patera and rudder.

Commodus. M. S. iv. 111, 756, &c.

Plautilla. B. M. Holds patera and cornucopiae. (E LXXXIII.)

Plautilla. B. M. Seated, holds patera and cornucopiae.

Sept. Sev. Imh. Seated. (E LXXXIV.)

Head of Tyche, turreted.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. (E LXXXV.)

Agathos Daemon: male figure holding cornucopiae.

GEN. COL. COR. Octavia. B. M. See below, (G cXLIII.)

The coin first described, that of the *St. Florian* Collection, is unfortunately ill-preserved, and Dr. Kenner expresses doubts as to the deity whom it is intended to represent. Arneth has described it as *Abundantia* holding cornucopiae and patera; and this is the impression conveyed by the engraving in Kenner's book. If so, the figure must certainly be a copy of the statue of Tyche in her temple. In consequence of the condition of the coin we cannot be sure as to the attributes given to Tyche; they may even be rudder and patera or cornucopiae, as in the succeeding specimens.

18.—Paus. II. 2, 8. Ἐρμού τέ ἐστιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ ὀρθὰ ἀμφοτέρα, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ καὶ ναὸς πεποιήται.

HERMES naked, standing.

Æ Hadrian. Six. Right hand on head of ram, in left caduceus. (E LXXXVI.)

Anton. Pius. B. M. Left arm rests on tree, caduceus in right. Imh.

(E LXXXVII.)

M. Aurel. *Rev. Belge*, 1865, pl. xvii. 9. As last but one.

Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 113, 777. Holds purse and caduceus : ram.

Caracalla. M. S. iv. 122, 834. Holds purse, caduceus, and chlamys : ram.

Hermes, clad in chlamys, carrying the child Dionysus on his left arm.

Æ Trajan. Mion. ii. 179, 231. (E LXXXVIII.)

The coin of Antoninus (E LXXXVII.) seems to represent a statue, since the scheme of a figure resting on the trunk of a tree as a support is more appropriate to sculpture than to die-sinking.

This figure is remarkable in being entirely nude.

The type of the first coin, (E LXXXVI.), is closely like the seated Hermes, of which we shall speak below ; indeed, so like that both would seem to be work of one artist or one school, probably of Imperial times.

19.—Paus. ii. 2, 8. Τὰ δὲ (ἀγάλματα) τοῦ Διός, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ κλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὑψιστον. Cf. 4, 5, ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου, &c.

ZEUS standing naked : holds thunderbolt and eagle.

Æ Domitian.

Anton. Pius. Imh. (E LXXXIX.)

Cf. L. Verus. Mion. ii. 184, 266.

Zeus running, naked, holds thunderbolt and eagle.

Æ Auton. B. M. (E xc.)

20.—Paus. ii. 3, 1. Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ χαλκῇ.

PALLAS standing, holds thunderbolt in right, shield in left.

Æ Auton. *Obv.* Head of Poseidon. Imh. B. M. (E xci.)

Pallas holding Victory and spear ; shield and owl beside her.

Æ Hadrian. M. S. iv. 81, 543. Imh. (E xcii.)

Ant. Pius. M. S. iv. 86, 579/81. Arigoni, &c. Klagenfurt. (E xciii.)

Sept. Sev. M. ii. 187, 291. Altar before her.

Plautilla. B. M. Imh. Altar before her.

Sept. Sev. M. 3. iv. 112, 767. Owl before her.

Commod. Imh. Pallas holding patera and spear, face to face with seated Poseidon. See above. (D lv.)

Head of Pallas, helmeted.

Æ Ant. Pius. M. S. iv. 86, 578. Copenh.

The altar placed before the figure of Pallas, who holds Victory and spear, seems to show that this figure is a copy of a statue.

This same figure in slightly varied form (patera for Victory) is placed on the coin of Commodus in near proximity to Poseidon, which may indicate for the original a locality near the Isthmus, rather than in the agora.

- 21.—Paus. II. 3, 1. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐστὶν Ὀκταβίας ναὸς ἀδελφῆς Ἀυγούστου.*

TEMPLE, facing, inscribed on the frieze CAESAR, AVGVSTVS or GENT. IVLI.

Æ Augustus. Imh. Livia. B. M. Tiberius. B. M. (E xciv.)

The same temple (?) not inscribed, in profile.

Æ Auton. Imh. (E xciv.)

Livia or Octavia seated, holds sceptre and patera.

Æ Tiberius. B. M. (E xcvi.) Agrippa, Jun. B. M.

Head of Roma, turreted.

Æ Aut. Rev. Temple, &c. B. M. &c.

It would seem probable from comparison of the coins that the temple described by Pausanias as that of Octavia was really of the Gens Julia. The seated lady holding sceptre and patera may be copied from the statue in this temple. In details it exactly resembles the figure on the coins of Tiberius commonly called Livia, but more probably really standing for a personification of the Gens Julia. Such a personification would naturally take the features of one of the imperial ladies, Livia or Julia or Octavia. If in the Corinthian temple the cultus-statue represented the Gens Julia in the likeness of Octavia, then it would be very natural for any visitor to suppose that the temple was dedicated to Octavia.

- 22.—Paus. 3, 2. *Ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐξιόντων τὴν ἐπὶ Λεχαίου προπύλαιά ἐστι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἄρματα ἐπίχρυσα, τὸ μὲν Φάεθοντα Ἥλιου παῖδα, τὸ δὲ Ἥλιον αὐτὸν φέρον.*

PROPYLAEA, surmounted by quadrigas, &c.

Æ Augustus. Mion. II. 172, 185.

Domitian. Munich. (F xcvi.)

Hadrian. Mion. II. 179, 230. (F xcvi.)

Ant. Pius. Imh. (F xcix.)

Commodus. Imh. (F c.)

M. Aurel. M. S. IV. 106, 682. Surmounted by biga.

Helios in quadriga.

Æ Nero. M. II. 176, 209.

Domitian. B. M. (F ci.)

L. Verus. Vienna. (F cii.)

Caracalla. B. M.

Helios in long chiton, radiate, holds whip.

Æ Verus. M. II. 184, 269. Vaillant.

- 23.—Paus. II. 3, 2. *Ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν Ἡρακλῆς χαλκοῦς. Cf. 4, 5, ξόανον γυμνὸν Ἡρακλέους· Δαιδάλου δὲ αὐτὸ φασιν εἶναι τέχνην.*

HERAKLES standing.

Æ M. Aurel. Mion. II. 182, 252, 253. M. S. iv. 96, 653.

Sept. Severus. Mion. II. 187, 288.

Caracalla. B. M. In attitude of Glycon's statue. (F ciii.)

Herakles naked, to left; club and skin in left; right hand raised; to his left, Aphrodite Urania with shield, and Poseidon.

Æ Commodus. Vienna. (F civ.)

As two of the deities in this group, Poseidon and Aphrodite, are copied from statues, there is a presumption that the third is so also. The figure of Herakles is not very distinct, but it is unclad but for a lion's skin.

24.—Paus. II. 3, 2. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔσοδος ἐστὶ τῆς Πειρήνης ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ.

PEIRENE, personified as a seated nymph, rests left hand on rock, holds in right, pitcher.

Æ Plantilla. Vienna. (F cv.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Imh. Behind her, snake erect.

Sept. Severus. Beside rock, dolphin.

Sept. Severus. B. M. Before her, fountain in form of Scylla. (F cvl.)

Plantilla. Vienna. Behind her, snake erect. (F cvii.)

Caracalla. Berlin. Behind her, snake erect.

L. Verus. Mill. Rec. II. 21. Vienna. Before her, Pegasus drinking from fountain; in background, Acrocorinthus. (F cviii.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Before her, Pegasus drinking from fountain; in background, Acrocorinthus.

As the figure of Peirene is repeated without variation during several reigns, it is likely that it is copied from a statue which adorned the spring.

25.—Paus. II. 3, 2. Ἔτι γε δὴ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμα πρὸς τῇ Πειρήνῃ καὶ περιβολὸς ἐστίν.

APOLLO, naked, on basis, right elbow rests on term; below, a basin.

Æ Commod. M. S. iv. 106, 721. Berlin. (F cix.)

In this case there can be little doubt that we have the copy of a statue.

26.—Paus. II. 3, 4. Αὐθις δ' ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ Αἰγαίου τὴν εὐθείαν χαλκοὺς καθήμενός ἐστιν Ἑρμῆς, παρέστηκε δέ οἱ κριός.

HERMES SEATED on a rock, caduceus in left, right hand on head of ram beside him.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 94, 639. B. M. (F cx.)

L. Verus. Mion. II. 186, 281.

Caracalla. Gréau, 1481.

Sev. Alexander. Rev. Belge, 1865, xvii. 10.

Hermes as above, seated in distyle temple.

Æ Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 181, 246. Imh. (F cx.)

Hermes with caduceus, seated in round temple, on which dolphins: on either side of temple a tree.

Æ Domna. Gréau, 1479.

In the coins first described we have an unmistakable copy of the statue of Hermes. The details of the coin correspond altogether to the description of Pausanias: and the representation of the temple in which the figure sits completes the proof.

27.—Paus. II. 3, 5. *Κρήναι δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πεποιοῦνται πᾶσαν θεάς δὲ μάλιστα ἀξία ἡ παρὰ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἔπεστι.*

ARTEMIS SEATED on a rock, holds bow; before her Bellerophon on Pegasus slaying Chimaera. Cf. above, under Bellerophon.

Æ Caracalla. *A. Z.* 1843, p. ix. 13. B. M.

Statues of Artemis seated are quite or almost unknown. It would therefore seem most reasonable to suppose that the figure of Artemis on the coin is intended merely to mark the locality. She is seated not on a throne but on a hill, just as we should expect in a deity inserted to indicate locality.

28.—FOUNTAINS.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. iv. 88, 596. (*Fontana*, II. 2.)

L. Verus. M. II. 185, 272. Fountain surmounted by Scylla. Imh. (F cxii.)

Commodus. Turin. Fountain surmounted by Scylla. (F cxiii.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. Fountain surmounted by Scylla. See above, under Peirene.

Domna. M. S. iv. 119, 813. Scylla between fountains.

Commodus. Imh. Basis on which dolphin, his tail supported by rudder. (F cxiv.)

L. Verus. M. II. 185, 276. Seated lion (fountain or tomb). B. M. (F cxv.)

The coins furnish us with the designs of at least four of the fountains of Corinth: (1) that surmounted by Bellerophon and Pegasus (see above); (2) that surmounted by Scylla; (3) that surmounted by dolphin and rudder; (4) that surmounted by a lion. We may perhaps add to the list the fountain Peirene, if it was surmounted by a figure of the nymph of that name. Probably all these fountains were mere decorative works of Roman times.

29.—Paus. II. 4, 1. *Τοῦ μνήματος δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω Χαλινίτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οἱ τοῦτο ξοάνόν ἐστι, πρόσωπον δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ ἄκροι πόδες εἰς λευκοῦ λίθου.*

ATHENE CHALINITIS holding in right hand bridle, in left hand, spear and shield.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. (F cxvi.)

Probably a copy of the temple-statue, Acrolithic statues do not seem to have been peculiar to any age.

- 30.—Paus. II. 4, 5. Πρὸς τοῦτῃ τῇ γυμνασίῳ (the ancient) ναοὶ θεῶν εἰσὶν, ὁ μὲν Διὸς ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ. τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα, Ἀσκληπιὸς μὲν καὶ Ἵγλεια λευκοῦ λίθου, κ.τ.λ.

ASKLEPIOS and HYGIEIA (together or separate).

Æ L. Verus. B. M. Imh. Together. (F cxvii.)

Sabina. M. II. 180, 237. Asklepios.

Commodus. M. S. IV. 106, 724. Thenp. B. M. Asklepios.

L. Verus. M. S. IV. 102, 693. Hygieia.

Gordian. M. II. 189, 303.

Asklepios (?) in a temple.

Æ Nero. M. S. IV. 73, 487.

Temple, with steps; below these, serpent.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. IV. 101, 686. Arig. II. 7, 72. Athens. (F cxviii.)

It cannot be considered certain that this temple *in antis* beneath which is a snake is that of Asklepios. It may be a heroon: indeed from its small size and the curious way in which it is erected on a basis, this seems likely. The figure in the temple on the coin of Nero does not seem to be Asklepios at all, but an emperor; on similar coins of the B. M. a figure clad in a toga is clearly depicted.

- 31.—Paus. II. 4, 6. Ἐς δὴ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον τοῦτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἐστὶν Ἴσιδος τεμένη.

ISIS holding sistrum and vase.

Æ Hadrian. Arig. I. 95, 39. Turin. (F cxix.)

- 32.—Paus. II. 4, 7. Ὑπὲρ τοῦτο Μητρὸς θεῶν ναὸς ἐστι.

CYBELE seated, lion beside her.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. IV. 85, 576.

M. Aurel. Imh. (F cxx.)

Domna. Imh.

- 33.—Paus. II. 5, 1. Ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε ὠπλισμένη καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἔρως ἔχων τόξον.

APHRODITE, naked to waist, holds shield, sometimes with Eros.

Æ Anton. Obv. Head of Aphrodite. B. M. Eros behind her. (G cxxi.)

Hadrian. M. II. 179, 232. Without Eros.

M. Aurel. Imh. Without Eros.

M. Aurel. M. S. IV. 94, 635. Arig. Eros beside her.

L. Verus. M. II. 185, 273. Imh. Eros beside her. (G cxxii.)

Commodus. B. M. Imh. Eros beside her. (G cxxiii.)

Commodus. M. S. IV. 107, 725. Two Erotes by her.

Plautilla. B. M. Two Erotes by her. (G cxxiv.)

Aphrodite on ACROCORINTHUS, without temple.

Æ Plantilla. B. M. Laynes. (G cxxv.)

Aphrodite in temple on Acrocorinthus.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. iv. 87, 588. Arig. Tetrastyle temple.

Hadrian. Parma. Tetrastyle temple.

L. Verus. B. M. (G cxxvi.) S. Severus. B. M. Tetrastyle temple.

M. Aurel. M. ii. 182, 255. Distyle temple.

M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 94, 634—636. Distyle temple, with Eros.

S. Severus. M. S. iv. 118, 773. Arig. Distyle temple.

Acropolis rock ; Pegasus flying above it.

Æ Claudius. M. ii. 175, 202. (G cxxvii.)

Temple on Acrocorinthus.

Æ Claudius. M. ii. 172, 187. Imh. (G cxxviii.)

Hadrian. M. ii. 179, 229. B. M. (G cxxix.)

M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 101, 687. B. M. At foot, buildings and trees.

(G cxxx.) Arolsen. (G cxxxi.)

L. Verus. M. S. iv. 104, 710. Mill. *Réc.* ii. 20. At foot, tree; Pegasus flying. Naples. (G cxxxii.)

Commodus. M. S. iv. 102, 765. Imh. At foot, tree; Pegasus flying. (G cxxxiii.)

Aphrodité on Acrocorinthus, between two harbours (cf. above).

Æ S. Severus. B. M. Vienna. (G cxxxiv.)

Aphrodite Urania and Poseidon. See Poseidon.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 94, 637.

Plantilla. Vienna.

Aphrodite and Herakles.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. iv. 94, 638. Arig.

Commodus. M. S. iv. 109, 739. Arig. Eros between them. *St. Flor.* i. 18.

Aphrodite, Poseidon, and Herakles (see above).

Æ Commodus. M. S. iv. 107, 728. Theup. Vienna.

This important series of coins furnishes complete proof, as Imhoof has pointed out more than once (see *Monn. Grec.* p. 158), of the type of the statue of Aphrodite which stood on the Corinthian acropolis. The figure of armed Aphrodite which existed there under the Empire was no archaic figure of an armed goddess, such as the Syrian Astarte, but an unmistakable Greek Aphrodite, using the shield of Ares as a mirror. This is a motive natural to Roman rather than to Greek art, and we may be almost sure that the statue does not date from an earlier period than that of Julius Cæsar. Indeed to his time it would be peculiarly appropriate, considering his descent and pretensions.

Imhoof has also observed that Lenormant's idea that the helmeted head on the early autonomous coins of Corinth is that of the armed Aphrodite must be given up, seeing that Pausanias is the only writer who speaks of a statue of armed

Aphrodite at Corinth, and it is certain that the figure seen by him was not helmeted : there is, therefore, no evidence of the existence at Corinth of a helmeted Aphrodite.

The type of Aphrodite herself is fixed and scarcely varies ; no doubt it reproduces the exact scheme of the statue. But the figure or figures of Eros which appear beside her seem to be mere attributes, as they hold wreaths and not bows.

The temple of Aphrodite is represented sometimes as tetrastyle sometimes as hexastyle, sometimes as prostyle and sometimes as peripteral : all of which proves that in matters of architectural detail coins are not trustworthy.

34.—OTHER TYPES at Corinth.

Kronos standing, holds sickle.

Ant. Pius. Paris. (G CXXV.)

Head of Kronos, sickle over shoulder.

Auton. Copenhagen.

Hephaestus, naked to waist, tongs in left hand.

M. Aur. Imh. (G CXXXVI.)

Ares to right, holding spear and trophy.

M. Aur. Copenhagen. (G CXXXVII.)

Triptolemus on winged car drawn by serpents.

Auton. M. II. 169, 162. (G CXXXVIII.)

Male figure seated (Populus), clad in himation, inscribed POPVL.

COL . COR.

Verus. Paris. (G CXXXIX.)

Military female figure (Achaia ?) seated on rock, holds spear and sword ; in front, ears of corn.

Geta. Imh. (G CXL.)

Victory flying to left.

M. Aurel. Récanier. (G CXLI.)

Victory facing.

Augustus. Imh. (G CXLII.)

Male figure, Genius, holds patera and cornucopiae, inscribed

GEN . COL . COR.

Auton. B. M. (G CXLIII.)

Palm tree within inclosure.

Ant. Pius. Munich. Imh. L. Verus. B. M. (G CXLIV.)

The following in Mionnet seem to be some of the above types wrongly described ; Eros in quadriga ; Pan holding pedum ; Pharos and ship ; Head of Indian Dionysus ; Cadmus attacking serpent, (see under Argos—Opheltes.)

Some of the types proper to Corinth are repeated on the coins of other cities. For instance, the seated Hermes, and the Aphrodite of the Acropolis, are repeated on the coins of Patrae. In the same way the Corinthian coins repeat the Argive type of Opheltes.

SICYON.

- 1.—Paus. II. 7, 2. *Αὐτοὶ δὲ Σικυνῶνιοι τὰ πολλὰ εἰκότι τρόπον θάπτουσι. τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτονται, λίθου δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπίδα κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αἰετοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς.*

TOMB (*ναῖδιον*) on basis, between two terminal figures and two cypresses.

Æ S. Severus. Mion. S. iv. 169, 1123.

Caracalla. Imh.

Plautilla. Allier, pl. vi. 15. B. M. (H I.)

Caracalla (without and with cypresses). Imh. (H II.)

The design of the coin illustrates very well the words of Pausanias. Below, we see a basis or pedestal, apparently round; on it, four pillars erected, supporting an *aëtoma*. In the midst there seems to be a statue. It does not appear, either from Pausanias' words, or from the coin, that the *ναῖδιον* on the pedestal had walls: rather it would seem that the roof rested on pillars only. The terminal figures on the coin may represent smaller tombs, or they may define the bounds of a *temenos*. The cypress was sacred to Hades: see Lajard, *Culte du Cypres*, p. 231.

- 2.—Paus. II. 7, 5. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν ἀκροπόλει Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἀκραίας, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ Διοσκούρων. ξόανα δὲ οὗτοι τε καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς Τύχης ἐστί.*

TYCHE AKRAIA, standing, with patera and cornucopiae.

Æ J. Domna. M. S. iv. 170, 1127.

Plautilla. B. M. (H III.)

Geta. M. S. iv. 173, 1146. Imh. (With altar.)

- 3.—Paus. II. 7, 5. *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ θέατρον Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶ χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὁ θεός, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Βάκχαι λίθου λευκοῦ.*

DIONYSUS standing, holds kantharos and thyrsus, panther at his feet.

Æ Domitian. M. S. iv. 169, 1122.

S. Severus. (H IV.)

Domna. B. M. (H V.)

Caracalla. M. S. iv. 170, 1133. Wiczay.

BACCHA or Maenad in attitude of ecstasy, holds knife.

Æ J. Domna. B. M. (H VI.) Imh. (H VII.)

4.—Paus. II. 7, 8. Οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σῦθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσιν ἱκετεύοντας (yearly ceremony).

SUPPLIANT BOY (?) with raised hands, holding stemma.

Æ Autonomus. B. M. R Alexander the Great. B. M.

J. Domna. Turin. (H VIII.)

Plautilla. B. M. (H IX.)

This figure, the attribution of which is doubtful, has greatly perplexed numismatists. It has been called hitherto a bird-catcher, or, as by Müller (*Alex. le Gr.* p. 219), Apollo in dancing attitude, holding up taenia. In numismatics the type is peculiar to Sicyon: and as it recurs without variation from the time of Alexander the Great to that of Plautilla, it must almost certainly repeat a Sicyonian work of art.

5.—Paus. II. 7, 9. Τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ναὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα Πυθοκλῆς ἀνέθηκεν (cf. 9, 7, ruined temple of Apollo Lycius: 10, 2, adytum of Apollo Carneius).

APOLLO in citharoedic dress, holding lyre.

Æ Domna. Leake, *Suppl.* 145.

Plautilla. M. II. 200, 381.

Caracalla. M. S. IV. 171, 1135. Theup. and Sestini.

It seems not improbable that the Pythocles here mentioned, who is evidently regarded by Pausanias as a well-known man, is the same as the Pythocles mentioned by Pliny (*N. H.* XXXIV. 51) as a famous artist of the period after Ol. 156. This clue would be of value if we could be sure that the coin reproduced a statue of Pythocles: but this cannot be proved.

6.—Paus. II. 9, 6. Τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Λυσίππου. Cf. ἔστι δὲ Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾷ.

ZEUS standing, undraped; holds thunderbolt and sceptre.

Æ Caracalla. B. M. (H X.)

Zeus seated, holding patera and sceptre.

Æ Geta. M. S. IV. 172, 1143. Vaillant.

The standing figure of Zeus would certainly well suit the school of Lysippus: it belongs to group 11 of Overbeck's arrangement (*Kunstmyth.*, II. p. 151). Zeus is entirely undraped, and of a scheme which especially befits bronze. If the Sicyonian statue of Zeus Meilichius was a copy of that of Argos, it must

have been seated, like the second type here cited. See below under Argos.

- 7.—Paus. II. 10, 1. Ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὄντι οὐ μακρὰν Ἡρακλῆς ἀνάκειται λίθον, Σκόπα ποίημα. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρῳθι ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους.

HERAKLES standing, holds apples (?) and club; lion's skin over left arm.

Æ Geta. B. M. (H XI.)

The figure of Herakles on the coin is unfortunately indistinct: but the deity seems to be unbearded, and of somewhat slight build.

- 8.—Paus. II. 10, 2. Ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐσιούσι τῇ μὲν Πανὸς καθήμενον ἀγαλμά ἐστι (cf. 11, 1, βωμὸς Πανὸς).

PAN walking, holds goblet, and goat by the horns.

Æ Plautilla. Imh. (H XII.)

- 9.—Paus. II. 10, 2. Τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχων γένεια, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον ἔχει δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας χειρὸς πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου. Cf. 11, 6, Statue of Hygieia (archaic).

ASKLEPIOS standing, with usual attributes.

Æ Caracalla. M. S. IV. 170, 1131. (Vail.)

Domna. (H XIII.)

Hygieia standing.

Æ Geta. M. II. 201, 382. B. M. (H XIV.)

- 10.—Paus. II. 10, 4. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τὸ μὲν δὲ ἀγαλμα καθήμενον Κάναχος Σικυώνιος ἐποίησεν πεποίηται δὲ ἔκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πόλον τῶν χειρῶν δε ἔχει τῇ μὲν μήκωνα τῇ δὲ ἐτέρα μῆλον.

APHRODITE standing, in attitude of Venus de' Medici.

Æ S. Severus. Bologna. Beside her Eros on basis, holding torch. (H XV.)

Domna. Arch. Z. 1869. pl. XXIII. 7. Imh. Beside her dolphin. (H XVI.)

DOVE.

Æ Anton. B. M.

- 11.—Paus. II. 10, 7. Ἐν δεξιᾷ Φεραίας ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος κομισθῆναι δὲ τὸ ξόανον λέγουσιν ἐκ Φερῶν. Cf. 9, 6, Artemis Patroa; 7, 6, Artemis Limnaea; 10, 2, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτεμὶς ἕστηκεν.

ARTEMIS, clad in long chiton and mantle, with torches in her raised hands.

Æ Geta. Dresden. (H XVII.) Imh. (H XVIII.)

Similar figure, in temple.

Æ Caracalla. Paris. (H XIX.)

There can be little doubt that we have in this figure a copy of the statue which stood in the temple of Artemis Pheraea. We are told that it was brought from Pherae. The coins of Pherae, from the fourth century onwards, present us with a female figure holding two torches or one torch, which may be meant for Artemis, but more probably represents Hecate, a deity greatly worshipped in the south of Thessaly. But the distinction is not important, as the torch-bearing Artemis and Hecate are closely allied.

12.—Paus. II. 11, 2. *Καταβαίνουνσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος· ἰδρῦσαι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸ Πλημναῖον.*

DEMETER seated on throne, wears polos, holds ears of corn in each hand.

Æ Sep. Severus. Imh. (H XX.)

The throned figure of the coins has much of the air of the cultus statue of a temple.

13.—Paus. II. 11, 1. *Ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς* (cf. 12, 1, Temple of Athene at Titane).

PALLAS standing; holds lance and buckler.

Æ Caracalla. M. S. IV. 170, 1180. Vaill.

14.—OTHER TYPES:

Serapis and Cerberus.

Eros with torch.

Nike.

PHILIUS.

1.—Paus. II. 12, 4. *Ἀσωπὸς . . . ἐξέυρε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὶ ὕδωρ.*

Butting BULL (type of river or of Dionysus, see below).

Æ Auton. B. M. (H I.)

2.—Paus. II. 13, 3. *Τὴν δὲ θεὸν ἧς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν οἱ μὲν ἀρχαιότατοι Φλιασίων Γανυμήδαν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον Ἡβην ὀνομάζουσιν.*

Head of HEBE (?), hair rolled.

Æ Auton. B. M. (H I.)

This attribution is not certain, but highly probable. The character of Hebe's head is not unlike that of Hera, but younger and less dignified. She wears no ornaments, but her hair is simply rolled at the back.

- 3.—Paus. II. 13, 5. Ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐνταῦθα χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα, ὃ ἐφαίνετο ἀρχαῖον εἶναί μοι.

ARTEMIS hunting, with dog.

Æ Geta. *Rev. Belge*, 1880, pl. II. 9.

- 4.—Paus. II. 13, 5. Κατιόντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναὸς ἐν δεξιᾷ, καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον πω γένεια.

ASKLEPIOS standing, bearded, with attributes.

Æ S. Severus. M. S. IV. 159, 1044. *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* iv. 50.

Caracalla. M. II. 198, 368.

- 5.—Paus. II. 13, 7. Διονύσου σφίσιν ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον.

Bull butting (Dionysus?). Ivy: grapes.

Æ Auton. B. M.

Head of Dionysos. *Rev.*, Bull butting and thyrsos.

Æ Auton. Imh.

- 6.—OTHER TYPE. Tyche sacrificing at altar: holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. Sept. Sev. Geta.

CLEONAE.

- 1.—Paus. II. 15, 1. Ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Σκύλλιδος τέχνη καὶ Διποίνου.

ATHENE standing, holds lance and shield (archaic).

Æ Geta. M. II. 237, 58. B. M. (H I.) Cf. *Caved. Spic.* 105.

The Athene of the coin seems an interesting record of the archaic statue of Dipoenus and Scyllis, whom Pliny gives to the 50th Olympiad, and who were among the first to produce national Greek types of various divinities. The present coin-type represents a figure of Athene retaining the pose of the still older Palladia, but far more refined in detail. The helmet is larger, the aegis on the breast worked out; folds appear in the chiton, and the feet are articulate.

2.—OTHER TYPES:

Eagle on altar. (See Argos.)

Asklepios seated with dog (cf. Epidaurus).

Isis, holds sistrum and vase.

Plautilla. B. M.

Isis Pharia.

Carac. St. Flor. pl. III. 19.

Tyche, holds patera and cornucopiae, at altar.

Plautilla. B. M. (H II.)

Artemis accompanied by hound.

Horse ridden by human head.

Domna. B. M.

NEMEA. (Coins of Argos.)

- 1.—Paus. II. 15, 2. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ὄρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἔτι δέλκνυται τοῦ λέοντος.

HERAKLES strangling the Nemean lion.

Æ Trajan. M. S. iv. 240, 27.

Sept. Severus. M. II. 235, 48.

Domna. Leake, p. 20. (I i.)

- 2.—Paus. II. 15, 2. Τὸν Ὀφέλτην ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῆς τροφοῦ τεθέυτα ἐς τὴν πόαν διαφθαρῆναι λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐνταῦθα ἔστι μὲν Ὀφέλτου τάφος.

OPHELTES, the serpent, and Hypsipyle.

Æ Hadrian. *Arch. Z.* 1869, pl. xxiii. 12. Hypsipyle, and serpent twined around Opheltes.

Anton. Pius. Imh. Opheltes in coils of serpent. (I ii.)

L. Verus. L.c. No. 13. Nurse, a hero, and Opheltes lying dead; also serpent.

S. Severus. M. Fontana, I. pl. ii. 18. Hero fighting snake, Opheltes on the ground. B. Turin. (I iii.)

J. Domna. B. M. Hypsipyle flying, snake twined around Opheltes. (I iv.)

Plautilla. A. Z. 1869, No. 11. Serpent coiled over dead Opheltes. Imh. (I v.)

Domna. Munich. Naked male figure, facing; at his feet Opheltes, to right, snake. (I vi.)

Also Æ of CORINTH. Domitian. Mill. *An. G. C.* pl. iv. 14. Hero fighting serpent, who holds Opheltes in mouth. Imh. (I vii.)

S. Severus. Mill. *An. G. C.* pl. iv. 16. Similar. Imh. (I viii.)

Caracalla. Fox. Hero fighting snake, beneath whom Opheltes, Hypsipyle fleeing. (I ix.)

The variety in the types representing the fate of Opheltes is remarkable, and seems to prove that at Argos the subject was a favourite one with artists. For illustrations of the subject from vases, &c., see Overbeck's *Heroische Bildwerke*. Some of the above-described coins are published by Dr. Friedlander in the *Archäol. Zeitung* for 1869.

- 3.—Paus. II. 15, 3. Καὶ δὴ καὶ δρόμον προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα ἀνδράσιν ὀπλισμένοις Νεμέων πανηγύρει τῶν χειμερινῶν.

Symbols of NEMEAN GAMES (also Heraea, cf. Paus. II. 24, 2).

Æ Anton. Pius. M. II. 234, 44. Imh. ΝΕΜΕΙΑ ΗΡΑΙΑ. Table, peacock, and eagle.

Anton. Pius. Leake, *Suppl.* 114. ΝΕΜΕΙΑ in parsley crown.

M. Aurelius. Verus. Commodus. S. Severus. Domna. As last.

Domna. Table, on which eagle, wreath, and owl.

- 4.—Paus. II. 15, 3. Ὅρος Ἀπέσας ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἐνθα Περσέα πρῶτον Διὶ θῦσαι λέγουσιν Ἀπесαντίῳ.

Symbol of Zeus on MOUNT APESAS. (Coins of CLEONAE.)

Æ S. Severus. Hill, on which a cippus or altar, surmounted by an eagle.

Mus. Sanclem. N. S. II. pl. xxv. No. 219.

Domna. Mus. Arig. i. *Impp.* VIII. 13. Similar.

Geta. Mus. Arig. i. *Impp.* IX. 137. Similar.

Herakles clad in lion's skin, resting at the foot of Mount Apesas, on the summit of which is an eagle. (Coin of ARGOS.)

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin. (I x.)

HERAEUM near Argos. (Argive coins.)

5.—Paus. II. 17, 3. Ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῇ μὲν Χάριτες ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα.

The three CHARITES, naked, embracing one another (conventional group).

Æ Sept. Severus. Imh. (I xi.)

6.—Paus. II. 17, 4. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἡρας ἐπὶ θρόνον κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἔπεστι δὲ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας ἔχων καὶ Ὠρας ἐπειργασμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει ῥοιᾶς, τῇ δὲ σκήπτρον κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθήσθαι φασι, κ.τ.λ.

HERA SITTING, holds pomegranate and sceptre, turreted.

Æ Anton. Pius. B. M. Mion. S. iv. 242, 43. (I xii.)

L. Verus. B. M. Also Sept. Severus and Caracalla.

Domna. Overbeck, *K. M. Hera*, pl. III. 3. Imh. (I xiii.)

Head of Hera, wearing stephanos adorned with flowers.

Æ Autonomus. B. M. Imh. (I xiv.)

Paus. II. 17, 5. Λέγεται δὲ παρεστηκέναι τῇ Ἡρᾷ τέχνη Ναυκύδους ἄγαλμα Ἡβης.

HERA and HEBE, peacock between them (cf. below).

Æ Anton. Pius. Overbeck, *Hera*, pl. III. 1. Imh. (I xv.)

The coins reproduce faithfully the details of the statue of Polycleitus, even, in some instances, to the cuckoo on her sceptre (I xii.). They are fully discussed in Overbeck's *Kunstmythologie* (II. p. 43). It is elsewhere suggested (Gardner, *Coins of Elis*, p. 19) that the flowers with which the stephanos of Hera is adorned on I xiv. are an abridged symbol of the Horæ and Charites whose figures were introduced in the same place by Polycleitus.

The statue of Naucydes is also repeated on the coin, a standing figure with one hand advanced, clad in long chiton.

7.—Paus. II. 17, 6. Χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ λίθων λαμπόντων Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς ταὼν ἀνέθηκεν.

PEACOCK (see above).

Æ Hadrian. B. M. Peacock facing, tail spread. (I xvi.)

Gordian III. Salonina. B. M. Imh. Peacock to right.

The peacock on Hadrian's coin is probably a copy of his anathema: that on the later coin may be a merely conventional representation.

ARGOS.

8.—Paus. II. 18, 1, 'Εκ Μυκηνῶν δὲ εἰς Ἄργος ἐρχομένοις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Περσέως παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐστὶν ἡρῶν.

PERSEUS standing, holding Gorgoneion in right, harpa and chlamys in left.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. (I xvii.)

L. Verus. B. M. (I xviii.) Also Mion. S. iv. 246, 66.

Sept. Severus. B. M. Also Mion. S. iv. 249, 86.

Valerianus. M. S. iv. 255, 124.

Perseus facing, holds in right harpa, in left Gorgoneion, above shield, which rests on cippus.

S. Severus. Imh. (I xix.)

S. Severus. Imh. *Choix*, pl. II. 67. To right, Pallas turning away. (I xx.)

Head of Perseus, winged; in front, harpa.

Æ Ant. Pius. Venice. (I xxi.)

The type of Perseus (I xvii. xviii.), which is repeated without variation from the time of Hadrian to that of Severus, should be copied from a statue.

9.—Paus. 19, 3. Ἀργείοις δ' τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ ἐπιφανέστατον ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν Λυκίου· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ἀττάλου ποίημα ἦν Ἀθηναίου (cf. Brunn, *Gr. Künstler*, I. p. 558; Attalus' date is unknown).

APOLLO, naked, left arm resting on pillar, in right, twig (Lycius?)

Æ Verus. M. S. iv. 245, 63.

Cf. Paus. II. 19, 8. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων Ἀγνιεύς.

24, 1. Ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος . . . τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστὶν ὀρθὸν, Δειραδιώτης Ἀπόλλων καλούμενος.

Apollo advancing, naked, drawing arrow from quiver.

Æ M. Aurel. M. II. 235, 45.

Apollo in Citharoedic costume.

Æ Verus. B. M. Holds lyre and patera. (I xxii.)

S. Severus. M. S. iv. 247, 76. Holds lyre and plectrum.

Caracalla. Imh. Holds lyre and plectrum. (I xxiii.)

Plautilla. *Sest. Mus. Hed.* p. 137, 40. Holds lyre and plectrum.

J. Domna. M. S. iv. 251, 102. Holds lyre and patera.

Plautilla. Imh. Holds lyre and patera. (I xxiv.)

Head of Apollo: Wolf: tripod.

Æ Auton. B. M.

- 10.—Paus. II. 19, 4-7. Βόθρος, πεποιημένα ἐν τῷ τάυρου μάχην ἔχων καὶ λύκου, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρθένον ἀφιεῖσαν πέτραν ἐπὶ τὸν ταῦρον.

Battle of bull and wolf.

Æ Auton. Imh. *Böotien u. Argos*, p. 55, No. 17.

- 11.—Paus. II. 20, 1. Ἀγαλμά ἐστι καθήμενον Διὸς Μειλιχίου, λίθου λευκοῦ, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον.

Cf. 19, 7. Διὸς ξόανον. 19, 8. Βωμὸς Ὑετίου Διός. 20, 6. Διὸς ἱερὸν Σωτήρος. 21, 2. Διὸς Φυξίου βωμὸς. 22, 2. Ἀγαλμα ἀρχαῖον Διός. 24, 3. Ἐπ' ἀκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Λαρισαίου ναός . . . το δε ἀγαλμα ξύλου, κ.τ.λ. . . . ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κείται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Ζεὺς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἡ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου.

ZEUS seated, holds patera and sceptre.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. IV. 242, 42.

M. Aurelius. M. S. IV. 244, 55.

L. Verus. (K xxv.)

Zeus seated, holds eagle or Victory.

Æ Sept. Severus. Holds eagle.

Plantilla. Holds victory. Mion. II. 235, 50. (K xxvi.)

Zeus striding, naked, holds eagle and thunderbolt.

Æ Plantilla. M. S. IV. 253, 112. Sestini.

Head of Zeus.

Æ Hadrian. M. S. IV. 240, 28. Imh. (K xxvii.)

L. Verus. M. S. IV. 245, 58.

Paus. II. 20, 3. Τούτων δ' ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, ἀγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου.

Zeus, naked, standing, sceptre in right hand: eagle at his feet.

Æ Hadrian. B. M.

M. Aurelius. Imh. (K xxviii.)

Sept. Severus. B. M. &c.

J. Domna. M. S. IV. 251, 99. Plantilla. M. S. IV. 253, 118.

The number of statues of Zeus at Argos is so large that it is not possible to be sure whether we have copies of any of them on coins. It is possible that the type first described (K xxv.) may reproduce the figure of the Zeus Meilichius; and the type of the head of Zeus is decidedly fine and early; we may suspect it to be a reminiscence of the head of Polycleitus' statue. With more confidence we may suppose that the standing Zeus of the coins (K xxviii.) is a copy of Lysippus' statue; for in this case the coin-type persists practically unchanged through several reigns.

But in all these cases the evidence of copying is internal rather than external; we therefore prefer to leave the matter for future discussion.

- 12.—Paus. II. 20, 3. Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Νεμείου Διὸς Τύχης ἐστὶν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου ναὸς, εἰ δὴ, &c.

TYCHE standing, holds cornucopiae.

Æ Auton. Third century, B.C. B. M. Holds patera and cornucopiae. (K xxix.)

M. Aurelius. Imh. Holds patera and cornucopiae.

L. Verus. M. S. iv. 246, 65. Holds patera and cornucopiae.

S. Severus. M. II. 235, 47. Holds patera and cornucopiae. At her feet altar.

Domna. Imh. Geta. M. II. 236, 51. Holds patera and cornucopiae.

Domna. Rev. Belge, 1860, pl. II. 12. Holds rudder and cornucopiae.

Caracalla. Imh. Turreted, holding sceptre and cornucopiae. (K xxx.)

Head of Tyche, turreted.

Æ Ant. Pius. M. II. 234, 41. (K xxxi.)

M. Aurelius. M. S. iv. 244, 57.

- 13.—Paus. II. 19, 6. Τὰ δὲ ξόανα Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ, τὸ μὲν Ἐπειοῦ λέγουσιν ἔργον εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 19, 7. Καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐς λύρας ποίησιν χελώνην ἡρκώς.

HERMES standing, right arm resting on trunk of tree, in left caduceus and chlamys.

Æ Sept. Severus. Imh. (K xxxii.) Florence. (K xxxiii.)

Apparently a copy of a statue.

- 14.—Paus. II. 20, 3. Πλησίον δὲ εἰσιν ἐπειργασμένοι λίθῳ Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων, αὐτοὶ τε ἔλκοντες τὴν ἄμαξαν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἄγοντες τὴν μητέρα ἐς τὸ Ἑραῖον.

CLEOBIS and BITON drawing their mother in a chariot.

Æ Domna. Copenhagen. (K xxxiv.)

Plautilla. Arch. Z. 1869, pl. 23, 9.

Dr. Friedländer has already (*Archäol. Zeit.* 1869, p. 98) brought this numismatic type into connexion with the words of Pausanias. But various treatments of the group may, of course, have been familiar to the die-sinker, and there is nothing to prove that he copied the relief seen by the Traveller.

- 15.—Paus. II. 21, 1. Ἔστι δὲ ναὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ. Cf. 23, 4 below.

ASKLEPIOS standing, with usual attributes.

Æ Sept. Severus. Imh. (K xxxv.)

- 16.—Paus. II. 21, 9. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Λητοῦς ἔστι μὲν οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ τροπαίου, τέχνη δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμα Πραξιτέλους· τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα παρὰ τῇ θεῷ τῆς παρθένου Χλῶριν ὀνομάζουσι.

LETO, right hand raised to shoulder, the left extended over small figure of CHLORIS.

Æ M. Aurelius. Imh. (K xxxvi.)

Sept. Severus. Imh. *Choix*, pl. II. 68. (K xxxvii.)

J. Domna. B. M. (K xxxviii.) Millingen, *Syll.* pl. III. 32.

Caracalla. *Rev. Belge*, 1860, pl. III. 1.

The same group in a temple.

Æ Anton. Pius. M. S. IV. 243, 48. Wiczay, xvii. 379.

This is a clear instance of the copying on coins of a statue, and very instructive. One coin figured (K xxxvii.) differently represents the action of Leto's right hand, which clearly, on the later coins, seems raised to a quiver on her shoulder. On this coin also the head of Leto is turned to the left, on the other coins to the right. But it is easy to see that these slight variations only arise from the fact that in the case of the first coin the artist made an attempt to represent the statue from the front, while in the case of the later coins it is depicted in profile. Combining our representations we can form a fairly complete notion of the statue of Praxiteles. Leto stood clad in a long chiton with diplois, holding some object (a torch?) in her left hand, and raising her right to her shoulder. The small figure of Chloris was close to her elbow, clad like the goddess herself.

- 17.—Paus. II. 22, 1. Ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ μνήματος τῶν γυναικῶν Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Πελασγίδος. Cf. 18, 3. Δήμητρος Μυσίας ἱερὸν. 21, 4. Κεῖται τοῦ Πύρρου τὰ ὅστ᾽ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Δήμητρος.

DEMETER standing.

Æ Hadrian. M. S. IV. 241, 34. Wiczay, pl. xvii. 378. Holds sceptre and ears of corn.

Hadrian. M. S. IV. 241, 33. Holds sceptre and poppy head.

Ant. Pius. M. S. IV. 243, 49. Paris. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

L. Verus. M. S. IV. 245, 64. Vaillant. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

S. Severus. M. S. IV. 247, 77. Mus. Font. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

J. Domna. M. S. IV. 251, 104. Turin. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads. (K xxxix.)

Plautilla. M. S. IV. 253, 114. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

M. Aurelius. Imh. Holds in both hands ears of corn and poppy heads.

- 18.—Paus. II. 22, 5. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός.

The DIOSCURI on horseback.

Æ S. Severus. Mion. S. IV. 248, 85. Wiczay, pl. xvii. 382.

- 19.—Paus. II. 22, 6. Πλησίον δὲ τῶν Ἀνάκτων Εἰληθυίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἀνάθημα Ἑλένης. (cf. 18, 3. Ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας).

EILEITHUIA, holding in each hand a torch, one raised, one lowered.

Æ Commodus. M. S. iv. 246, 71. (Arig. ii. 31, 210.)

M. Aurelius. Berlin. Two such figures, each with quiver at back, an altar between them. (K XL.)

The reason for supposing this type to represent Eileithuia lies in the fact that there is a type almost identical at Aegium in Achaia, which reproduces a statue of Eileithuia accurately described by Pausanias (vii. 23, 5), *ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾶδα*. The quiver might seem more appropriate to Artemis; but she could scarcely be, like Eileithuia, duplicated.

20.—Paus. ii. 22, 7. *Πέραν ἐστὶν Ἑκάτης ναός, Σκόπα δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἔργον· τοῦτο μὲν λίθου, τὰ δ' ἀπαντικρὺ χαλκᾶ Ἑκάτης καὶ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα, τὸ μὲν Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Πολυκλείτου Ναυκύδης Μόθωνος.*

HECATE triformis.

Æ Hadrian. Leake, *Eur. Gr.* p. 20.

Sabina. M. S. iv. 242, 41. (Mus. Font. pl. ii. 17.) Munich. (K xli.)

21.—Paus. ii. 22, 9. *Ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ Κυλαράβου Καπανεία ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶ. Cf. 21, 3. Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ἰδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερὸν φασιν Ἠγέλεων.*

ATHENE standing, holding patera, shield, and spear.

Æ Hadrian. M. S. iv. 240, 27.

Athene with Perseus. See Perseus.

22.—Paus. ii. 24, 3. *Ἐπ' ἄκρα δὲ ἐστὶ τῇ Λαρίσῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ναός ἐστὶ θεᾶς ἄξιος. Cf. 24, 2. Τοῦ Δειραδιώτου δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔχεται μὲν ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς Ὀξυδερκοῦς καλουμένης Διομήδους ἀνάθημα. 23, 5. Λέγουσι ἄγαλμα κείσθαι παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἐκκομισθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου.*

Archaic PALLADIUM.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. B. M.

Æ Verus. M. S. iv. 245, 60. Arig. iv. 50, 9.

Palladium in temple on the Larissa.

Æ Antoninus Pius. Imh. B. M. (K xlii.)

Sept. Severus. B. M.

Domna. M. S. iv. 251, 100. Arig.

DIOMEDES advancing, holds sword and Palladium.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. B. M. Imh. (K xliii.)

Auton. Fourth century. B. M. At his feet swan.

Æ Anton. Pius. Imh. (K xliiv.) M. S. iv. 244, 52, 53.

Diomedes, sword in hand, standing before statue of Pallas, on which he lays hands.

Æ Sept. Severus. Mus. Font. i. p. 66, 21.

Diomedes seated on altar, his leg bent under him, holds sword and Palladium.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. (K XLV.)

It would seem from the not very clear language of Pausanias, that there was a temple of Athene Oxyderkes on the slope of the Acropolis-hill, and another of Athene on the summit. In one of these temples would be probably the statue supposed to have been brought by Diomedes from Ilium. *A priori* one would naturally suppose this statue to have been in the temple first mentioned, said to have been dedicated by Diomedes. But the coins appear to prove that this was not the case; but that the Ilian Palladium was set up in the temple on the summit of the hill. For the archaic image of Pallas, which on some coins (K XLIII.) Diomedes carries, is identical in details with the image represented on other coins (K XLII.) as occupying the temple on the Acropolis. In form it is an ordinary archaic Palladium, representing the goddess as stiff and erect, holding a spear in her raised right hand, and a shield on her left arm. Below, the figure passes into a mere column.

23.—Paus. II. 23, 1. *Ναός ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Διονύσου· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶναι λέγουσιν ἐξ Εὐβυίας* (ancient). Cf. 23, 7. *Διονύσου ναὸς Κρησίου*, and 24, 7.

DIONYSUS standing; holds kantharos and thyrsos.

Æ Hadrian. M. II. 234, 40. (K XLVI.)

Hadrian. M. S. IV. 241, 35. With panther.

Commodus. M. S. IV. 246, 68.

Caracalla. M. S. IV. 252, 107.

This representation of Dionysus is of a very unusual type. The god appears to be beardless, though this is not certain. He is enveloped in the folds of an ample himation, and holds an upright thyrsos in his left hand.

24.—Paus. II. 23, 4. *Τὸ δ' ἐπιφανέστατον Ἀργείοις τῶν Ἀσκληπιείων ἄγαλμα ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχει καθήμενον Ἀσκληπιὸν λίθου λευκοῦ, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔστηκεν Ἑγεία· κάθηται δὲ καὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ξενοφίλος καὶ Στράτων.*

ASKLEPIOS seated on throne; in front of him, snake.

Æ Sept. Severus. B. M. (K XLVII.)

Domna. M. S. IV. 251, 103. Wiczay, XVII. 387.

Valerian. M. S. IV. 255, 125.

HYGIEIA standing, her right hand extended over an altar, around which twines a snake; in her left, patera. Cf. Tyche above.

Æ Geta. Imh. M. S. IV. 253, 116. (K XLVIII.)

Xenophilus and Strato lived probably late in the third century B.C., if we may judge from a tablet bearing their names published by Ross, *Inscr. Ined.* I. No. 58, in which we find the forms Α and ο. There seems every probability that the coins reproduce their types of the Asklepios and Hygieia. Both are very unusual. The Asklepios is apparently a copy of the statue of Thrasymedes at Epidaurus, and is of thoroughly Pheidonian type. The Hygieia is an interesting and remarkable type, differing, I think, from all known statues of the goddess. She is clad in a long chiton, and wears an overdress, of which the end hangs over her left arm.

25.—Paus. II. 23, 7. *Κατάγεων οἰκοδόμημα, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἦν ὁ χαλκοῦς θάλαμος, ὃν Ἀκρίσιός ποτε ἐπὶ φρουρᾷ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐποίησε.*

DANAE receiving the golden shower, seated on throne.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. (L XLIX.)

Although this is probably the only appearance of Danae on coins, the attribution is fairly certain. Danae's face is turned upwards; her bosom is bare, her extended hands grasp the ends of her garment. Parallel representations on vases and in wall paintings may be found in Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.*, II. p. 406.

26.—Paus. II. 24, 1. *Ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀκραίας Ἡρας τὸ ἱερόν.*

Head of JUNO Lanuvina in goat-skin (?).

Æ Sept. Severus. Mus. Font. II. pl. v. 14.

27.—Paus. II. 24, 2. *Τὸ στάδιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῷ Νεμείῳ Διὶ καὶ τὰ Ἡραῖα ἄγουσιν.*

Wreath of HERAEA. See also Nemea.

Æ Sept. Severus. Leake, Add. 157. *Arch. Z.* 1843, p. 151. (HPAIA, palm.)

Sept. Severus. Kenner, St. Florian, pl. III. 6. (HPAIA, shield.)

Domna. M. S. IV. 252, 106. HPEA.

Geta. M. S. IV. 254, 117. Arigoni (?)

28.—Paus. II. 24, 2. *Τῶν Αἰγύπτου παίδων . . . μνήμα. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων ἐνταῦθα αἱ κεφαλαί.*

A DAUGHTER of DANAUS, holding in each hand a head.

Æ Ant. Pius. M. S. IV. 243, 46.

This description is scarcely to be relied on; the figure may be a Maenad, or Demeter, holding ears of corn in each hand.

29.—Paus. II. 25, 1. *Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτης κείται ξόανον, πρὸς δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς Ἀρεως. εἶναι δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα Πολυνεῖκους λέγουσιν ἀναθήματα.*

ARES standing to right helmeted; holds in left hand, branch (?).

Æ Hadrian. Leake, *Eur.* p. 20.

Antonius. M. S. IV. 242, 40. (Gotha.)

S. Severus. (L L.)

APHRODITE standing to left, in long drapery; with right hand drawing forward her veil; before her, dolphin.

Æ Ant. Pius. Verus. Imh. (L LI.)

The dolphin may refer to the river Charadrus which flowed close to the temple. The figure of Aphrodite is stiff and archaic, and closely draped.

30.—OTHER TYPES at Argos:

Isis standing, holds sistrum and vessel.

Æ Hadrian. Munich.

Mamaea. Imh.

Isis seated, suckling Horus (?)

Æ Hadrian. B. M. (L LII.)

Female figure with wheel on hand (Nemesis ?).

Æ Sep. Severus. M. S. IV. 248, 79/80.

Caracalla. Wicz. XVII. 386.

Female figure holding wheel on basis.

Æ Sep. Severus. Imh. (L LIII.) M. Font. II. 15.

Shrine; Herakles in it.

Æ S. Severus. Imh. M. S. IV. 249, 91.

Female figure seated to left, on rock; **male figure** approaching her with hand raised. (Phaedra and Hippolytus ?)

Æ Hadrian. St. Florian. (L LIV.)

Poet (Homer ?) seated, a scroll in his hand.

Æ M. Aurel. M. S. IV. 244, 55.

Verus. M. II. 235, 46. Imh. (L LV.)

Draped male figure holding by the throats two serpents.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. Imh. (L LVI.)

Terminal figure, male.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. Cf. Verus. B. M.

Temple key: Symbol ☐.

Æ Anton. B. M. Imh. &c.

Head of Faustina the Elder, wearing Phrygian cap.

Æ M. Aur. Imh.

Head of Julia Domna, wearing Phrygian cap.

Æ S. Sev. Turin.

EPIDAUROS.

- 1.—Paus. II. 26. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ ἱερὰν μάλιστα εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ λόγῳ συμβέβηκε τοιῶδε . . . (Coronis) . . . ἐκτίθησι τὸν παῖδα . . . ἐκκειμένῳ δὲ ἐδίδου μὲν οἱ γάλα μίᾳ τῶν

περὶ τὸ δρος ποιμαινομένων αἰγῶν, ἐφύλασσε δὲ ὁ κύων
ὁ τοῦ αἰπολίου φρουρός Ἀρεσθάναν εὐρόντα ἐπι-
θυμῆσαι τὸν παῖδα ἀνελεῖσθαι καὶ, κ.τ.λ.

SHEPHERD finding ASKLEPIOS suckled by a goat, among trees.

Æ Ant. Pius. Imh. (L i.) Panofka, *Asklepios*, &c. pl. I. 2.

Caracalla. Panofka, *l.c.* I. 1. Vienna. Müller, *D. M.* II. 759.

Head of Asklepios.

Æ Auton. B. M. (L II.) Imh.

2.—Paus. II. 27, 2. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα
πεποιήται ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ μνηύει δὲ ἐπίγραμμα
τὸν εἰργασμένον εἶναι Θρασυμήδην Ἀρυγνώτου Πάριον·
κάθηται δὲ ἐπὶ θρόνου βακτηρίαν κρατῶν, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν
τῶν χειρῶν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔχει τοῦ δράκοντος, καὶ οἱ καὶ
κύων παρακατακείμενος πεποιήται.

ASKLEPIOS SEATED, with dog and snake.

Æ Auton. Fourth century. *Berlin. Bl.* 1866, pl. xxx. 3, &c. B. M.
Munich. (L III.) Imh. &c.

Æ Auton. Athens, 4431, B. (Dog behind seat.)

Hadrian. *Berlin. Bl.* 1870, p. 15, 9. (Dog behind seat.)

Ant. Pius. B. M. Imh. Leake, p. 51. (No dog.)

M. Aurel. Athens, No. 4481, b. Dog behind. (L IV.)

Asklepios as above, in temple.

Æ Ant. Pius. B. M. (L v.) *Mus. Pontana*, I. iii. 2. No dog.

Dog reclining.

Æ Auton. B. M. Imh.

Paus. II. 27, 6. Ἔστι μὲν Ἀσκληπιοῦ λουτρόν.

Cupping-vases and thymiaterion.

Æ Auton. B. M. Imh.

Cupping-vase on coins of Achaean league.

These coins, which have been repeatedly published, and are discussed in the histories of ancient sculpture, are generally allowed to repeat the statue by Thrasymedes. They agree with the words of Pausanias, even to the attitude of the dog, παρακατακείμενος. They thus furnish a strong argument that in other cases also we may expect to find on coins fairly exact copies of works of sculpture. For the connexion of the dog with the Epidaurian worship, see *Rev. Arch.* 1884, II. pp. 78, 129, 217.

3.—Paus. II. 27, 6. Ἀντωνίνος ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Ὑγίειαν
καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπὶ κλησιν Αἰγυπ-
πίοις. Cf. 27, 5. Ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ἐστὶν
. . . . ἄγαλμα Ἡπίωνος. 29, 1. Τέμενος δὲ ἐστὶν
Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς καὶ Ἡπίωνη.

γυναῖκα δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἡπιόνην Ἀσκληπιοῦ φασί. ταῦτά
ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου Παρίου.

Standing figure of Asklepios.

Æ J. Maesa. Mion. II. 239, 72. *Mus. Farnese.*

HYGIEIA standing in round temple.

Æ Ant. Pius. M. S. IV. 265, 155. *M. Fontana*, p. 67, 2 and 3. Munich.
(L VI.)

Hygieia or EPIONE standing, feeds serpent from patera, clad
in long drapery.

Æ Anton. Fourth century. *M. Hunter*, xxvi. 12. B. M. (L VII.) Imh. &c.
Ant. Pius. Mion. II. 239, 71. Holds sceptre and patera.

It is unfortunate that the coin which represents Hygieia in
her temple is so indistinct that the details cannot be with
certainty recovered. Her right hand appears to be extended,
and to hold a patera; and a serpent is visible to left.

The figure which I have termed Hygieia or Epione occurs on
early coins. Epione is the more likely attribution, as that deity
was from early times acknowledged at Epidaurus as the wife of
Asklepios, whereas Hygieia does not seem to have been there
recognised publicly until the times of the Antonines.

4.—Paus. II. 27, 7. Ὅρος ὀνομαζόμενον Κυνόρτιον, Μαλεάτου
δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων.

APOLLO Citharoedus.

Æ Anton. Copenhagen.

Head of Apollo, laur.

R Æ Anton. B. M. &c.

5.—Paus. II. 28, 1. Δράκοντες δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ ἕτερον γένος ἐς
το ξανθότερον ῥέπον τῆς χοῆας ἱεροὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ
νομίζονται.

SERPENT.

Æ Anton. B. M. Imh. *M. Hunter*, xxxvi. 13.

Sev. Alexander. M. S. IV. 261, 157. D'Ennery.

6.—OTHER TYPES:

Poseidon naked, standing to left; holds in right, dolphin; in
left trident.

Æ Caracalla. B. M. (L VIII.)

The figure is identical with that of the standing Poseidon on
the coins of Corinth, which we have shown to be a copy of the
colossus which stood in the harbour at Cenchreae.

AEGINA.

1.—Paus. II. 29, 6. Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ἐν φῇ μάλιστα
ὀρμίζονται ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτης.

Semi-circular PORT, within it, ship; above, hexastyle temple or colonnade, in the midst of it a door, up to which steps lead.

Æ J. Domna. Sestini, *M. Fontana*, p. 49, 4. Imh. (L I.)

APHRODITE draped, holds branch and apple (Venus Victrix).

Æ Plautilla. Sestini, *M. Fontana*, p. 50, No. 7.

Tortoise.

Æ Auton. B. M. &c.

There still exist at Aegina remains of two harbours (Leake, *Morea*, II. 436), both of which are inclosed by two moles, and either of which would correspond to the representation on the coin. Pausanias mentions both, one as the general harbour, near which was the temple of Aphrodite, the other as the secret harbour, near which was a large theatre. On the coin the building in the background looks less like a temple than a theatre, market, or wharf.

2.—Paus. II. 29, 6. Ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον.

ÆACUS seated as judge of the dead.

Æ Imperial of uncertain city.

Friedländer, *Arch. Z.* 1871, p. 79.

3.—Paus. II. 30, 1. Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνὸν ἐστὶ τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου.

Archaic nude figure of APOLLO right, holds bow and branch.

Æ Auton. B. M. (L II.)

In this case the coins furnish us with a copy of an early work of Aeginetan art. It is distinctive that the legs are represented one in advance of the other: and the anatomy seems to be clearly marked.

4.—Paus. II. 30, 2. Θεῶν δὲ Αἰγινήται τιμῶσιν Ἐκάτην μάλιστα ξίανον δὲ ἔργον Μύρωνος, ὁμοίως ἐν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα.

HECATE with three bodies.

Æ Sept. Severus. *Arch. Z.* 1843, pl. ix. 6. Imh. (L III.)

Plautilla. *St. Florian*, pl. II. 7. B. M.

5.—Paus. II. 30, 3. Πρὸς τὸ δρος τοῦ Πανελληνίου Διὸς ἰοῦσιν ἐστὶν Ἀφαίας ἱερόν.

APHAIA (Britomartis) standing by Zeus; holds arrow and torch.

Æ Caracalla. Sestini, *Mus. Fontana*, pl. II. 7.

This engraving and the description of Sestini are not to be trusted implicitly, especially as Aphaia is represented with a turreted crown, and carries an arrow in a very unusual way.

- 6.—Paus. II. 30, 4. *Τὸ δὲ Πανελλήνιον, ὅτι μὴ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄλλο τὸ ὄρος ἀξιόλογον εἶχεν οὐδέν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν λέγουσιν Δίακόν ποιῆσαι τῷ Δί.*

ZEUS standing by Aphaia, holds thunderbolt and sceptre.

Æ Caracalla. *l.c.*

Zeus striding, holding eagle and thunderbolt.

Æ Sept. Severus. M. S. III. 600, 52.

Domna. B. M. (L IV.)

Caracalla. Mion. II. 148, 38.

- 7.—OTHER TYPES at Ægina :

Hermes carrying ram, facing.

Sept. Sev. Athens. (L V.)

Hermes carrying ram to right.

Plautilla. Vienna. (L VI.)

Small temple, tetrastyle, prostyle.

Sept. Sev. Munich. (L VII.)

Demeter.

Pallas. (The temple of Athene is mentioned by Herodotus, but not by Pausanias.)

Nike.

Two female figures standing.

M. S. III. 601, 56.

Nemesis (?) with cornucopiae.

Poseidon standing.

Bearded terminal figure.

Plautilla. B. M. (L VIII.)

Prow of ship.

B. M.

The type of Hermes carrying a ram (L V. VI.) must almost certainly be a copy of some work of Aeginetan art, such as the statue of the same subject by Onatas, preserved at Olympia: the Olympian statue, however, wore a chlamys and a chiton, whereas the figure on the coins is altogether naked, like that on the coins of Tanagra, which represents the Hermes Criophorus of Calamis. The stretching of arms and legs on the coin VI. is quite characteristic of Aeginetan art.

TROEZEN.

- 1.—Paus. II. 30, 6. *'Αθηνᾶν τε σέβουσι Πολιάδα καὶ Σθηνιάδα ὀνομάζοντες τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ Ποσειδῶνα Βασιλέα ἐπὶ κλησιν καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμα αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπίσημα ἔχει τρῖαιναν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς πρόσωπον.*

Coin, *obv.* head of **ATHENE** bound with taenia only; *rev.* trident.

R Auton. *B.* M. &c. (**M** I. II.)

Æ with helmeted head of Pallas. *B.* M.

The identification of the head on the figured coins as Athene may be disputed, and is doubted by Imhoof. But Pausanias in his statement as to the coins of Troezen must be repeating matter of common notoriety; and he must refer to the coins of the autonomous series, before one side was occupied by the head of an emperor. The head on the silver, **M** I. II., is so bold and strong that it has been taken for that of Apollo; but in some cases it wears an earring, which seems conclusive as to its feminine character. And, if it be feminine, it is more likely, even apart from Pausanias' express statement, to belong to Athene, rather than any other goddess. The absence of the helmet is not unusual in case of early representations of Athene.

2.—Cf. 32, 5. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Σθενιάδος καλουμένης ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀθηνῶς. αὐτὸ δὲ εἰργάσατο τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον Κάλλων Αἰγινήτης.*

CITADEL surmounted by temple (tetrastyle).

Æ Commodus. Arigoni IV. 51, 3. Turin. (**M** III.)

Sept. Severus. *B.* M. On either side olive and cypress. (**M** IV.)

Domna. *M.* S. IV. 271, 208. On either side olive and cypress.

The olive is spoken of by Pausanias, 31, 10; laurel, 31, 8; myrtle, 32, 3: all sacred trees with histories.

Athene (archaic) resembling a Palladium.

Æ Commodus. *B.* M. (**M** V.)

This figure of Pallas may be described in the very words already used in describing that at Cleonae, which we supposed to be copied from the work of Dipoenus and Scyllis. This is evidence, so far as it goes, that Callon adhered to the same general scheme as the Cretan artists; although, of course, we must not press the argument, as the die-sinkers may have intended merely to portray the general type of an archaic Athene, as in **A** XI.

3.—Paus. II. 31, 1. *Ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Τροιζηνίων ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶ Σωτείρας. Cf. 30, 7. Οὗτος (Saron) τῇ Σαρωνίδι τὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτεμίδι ὠκοδόμησεν. 31, 4. Πλησίον δὲ τοῦ θεάτρου Λυκείας ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐποίησεν Ἰππόλυτος.*

ARTEMIS as a huntress.

Æ Sept. Severus. Imh. Holds torch and bow, dog by her pursuing stag. (**M** VI.)

Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 268, 200. Holds torch, dog by her, pursuing stag.

Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 201. Draws arrow from quiver.

Caracalla. Arig. i. 115, 185. Holds arrow and bow, dog pursuing stag.

- 4.—Paus. II. 31, 6. *Τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Θεαρίου κατασκευάσαι μὲν Πιθία ἔφασαν. Cf. 32, 2. Ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐπιβατηρίου, Διομήδους ἀνάθημα.*

APOLLO holding an arrow and leaning on a tripod, around which is twined a serpent.

Æ Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 268, 199.

- 5.—Paus. II. 31, 6. *Τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμῶνος τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ξοάνά ἐστι.*

Archaic figures of the DIOSCURI facing, altar between them.

Æ Commodus. Imh. (M VII.)

This coin-type is valuable as furnishing evidence—probably the only extant evidence—of the style and date of the artist Hermon of Troezen. The Dioscuri stand naked, with long hair, both arms extended before them, not unlike, in attitude, to the Apollo of Canachus, but more primitive. Their proportions seem to be decidedly slight.

- 6.—Paus. II. 31, 10. *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτήρος.*

ZEUS standing, holds eagle and sceptre.

Æ Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 268, 198. Vaillant.

- 7.—Paus. II. 32, 1. *Ἴππολύτῳ δὲ τῷ Θεσέως τέμενός τε ἐπιφανέστατον ἀνεῖται, καὶ ναὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον.*

HIPPOLYTUS as a hunter, on foot, holding spear, and leaning on tree; dog beside him.

Æ Commodus. Fox, *Uncd. Coins*, ix. 100; Leake, *Eur. Gr.* add. 165. (M VIII.)

Hippolytus leading a horse, accompanied by a dog.

Æ Commodus. M. S. iv. 268, 195. Arigoni, II. 32, 228.

Hippolytus with spear and sword before Phædra (or her nurse), who approaches him in attitude of supplication.

Æ Sept. Severus. M. S. iv. 269, 204. Milling. 1831, pl. iv. 22 (who regards the pair as Theseus and Aethra).

- 8.—Paus. II. 32, 3. *Καὶ ναὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Κατασκοπίας. Cf. 32, 6. Ναὸν . . . Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραίας. 32, 7. Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Νυμφίας.*

APHRODITE standing, holds apple in left hand, and lifts her veil with right.

Æ Commodus. Imh. (M IX.)

Domna. M. S. iv. 270, 209. Theup.

This type, the idea of which is taken from statues of Roman times, perhaps that of Arcesilaus, seems to represent Aphrodite Nymphia.

- 9.—Paus. II. 32, 4. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησε μὲν Τιμόθεος, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ οὐκ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀλλὰ εἰκόνα Ἴππολύτου φασὶν εἶναι.

ASKLEPIOS standing at altar, snake-entwined staff in left hand.

Æ Commodus. M. S. IV. 268, 196. Arig. II. 18, 227.

The figure of Asklepios seems, so far as can be judged from the unsatisfactory engraving, to be of the ordinary conventional type; and, therefore, to offer no explanation of Pausanias' curious statement.

- 10.—Paus. II. 32, 4. Καὶ οἰκίαν ἰδὼν οἶδα Ἴππολύτου· πρὸ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν Ἡράκλειος καλουμένη κρήνη.

FOUNTAIN, a pillar with lion sitting thereon, water flowing into basin from between his feet.

Æ Commodus. M. Athens, 4475.8. (M x.)

- 11.—Paus. II. 32, 7. Πέτρα Θησέως ὀνομαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελομένου Θησέως ὑπ' αὐτῇ κρηπῖδας τὰς Ἀιγέως καὶ ξίφος. Cf. 31, 1. Θησεὺς ἡνίκα Ἀστερίωνα τὸν Μίνω καταγωνισάμενος ἀνέστρεψεν.

THESEUS, naked, lifting the rock.

Æ Commodus. B. M. (M xi.)

Sept. Severus. M. S. IV. 269, 205. Wiczay, xxxi. 698.

Geta. B. M.

Philippus, Jun. B. M.

The identity of this type through several reigns may indicate for it an origin in sculpture.

Theseus slaying the Minotaur.

Æ Commodus. M. II. 242, 87. Turin.

- 12.—OTHER TYPES :

Tyche at altar : holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Commodus. B. M. (M xii.)

METHANA.

- 1.—Paus. II. 34, 1. Τοῦ δὲ πολισματος τριάκοντά που στάδια ἀπέχει λουτρά θερμά. φασὶ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Δημητρίου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύοντος, τότε πρῶτον τὸ ὕδωρ φανῆναι.

Head of HEPHAESTUS in pileus.

Æ Auton. Third century. B. M. Imh.

The connexion of Hephaestus with volcanic phenomena such as that recorded in the text is well known.

OTHER TYPES :

Artemis to left, hunting.

Geta. B. M. (M I.)

Artemis about to discharge an arrow.

Sept. Sev. B. M. (M II.)

Poseidon.

Pallas standing, holds Victory and sceptre ; at her feet, altar.

M. Aurel. Imh. (M III.)

Zeus.

Tyche.

Aphrodite, facing, naked to waist, holds tresses with both hands.

Caracalla. Paria. (M IV.)

N.B.—It is curious that Isis was worshipped at Methana, and appears on coins of Mothone ; Artemis was worshipped at Mothone, and appears commonly on coins of Methana.

HERMIONE.

- 1.—Paus. II. 34, 10. Ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἱερὰ αὐτόθι, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς τῇ ἀρχῇ, προελθοῦσι δὲ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. 35, 1. Καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἔχων ἐπὶ δελφίνος.

POSEIDON standing, holds trident, his foot on a dolphin.

Æ J. Domna. M. S. iv. 262, 159, 160. (M. Fontana, 69, 2, 3.)

- 2.—Paus. II. 34, 11. Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ποντίας καὶ Λιμενίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἀγαλμα δὲ λευκοῦ λίθου, μεγέθει τε μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θέας ἄξιον. καὶ ναὸς ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης.

APHRODITE standing, with Eros.

Æ Caracalla. M. S. iv. 263, 162. M. Fontana, 68, 1.

- 3.—Paus. II. 35, 1. Πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου ναὸς Μελαίγιδος.

DIONYSUS standing, holds kantharos and sceptre.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. Dionysus naked.

Geta. B. M. Dionysus draped. (M I.)

- 4.—Paus. II. 35, 3. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Τύχης νεώτατον μὲν λέγουσιν Ἑρμιονεῖς τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν εἶναι, λίθου δὲ Παρίου κολοσσὸς ἔστηκεν.

TYCHE standing, holds rudder and cornucopiae.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. (M II.) Imh. M. S. iv. 263, 167.

Tyche standing, holding patera and cornucopiae, at an altar.

Æ Plautilla. M. S. iv. 264, 168. (Arigoni.)

Tyche (?) seated, crowned by male figure, who holds lance.

Æ Caracalla. M. S. iv. 262, 161. Copenhagen.

Plautilla. M. S. iv. 263, 165. *Sest. Moll. med. gr.* xii. 18.

5.—Paus. II. 35, 4. Τὸ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἱερὸν
Δήμητρός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πρωόνος. Cf. also 35, 6, 8, 11.

Head of DEMETER crowned with corn.

Æ Auton. B. M.

Also ears of corn, and torch.

6.—Paus. II. 35, 6. Τοῖς δὲ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπουσιν ἔπονται
τελείαν ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῦν ἄγοντες διειλημμένην δεσμοῖς τε
καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν ἔτι ὑπὸ ἀγριότητος, κ.τ.λ. (Description
of the Chthonia.)

Cow led by attendant with a rope.

Æ Plautilla. B. M. (M III.)

OTHER TYPES:

Hermes standing.

Æ J. Domna. Mion. II. 239, 74.

Zeus Nikephoros?

Æ Plautilla. M. S. iv. 263, 163.

Cybele.

Æ Plautilla.

ASINE.

1.—Paus. II. 36, 5. Πυθαίως τε Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπέλιπον το
ἱερὸν, καὶ νῦν ἐτι δῆλόν ἐστι.

APOLLO PYTHAEUS clad in himation, a laurel twig in his right
hand, leaning on pillar.

Æ Sept. Severus. Munich. (M I.)

Plautilla. Mion. II. 224, 75.

2.—OTHER TYPES:

Asklepios.

Snake.

Hermes (?).

Draped female figure?

Fortuna, holds rudder and cornucopiae.

Æ Imh. (M II.)

LERNA and NAUPLIA, Coins of Argos.

1.—Paus. II. 37, 2. Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαλμα ἐπὶ θαλάσση λίθου.
Cf. II. 19, 6; 19, 7; 20, 8; 23, 8; 25, 1; 38, 1.

APHRODITE standing, holds in right hand a fold of her garment;
before her, a dolphin.

Æ Anton. Pius. Imh.

L. Verus. Imh. (L LI.) (Above cited under Argos.)

- 2.—Paus. II. 37, 4. Τῆς δὲ Ἀμυμώνης πέφυκεν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ
πλάτανος· ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τὴν ὕδραν τραφῆναι τῇ πλατάνῳ
φασίν, κ.τ.λ.

HERAKLES slaying the Lernaean hydra.

Æ Hadrian. Imh. (M I.)

- 3.—Paus. II. 38, 2. Οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῆς (of Nauplia)
Ναύπλιος Ποσειδῶνος λεγόμενος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης εἶναι
... καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν καὶ λιμένες εἰσὶν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ.
Cf. above, also 37, 1.

AMYMONE pursued by Poseidon.

Æ Anton. Pius. Imh. (M II.) *Choix*, pl. II. 6. Overbeck, *Poseidon*, vi. 32.

THE PERGAMENE FRIEZE.

(*Concluded from Vol. iv. p. 135.*)

IN the reconstruction of the Pergamene frieze from the fragments which have come to the Berlin Museum much progress has been recently made, and it is now possible to follow—in respect of some of the slabs—a tolerably clear order to which certain mechanical or external signs in the stones themselves would appear to point. And this is a clue more helpful than that which the affinity of style or the natural relations of the figures can afford. It is partly on such grounds as these that the slab on which Dionysos appears has been assigned to the south-east corner of the staircase, and it has been conjectured¹ that near to this, perhaps immediately on its right, was one on which was seen the form of a winged god whose left arm holds a shield, and whose right arm, wielding a sword, is swung over his head against a fallen antagonist.

The giant has sunk on his knee, and is raising in supplication or defence his left arm that dimly appears through the shaggy fell that envelopes it. A right hand grasping a stone, the fragments of a knee just lifted from the ground, are placed beneath, and probably belong to him. The drapery of the god is arranged for dramatic effect, as the exomis leaves the right side bare, so that the action gains force and clearness of expression. The composition can make no claim to originality, its forms are highly sculptural, and had long been a tradition of sculpture: a metope on the east front of the Parthenon (*Michaelis*, No. xiii.), on which a scene from the gigantomachy is represented, is the earliest source to which we can directly trace this motive. The grouping of the two figures is clear and simple; in a single detail, in the rendering of the sword-hilt

¹ A more recent discovery makes this improbable.

of the god, we can illustrate the leaning of the Pergamene school to the picturesque. However we are to name the god, his features are remarkable, for his wild hair, deep eye-sockets, and swollen forehead are the traits that properly belong to his antagonists, being here presented somewhat more faintly, but giving an impression very different from that of the impassive reserve of the Olympians.

It is plain that we see here a god of the wilder elements, a god of the winds with wings lightly and beautifully wrought at his shoulders, who, though in some ways akin to the forces of the giant-world,¹ was by a necessity of the myth regarded as warring against the evil powers of his own domain. The features the wings and the warlike action speak decisively of Boreas who is seen also, according to the most probable interpretation, on the crater of Nikosthenes in the British Museum with wings attached to his side, combating with the gods against the giants. Once more the Pergamene sculptor is using inherited forms: for the type of Boreas had appeared on vases that belong or go back to the fifth century,² had appeared on the bronze-relief brought from Rhodes, showing the capture of Oreithyia, a work of the Alexandrine period, but probably earlier than the altar-frieze; and the type survives in a later age, for instance, on a Roman sarcophagus,³ where two youths are seen at the corners personifying the winds. In stating the relation between the figure of Boreas and the other personages of the scene, we can find in mythology no certain clue to guide us, for he has no necessary and well-marked affinities with other deities: and as early probably as the sixth century he enjoyed an independent cult in various localities; in Arcadia, a land where the particular legend of the gigantomachy, together with a certain simple nature-worship had taken root, we hear of the sacred precincts and cult of Boreas near Megalopolis.⁴ Now a

¹ Such affinity may explain the representation of Boreas on the chest of Cypselus as serpent-footed, for the serpent is the symbol of the powers of the nether world. Compare with this the vase from Palermo (*Arch. Zeit.* 1872, taf. 45), where a winged youth with sword in hand, following a maiden, appears to be Boreas; *vide* Lucian, *Tim.*

54, τὰς ὀφρὺς ἀνατείνας, τιτανῶδες βλέπων, αὐτοβορέας.

² Jahn, *Vasensammlung*, No. 376; Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iii. 152.

³ *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1854, pl. 8, 9.

⁴ Paus. 8, 36, 6.

common store of myth brings Pergamon into contact with Arcadia. But it would be hazardous thus to decide whence originated the religious idea, if there was any, by which the Pergamene sculptor was moved who gave to Boreas this independent place in the representation. At his right we see the mutilated form of a goddess rushing towards the right on a giant whose back is shown us—whose neck seems bent forward, and arm uplifted to shield his head or in sign of submission. As the goddess presents no characteristic mark, she must remain unknown; we might suggest that she is Thyia, though the proof that Thyia is a wind-goddess¹ is by no means complete.

There is far less doubt attaching to the character of the groups that are placed in the Museum in juxtaposition to the last. On each side of a corner we see deities combating with giants, of whom some are apparently powers of the water. The action, so far as it is preserved in this part of the monument, is broken up into four groups, one more manifold than another, but each with a certain completeness in itself. The fragments are sufficient to disclose the scene on the left of the corner. A goddess is brandishing a torch against a naked giant who is winged, but otherwise of human figure, and who is threatening her with his right arm. Beneath him is a fallen comrade, who in expression is one of the most remarkable in the whole brotherhood, for in the face which is sinking downward over his arm to the earth, there is some trace of the beauty of the more youthful type, and the features resemble those of him who has fallen before Athene—but the beauty is distorted and the countenance disfigured with the rage and hatred that is expressed very powerfully in the corners of the mouth, and in the swollen forehead and eyebrow.² The serpent-nature is not yet dead in him; as one coil is threatening an enemy on the left.³

In the person of the giant who stands above him, slightly

¹ *Vide* Paus. x. vi. 4; Herod. 7, 178; Preller, *Griech. Myth.* 2, 150.

² Trendelenburg compares the head of the Ludovisi Medusa; the structure of the heads, the cast of features is to some extent the same, but the expression of the Ludovisi work is of an altogether different sentiment.

³ Claudian's description (*Gigantom.* 89) may have been borrowed from such a scene.

Ille viro toto moriens, serpentibus
imis
Vivit adhuc stridore ferox et parte
rebelli
Victorem post fata petit.

retreating, but threatening his approaching enemy with a weapon (probably a stone) in his right hand, there are hints that speak of his nature; at the outer edge of his wings appears a prickly growth, and something of the same on his ears: two small horns rise above his forehead, and by these marks the sculptor has personified the force of water or the sea-storms. It has already been mentioned that such personifications can be illustrated by Tzetzes' list of names, and on many other monuments besides¹ the Pergamene, the giants' forms or parts of their forms disclose the same thought; on a vase from Volci, now in the British Museum, the work of a time when the distinction between Typhon and the giants was disappearing, a fishy growth is seen on his snake-limbs.

Whoever the goddess may be who is confronting him, the idea of the group is plainly the contest of natural forces: for the goddess herself is brandishing a torch, the natural weapon of Hekate and her company, and is therefore one of the powers of the nether world, who play a proper part in the myth as the beneficent deities of fertility. But is she one of the chief figures in this circle of divinities, or a subordinate minister only? Her form and her position in the frieze can partly decide. Her finely-shaped limbs are ample, and in her movement, as she sways the torch in her right hand, there is confident power but no violence. And in the expression of her face there is a striking reserve and purity; her forehead is encircled with a stephane, and the hair falls from a knot luxuriantly upon her shoulders. The bracelet on her right wrist is one among many marks of the elaborate elegance of the work—an elegance which appears also in the soft rendering of the silken drapery. Her main garment is a single chiton that falls to her feet, its flowing lines are broken and its weight supported by a mantle that passes over her shoulders, and is bound round beneath her breasts for a girdle. The quality of the stuff is very distinctly shown in the delicate lines that appear within the main folds which the movement produces in the drapery. The treatment is dramatic, in accordance with the older tradition derived from

¹ M. d. I. v. 12, the figure of a snake-footed giant, with fins about his waist. Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, p. 395. Compare also a relief from the

theatre of Catania. The later ideal of Triton recalls many features of the Pergamene giants

the style of the fifth century, and at the same time naturalistic, in accordance with the style of the later Greek art. Throughout all parts of the frieze, we see in the rendering of the drapery these two principles combined. Nor is there anything very distinctive in its arrangement upon the person of the goddess in Group *A*; it is rather the richness and detail that is remarkable. Now the character of the face, the ornaments around the head and wrists, the torch which she carries, the rich drapery¹—all these are proper to Demeter or Proserpine, between whom the works of later art find difficulty in distinguishing. Either the mother or daughter may be represented by the figure which we are considering:² for if they were brought into the action at all, they must have been in the neighbourhood of Hekate and Artemis, to whom they are closely related in earlier, and still more in later mythology. Now the figure of Hekate is the centre of eleven frieze-slabs which decorate this corner. Of the goddesses in her company one is unmistakably Artemis, and there are but two others that come into question—the one that we are considering (*A*), and her neighbour (*B*),³ both placed on the left of the corner, in immediate vicinity to Hekate who is on the right. That these are not lesser goddesses subordinate to Hekate, the elaborateness of the work, the large treatment of their forms, their position on the frieze, would seem to testify. Might they be regarded as certain symbolical⁴ figures proper to the lower world? But not only are all the ordinary marks of such beings wanting here, but it would also be surprising if the less necessary and less dramatic personages were presented, and the great goddesses were absent from this company.

By elimination we are brought to conclude that no other of the Olympians belong to this place but Demeter and Proserpine.

¹ This would seem to be an essential mark both of the mother and daughter, except on some sarcophagi showing the rape of Proserpine, when her body is half uncovered. *Vide* Claudian's poetical embellishments of Proserpine's dress.—*Rapt. Pros.* 41—54.

² Trendelenburg would see in these two figures the Genetyllides, but we know very little of their characteristics,

nor are his arguments very satisfactory.

³ The letters are those attached to the figures in the *Beschreibung der pergamensichen Bildwerke*.

⁴ Apollodorus (i. 6) mentions the Moerae among the combatants, and they may have been seen on our frieze; but the goddess (*A*) who is armed with the torch, or (*B*) who is followed by the hound, cannot at least be one of them.

According to an opinion expressed by Stark,¹ the presence of Demeter in the combat is unknown, and because of her close connection with Gaea would be unsuitable. But this theory, however natural it may seem, is disproved almost conclusively by the instance of the Louvre amphora and its group of deities, among whom the goddess wielding a torch and sceptre, and crowned with vine-leaves, and wearing a stephane like figure *A*, can scarcely be other than Demeter.² No doubt the identity of Demeter with the earth is an ancient conception, by which the myths that attach to her can be explained; and this conception is clearly expressed in Euripides,³ and carried still further by a late writer,⁴ who mentioned Ceres as the mother of the giants and as prompting them to rebellion. But as the mother of Persephone, as a goddess of the nether world, as Demeter Thesmophoros, whose cult was so closely fostered by the mysteries, she has become detached from Gaea, as Apollo has become detached from Helios, in spite of the common underlying idea.

The character of Gaea is mainly physical, and she belongs to an older cycle of theology; the personality of Demeter is more vivid, the part she plays in the drama of mythology more distinct, and so close are her relations in legend and in cult with the rest of Olympians, that her participation in the action of the frieze is not surprising. The same objections that Stark urges might be urged against Hera, yet in some accounts and in some representations of the battle Hera appears. In fact, in face of the magnitude of the work and the multitude of the figures required, the Pergamene sculptors could not afford to forego any part of their material, and they might bring many personages into the scene, with whom the ordinary myth did not deal.

If the suggestion that figure *A* is Demeter be correct, one may explain the absence of the veil as due to the necessities of the action, and that she confronts a giant of the sea may remind us of the tradition in Pausanias⁵ that connects Demeter

¹ *Gigantomachie auf antiken reliefs.*

² This is M. Ravaisson's explanation.
Monuments grecs, 1875.

³ *Bacch.* 275:—

τὰ πρῶτ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, Δημήτηρ θεὰ,
γῆ δ' ἐστὶ.

⁴ *Myth. Vatic.* i. fab. 2. The whole account is confused mythology.

⁵ *Paus.* 8, 25, 42.

with Poseidon. It may further be asked, in what character is the goddess doing battle with the giants? For at this stage in the development of the myth some moral or physical idea was probably present to the minds of the artists who treated it. As Thesmophoros, she might be maintaining the law and order of the Olympian régime, but her companionship with Hekate, the torch which she bears as her weapon and emblem, show her rather as one of the goddesses of the lower world, whose realm is endangered by the uprising of the giant powers of the sea. What special tradition of artistic forms the sculptor was here following is not easy to decide. The accepted ideal of Demeter is probably the creation of Praxiteles; but one cannot discover in the work before us any marks of Praxitelean style: the face in some of its forms is peculiar: its contour is full and large, the throat is comparatively short, and the lips are hardly so protruding as we see them in the heads of many other of the goddesses.

On the next slab (*B*)¹, a goddess who resembles in her ample drapery the former goddess is hurrying forward to give the death-stroke to a giant who has sunk helplessly before her. She appears to be clutching him by the hair, and to be wresting his whole body backwards in order to plunge her weapon into his breast. This would seem to be a sword, as the fragment of a female hand holding a sword-hilt seems to fit aptly to this place. Her foot is bearing down upon his thigh, and the action of the foot and the hand is a very common arrangement in earlier and later works,² especially in representations of this subject. If there is reason for naming the goddess in figure *A*, Demeter, then the goddess who comes between her and Hekate can be none other than Persephone, whose relations with Hekate are so intimate. The mere appropriateness of arrangement could not tell us which of the two on slabs *A* and *B* is the daughter: but, assuming that the two goddesses were brought into this part of the frieze, I think that slab *B*, more probably than slab *A* contains the figure of Proserpine. For though little difference can be discerned in the size and fulness of the limbs, yet in the second figure there is less sedateness in the

¹ This is proved to be a corner slab by the marks of the mechanical connection between *B* and *C*.

² It is seen on the peplos of the Dresden Pallas; the instances from coins are fairly numerous.

drapery, and more violence in the action than in the first; the mantle in large folds streams behind her, and her right shoulder and part of her right side and chest are left bare, this freer and looser system of drapery being often used to distinguish the daughter from the mother. Again she is assisted by the hound who is fastening upon the serpent limb of the giant: the hound is the animal sacred to Hekate, and thus more appropriate to Persephone, who may, so to speak, be regarded as her double, than to Demeter. Lastly, if, as seems almost certain, she is here armed with the sword, we can illustrate this once more from the vase of the Louvre, where the figure for whom the rich dress and vine-crown and vicinity to Demeter recommend the name of Persephone is wielding a sword against an enemy whom she is clutching by the hair and attacking so as to recall the action of the Pergamene goddess. If this then is Persephone, she is combating a giant who belongs to the same element as the enemy of Demeter. His lower limbs are best preserved, and on the serpent-limb which the hound is attacking, is seen a scaly growth which speaks of his origin from the sea. His upper parts are in a very fragmentary condition, but have been skilfully reconstructed. And it can now be seen that his right arm is stretched forward so as to bring his right hand a little above his head, perhaps to show submission or to check the sword, while his left arm is stretched behind him, and endeavouring to thrust away the hound.¹ The fragment of the head that is preserved with the hair and ear proves that his countenance was turned away from her. Between Group *A* and Group *B* there is a striking break in the continuity of the composition, as the goddesses turn their backs on each other and pass in opposite directions to the fight. Does such arrangement touch on the old tradition of single combats? This explanation would clash with the purpose of the whole frieze, in which by more or less subtle devices the single combat is joined with the whole. The intention is rather to connect in a striking and visible way the groups on each side of the corner, which are plainly connected in idea.² Somewhere in this company must have appeared the

¹ The ingenuity of this arrangement, which thus presents the greater part of his back *en face*, is noted by Trendelenburg, *Die Gigantomachie des per-*

gamenischen Allars, p. 65.

² The same principle of composition is seen on the Parthenon frieze.

figure of Asterie, the mother of Hekate, whose presence is attested by an inscription. But no surviving fragment gives us any clue, nor could we say precisely what the attributes are by which we could know Asterie, whose name proclaims her to be one of the powers of light, but who rarely, if ever, has been the theme of art.

There is no group in the whole frieze which for mythologic interest and workmanship deserves more attention than Group C. The triple-shaped Hekate is here in dangerous conflict with one of the most striking of the giants. Her back is turned to the spectator, but her outside head as well as her middle head is seen in profile: of the farthest head only the back part is seen as though her third form were intended to be facing some other combatant. Each of her three right hands has its special weapon—the one holding a torch—the others a spear and a sword; of her left arms only two are seen, upon one is her shield, in the hand of the other is the hilt of the sheath. Facing her, and raising a rock over his head¹ against her, is a bearded giant whose serpent-thigh is seized by her hound, while the head of the reptile is clutching fiercely at the shield-rim. The dexterity is remarkable with which all the various elements are gathered into a concentrated whole—and the skill shown in the composition is equalled by the skill in the details: the serpent's head is a masterpiece for the expression of animal rage, shown chiefly in the prominent eye, which gives to this and to many of the reptile heads on the frieze the distinctness of a separate type. Perhaps there is no group on the frieze which contains an idea so difficult to render as that which is the leading idea here; for the problem of showing on a frieze relief a three-bodied shape in clear outlines, and in free dramatic movement is almost hopeless. The figure of the triple Geryon² caused the same perplexity to the earlier vase-painters, who represented him at first as of three distinct forms, failing to give to them any unity more than a merely external one; the bodies act and are posed independently each of the other. In the more advanced art, we find him triple-formed only so far as the waist. But in such combinations the task of the painter was simpler than that of

¹ The lower arms are lost, but there are fragments of hands grasping a large stone, placed above his head, and very

probably belonging to him.

² *Vide* Duc de Luynes, *Descr. de Vases peints*, pl. 8.

the sculptor; and the sculptor himself was freer when the goddess was to be wrought for temple-worship, or as a motionless object. In the triple image of Hekate by Alcamenes, who probably arranged the three forms back to back,¹ there was nothing strikingly incongruous.

But if one tries to conceive such an image in energetic movement and action, the incongruity becomes ludicrous. Yet after the time of Alcamenes, this type remained predominant for Hekate, and was treated without difficulty, for the forms were generally given in repose. On the Vatican sarcophagus, which in many details is a copy of the Pergamene work, the goddess is of single shape, but the sculptor of the altar-frieze, in his love of variety or of accepted tradition, has failed to express his conception clearly. Are we to understand that there are here three whole bodies, the one shown allusively behind the other, or that the triplicity is partial only,² three trunks with three pairs of arms being united at the waist? This latter treatment is possible enough, and certain epithets, and at least one work of art, would seem to suggest and illustrate it.

More difficult and more important than the question of form is the question of the religious idea here embodied. It is not mere chance or the necessity of filling a large surface with a multitude of figures that has brought Hekate into the frieze. She is on occasions a goddess of battle, and in the description of the combat by Apollodorus she is mentioned—perhaps with design—in the same context as Dionysos. There is no proof that a special cult of Hekate existed in Pergamon,³ but coins and inscriptions prove her divinity to have been in high repute in Phrygia, Galatia, and Pamphylia: and she could hardly have been absent here from the company of the gods. In what aspect

¹ Paus. 2, 30, 2: *τρία ἐποίησε προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις*. These words might indeed describe three shapes, arranged as in Geryon front-wise; but the common later tradition, and the significance of such figures at the three cross-roads, bears out the other interpretation.

² Overbeck, *Geschichte d. griech. Plast.* ii. p. 236, adopts this view without question; but he is wrong in con-

sidering this as an unique instance of such a rendering. *Vide* Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, cccvii. 34 and 36.

³ In Arcadia, connected so closely with Pergamon in religion and legend, the worship of Despoina was supreme (Paus. 8, 37, 6); Koppen, *Die dreigestaltete Hekate* identifies Despoina with Hekate (page 6).

then is she shown us on the frieze? Whatever character or power she possessed besides, her character as a deity of the nether world was naturally prominent at this time, and is expressed here though without undue emphasis, and without the terrifying traits with which conventional literary tradition had invested the figure.¹ Her head has many features in common with the heads of the other goddesses, and the outlines of the face remind us of the goddess in group *A*; but the forehead protruding in the centre, the forward fall of the hair, the earnest and fixed expression, and the solemnity given by the shadows into which the profiles are cast—these are marks peculiar and appropriate to the chthonian goddess.

According to Welcker, in the later tradition, she is nothing more: the superstition, the ghostly legend, the magic rites that had become attached to her name, had obscured the earlier Hesiodic conception, of a Hekate all powerful on earth, sea, and in the sky, and beneficent to men in the various relations of life (Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 567). But it is a question whether this idea, which was current at least as early as the early part of the sixth century, has disappeared so completely as Welcker supposes. Though her cult was perhaps at no age so extended or so supreme as in the passage of the Theogony it is represented to be, yet there are hints in the later tradition that Hekate continued to be, or came again to be something more than a goddess of the lower world. The hound and the torch which are her constant attributes belong to the moon-goddess: the former is the ἄγαλμα of 'Εκάτη Φωσφόρος—and the torch is the 'spear of the wayfaring Hekate'—τὸ δὲ 'Ολύμπου πωλοῦσα φέρει. In fact, both the literary tradition from Sophocles onward, as well as the art of the Alexandrine and later ages, is prone to combine the person of Hekate with Artemis, Selene, and Persephone.

This is seen in the fragment of the *Πιζοτόμοι*, in *Ion* (1049), where the chorus appeal to the *Εἰνοδία θυγάτηρ Δήμητρος*, who appears identical here with Hekate and Selene; and the

¹ Generally speaking such traits are found more in literature than in art; on a vase from Ruvo (*Bullet. Napol.* 1853, tav. 6), serpents are seen on her forehead.

² Sophocles, *Πιζοτόμοι*, fr. 490 ed. Nauck. In the Pergamene frieze, the hound by her side is not at all the *λυσσῶπις σκυλάκη* (*Orph. Argon.* 975) of the infernal goddess.

scholiast on Theocritus, 2, 12, describes Hekate as triple-formed, with golden sandals and white mantle, a poppy in her hands and kindled torches, and a calathos (the emblem of fruitfulness), on her head. Occasionally also the names of Artemis and Hekate are indifferently used,¹ and although little can be based on the authority of Scholia or Orphic hymns that reveal the intention of artificial unification, yet the testimony of the classical age, as we have seen, serves to show that there is no such gulf as Welcker supposes between the Hesiodic and the later idea of the goddess; her significance in literature, and the prevalence of her worship in Aegina, Sicily, Phrygia and Galatia, may be due to the influence of the mysteries, and to her close connection with Persephone. The titles in the inscription found on the basis of the Capitoline statue designate a being essentially the same as the Titan-born Hekate of the Theogony; and by a Gallic tribe of Galatia prayers were offered to her, as all-powerful, *ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν καρπῶν*. In another respect too the later tradition harmonises with the Hesiodic account, in which Hekate is said to hold power on sea as on land. In the passage from the *Ion* above referred to, the Nereids are given her as companions, and the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, 4. 826, speaks of her and Phorbas as the mother of Scylla.² Now the action in the Pergamene frieze is a curious illustration of this obscure affinity of Hekate with the element of the sea: the head of the giant whom she is attacking has been mistaken—it has already been remarked—for the head of Poseidon; and the forms of the face, and the expression, are such as to leave no doubt that the sculptor wished to represent a giant of the water, while he was able to omit the more special and conventional marks, because beings of this element were unmistakably presented on the neighbouring slabs.

Throughout the whole frieze one may notice that the serpent-footed giants, whose forms symbolise their origin from some one of the elements, are generally armed with natural weapons only, the stone or the trunk, and not with the spear or sword. If we may assume that it is design³ and not caprice which has led

¹ Καὶ γὰρ Ἀρτεμις καλεῖται καὶ Φυλακή καὶ Δαδούχος καὶ Φωσφόρος καὶ χθονία. *Schol. Theocr.* 2. 12.

² The Despoiina of Arcadia is the daughter of Poseidon and Demeter.—

Paus. 8, 37, 6.

³ In another part of the frieze a sea deity is designedly opposed to a giant of the sea; another instance, which may appear capricious, will be noticed later on.

the sculptor to confront Hekate with this distinct group of antagonists, and to combine her with Artemis, Boreas, Demeter, and Persephone, we might say that some part of the Hesiodic idea, which perhaps had never been entirely lost, reappears in this Pergamene work. And surely the triple shape can only be explained in reference to this idea of a goddess whose divinity is of many elements. It may perhaps be believed that this shape which Alcamenes made the canonical type for art, was due merely to her position at the cross-roads, and the exigencies of such a situation; but it is certain that she had guarded the cross-roads long before such a shape had been assigned her, and it is incredible that Alcamenes, a pupil and master of the most ideal school, should have been influenced by such considerations in creating the type of a divinity. Another view has been adopted by Welcker on the authority of Cornutus and Cleomedes, that the triplicity symbolises the three phases of the moon—but such authority is not very trustworthy in questions of mythological symbolism; and the well-known bronze statuette of the Capitoline Museum has some attributes that do not belong at all to a moon-goddess. If we look at the other instances, where a single divinity appears with a multiplicity of, or duality of, parts, it is surely the right explanation which refers these to a double or manifold nature belonging to more than one sphere: this is certainly the explanation of the double-headed Zeus, of the Zeus *τριόφθαλμος*, and probably of the double-headed Boreas.

So also in the Orphic hymn quoted by Eusebius,¹ the three forms of Hekate are regarded as signs of her power over three elements: *τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα*. And in this instance the theory of the Orphic systematizer may accord with a genuine belief of the fifth century, B.C. It is possible of course that the tradition in the Theogony, lingering perhaps in obscure allusions, had faded, as Welcker and Bergk² suppose, from the general popular belief: but it may well have revived under the influence of the mysteries, to which Stark ascribes the later prominence of the goddess, and which disclose a tendency to widen the sphere and nature of the beings of the Dionysiac circle. But the impulse seen in literature to unify the various figures in the religious

¹ *Præp. Ev.* 4, 23.

² *Gr. Litteratur geschichte*, i. p. 984.

belief, though it reacted on art, was checked by the artistic craving for a variety of types; and figures which are regarded as kindred or even identical remain distinct in sculpture. So that we find a triple-shaped Hekate by the side of Artemis and Persephone—and the tautology is natural.

It is difficult to say how far the Pergamene work reproduced the style of earlier representations or influenced the later. For until the discovery of our frieze, the form of the triple-shaped Hekate existed only in statuettes, coins, and reliefs. It may at least be said with certainty, that the Pergamene sculptor has borrowed nothing from Alcamenes but the main conception which the latter had made traditional; for neither the disposition of the drapery, nor the youth of the forms, nor the rendering of the flesh, recalls the style of the Pheidian age.¹ And the motives of the figure are probably original, inasmuch as for the first time the goddess was presented in violent movement. We see her on the Vatican relief energetically engaged in the same scene brandishing two torches against a giant; but though the Pergamene frieze has supplied many motives to the carver of the relief, the two works do not agree in the figure of Hekate; on the smaller monument, not only is she of single shape and veiled, but the forms are fuller, and the whole effect is less fantastic and more solemn. Under the Roman empire the cult of Hekate grew in importance; we are not able to ascribe to the Pergamene figure any direct influence upon later religious belief, but what is discerned in Graeco-Roman art is seen in this part of the frieze, a loss of the purer and clearer forms of sculpture.

The next scene on the right (slab *D*), is the combat of Artemis, connected skilfully with the former, as the skirts of Hekate's dress are seized from behind by a serpent belonging to a giant who has already fallen before Artemis. The goddess, whose body is now almost restored by a skilful combination of the small fragments, is standing bow in hand above the dying and the dead; the bow is missing, but from the tension in the crooked fingers of the right hand, we see that the string was at full stretch. She is confronting a naked giant of perfect human shape, who is armed in Homeric fashion with helmet, shield,

¹ One might conjecture that the work of Scopas (Paus. 2, 22, 7) has influenced the Pergamene sculptor.

and the spear which he levels against her. Perhaps in no other group of the frieze are the forms so sculpturesque, or of such high interest as these; for the shape and movement of the giant are conspicuous for symmetry, lithe strength, and freedom; and in the body of Artemis a rare delicacy and suppleness appear.

It has been said that the action appears to be for the moment arrested, as though both were pausing in admiration of each other. If this motive, which the remarkable beauty of the giant may have suggested, were really intended here, the sculptor would have had in his mind the tradition of the enamoured Orion, who is, as it is thought, represented here facing the goddess. It is true that romantic episodes are frequently found in the later literary and artistic representations of the gigantomachy, and such a treatment of the subject might be expected in Alexandrine art. The cylix of Aristophanes shows us a young giant sinking down unarmed and unresisting before Artemis, and there is a pathetic, perhaps an amorous, expression in his face. On the Louvre amphora we see a child Eros seated on the horses of Ares and drawing a tiny bow. Such motives would appeal to later Roman art and literature; in the Greek fragment attributed to Claudian, the only weapons which Aphrodite brings to the contest are her smiles and other charms; and the spirit of the scene described by Themistius is the same, in which a giant is represented sinking before the first glance of Love. But in this respect the Pergamene work is superior to the prevalent taste: for the action is serious throughout. I have failed to discover any trace of the suggested sentiment, or any hint of arrested movement in the goddess or in the young warrior, who seems on the alert for the contest, and in the middle of his stride.

The fixed regard which each casts on the other serves only to heighten the impression of the momentous contest, and is a special mark of faces rendered in the Lysippean style. The whole form of Orion—to accept this name for convenience¹—recalls the style of Lysippus in the slimness of the proportions, in the naturalistic treatment of the flesh, the tension of the muscles, and especially in the comparatively small head and the

¹ There is no real reason for so calling him; the name of Orion is not found in any account of the gigan-

tomachy, nor have the legends concerning him anything to do with this tradition.

clearly-marked cheek-bones. His limbs show a certain fineness of athletic training, and the only marks which he possesses of the type to which he belongs are the thick wavy hair, the rather deep eye-sockets, and the rather mobile features. Artemis appears in the character of a huntress, wearing a short woollen chiton which leaves the left shoulder bare, and is bound around her waist by a scarf that is drawn across the breast.¹ On the vase of Ruvo her equipment is almost the same; on the cylix of Aristophanes and on the Louvre amphora, she is armed with the torch, the proper weapon of the Artemis Phosphorus, though at the same time she carries the bow on her shoulders, and her guise is on the whole that of the huntress. The result is that on both these latter works, her person is somewhat overloaded with attributes; on the Pergamene frieze her character is simply marked—and as she is opposed to an antagonist armed in the ordinary fashion of the hoplite, she also bears a weapon of real war.

Her features are fresh and delicate, and do not conform so nearly to the Pergamene type, as those of the other goddesses: they have not the ordinary fulness, nor does the forehead protrude much in the middle above the eyes. The whole contour rather approaches the oval; the lines about the mouth remind us slightly of the treatment of Praxiteles. The hair is drawn back so as fully to reveal the face, and is bound up in a high knot behind; two small locks fall upon the forehead crescent-wise. Her presence on the frieze requires no comment or explanation, for before and after this date she is commonly found in representations of this myth, and we can see directly a close connection between this Pergamene figure and the Artemis on the Mattei relief, though in the later work her form has less movement, and her feet are more firmly set to bear the strain of the action. The three vases to which I have already referred, on which she is found, are considerably earlier than the altar; but in the literature or art of the fifth or sixth century, Artemis is rarely² or never assigned any share in the action, nor at any time is her presence prominent. But in kindred myths, such

¹ Claudian (*Rapt. Proserp.* 234) speaking of the 'geminus cinctus' of Diana, may refer to some such arrangement.

² Trendelenburg gives the name of Artemis to the figure called Hera by Heydemann on the vase from Altamura.

as the slaying of Tityos, and the death of the Aloades, and in one tradition of the Titanomachy, if we can accept the statement of Hyginus, fab. 150, she plays a leading part. Touching the question as to the school which created this type of Artemis little can be said. There is of course nothing original in the main design of the Pergamene figure; the action and pose of the goddess here is seen also in some representations of the death of the Niobids and of Tityos, and is so natural and obvious that it must have frequently occurred where she was shown in combat with an enemy. It is repeated with much resemblance even of details in the small bronze in Naples,¹ though there the arrow has left the string, and the action is nearly over. But there is no representation of the Gigantomachy which serves to illustrate the Pergamene Artemis: and it would be idle to try to find the prototype in a supposed group at Delphi of Athene, Apollo, and Artemis. It will be sufficient to say here that if the Artemis of Versailles is rightly regarded as a copy of the Delphic statue, then the Delphic statue was no model for the eyes of the Pergamene sculptor; for the Artemis of our frieze resembles the Louvre work only in the dress and in such characteristics of form and expression as belong to the nature of the goddess; they differ in the movement, in the aim of the representation, and in the workmanship. The influence of Lysippus is not to be supposed as present here, for he is not known to have done anything for the creation of the type of Artemis, it was Praxiteles who fixed the younger ideal of Leto, and the children of Leto. And even before his generation, Strongylion, the pupil of Myron, had carved a statue which represented the goddess—perhaps for the first time in sculpture—moving rapidly forward with hostile purpose.

On slab *D* of the frieze between the figures of Artemis and the opposing giant, which give the limits of the scene, there is much interesting detail. With the right foot of the goddess upon his breast lies a fallen giant of human form, raising his left arm to his head in the manner of the dying Niobid at Munich; his hand wrought with exquisite softness and truth appears just beneath her foot, and the loosening fingers tell pathetically of the last moments of consciousness. And again by the feet of 'Orion,' and half-covered by his shield, is a

¹ Müller, D. d. a. K. 2, 158.

conquered giant, older than the other and serpent-footed, who may have been mortally wounded by the arrows of Artemis, and whose neck is being mangled by the teeth of her hound. He has fallen sideways upon his left arm so as to front the spectator, while his right hand is raised over his head, and is convulsively tearing out the eye of the animal which torments him. There is more here than an interesting episode: for this is the giant whose serpent-head is attacking Hekate on the left, and we are able better to feel the connection between the different parts of the frieze.

A concentration of interest on the central figures, the careful preservation of the continuity of the action,¹ repletion of details along the basement and in the background, are marks of Pergamene relief style, and clearly illustrated on these slabs.

On the right of Artemis is another goddess whose weapon is the torch, and who therefore belongs to the family of deities that are grouped at one of the corners of the frieze. She is striding against an antagonist of whom no intelligible fragments remain, and as the form of the goddess herself is not perfectly preserved, it is hard to gain a clear conception of the manner of the contest. Her torch is aimed low, and it is probable that her enemy has sunk down before her. We might believe that she is none other than Leto, who—as I have mentioned—was present on the frieze, and who would be appropriately placed here; but fragments, of which a drawing has been sent to Berlin, have been found recently at Pergamon, showing a figure of a goddess who is said to be Leto and who is armed with a spear.

The upper torso of a very slim goddess equipped with the bow, and girt round the waist with a scarf, may be supposed to belong to a nymph in the following of Artemis.

There can be little doubt that the figure of Apollo appeared in the vicinity of this scene. But it has been suggested that immediately on the right of Artemis and her kindred goddesses another group found its place, composed of three combatants—a winged goddess, and a young god who is wrestling with a lion-

¹ Another principle is seen in the smaller reliefs discovered at Pergamon, which will be described later.

headed giant (Fig. 1). The only reason for believing that the two latter are to be placed near Apollo is the similarity of workmanship which suggests that the two groups are the work of the same hand. And on the back of the giant the doubtful fragments of a wing are seen which certainly does not spring from his shoulders, but which might naturally belong to

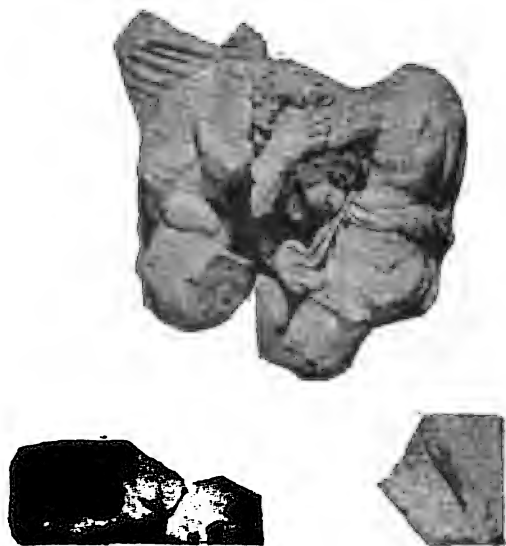


FIG. 1.

the goddess, whose head and upper body has been skilfully constructed out of eighteen pieces, and who would then be standing close behind him, and leaning forward to deliver a blow with a sword or spear. It is difficult to decide the personality of this winged figure. The face is large and oval—and the head shows faint traces of a diadem, but is too mutilated to afford a clue. It would be easy to name her Nike; we have already seen a winged Nike in attendance on Athene, and the broken torso of a female charioteer is probably part of another, whose charge was the chariot of Zeus. It is certainly not uncommon to find many Nikae in the same scene; but there is no precedent for the representation of one in active combat

by the side of Apollo. The winged goddess may of course be Iris, and her presence in this place would be explicable enough, if the god who is grasping the head of the giant in his arms, and whose naked form and skilful movements speak of the training of the palaestra, were Hermes: Iris, Hermes, and Apollo would be a natural combination. But there are other allegorical beings besides Nike that were brought into the frieze.

Among the names of the gods which have been found inscribed on fragments of the Cornice that of Themis occurs; and though we cannot recognise her in any of the fragments, there is no doubt that she was taking an active part in the combat. Now the presence in vehement action of a figure that has come in later belief, according to Welcker, merely to be an impersonation of an abstract moral idea is strange enough. Isolated examples may be quoted, but as a rule, figures such as *Ἀρετή*, *Δίκη*, *Πόστις*, are not used for dramatic purposes. A very remarkable exception may be quoted: on a fragment of a vase belonging probably to the fourth century,¹ a figure appears, which according to the inscription is *Παιδεία*, wielding a thyrsos in one of the battles of Dionysos, not improbably the Gigantomachy itself. But this sort of allegorical drama which recalls the contest of Dike and Adikia on the chest of Cypselus is alien to the spirit of Greek sculpture, and it has yet to be shown that it is admitted in the Pergamene frieze. In fact the presence of Themis was appropriate in such a scene, because she was both in earlier and later belief a real agent, as personal as the Erinyes, and no mere moral abstraction such as Dike or Paideia. There seems no ground for separating so rigidly as Welcker² would an earlier Themis, a Titan goddess of prophetic power identical with Ge and Demeter, of whom Aeschylus and Pindar knew, and the goddess of the moral order—the Themis of the later system. The progress in the conception seems rather to be this, that the moral idea which was combined with the physical in the Ge-Themis, becomes detached from the physical. Yet the later Themis remains real and personal, as the Titan-Themis from whom she is developed. She is mentioned among such goddesses as Dione, Rhea, and Amphitrite at the birth of

¹ Overbeck, *Kunst-Mythologie*, i. p. 371.

² Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, i. p. 326.

Apollo:¹ and if it were true that she is present there as the primeval Titan-goddess, as Welcker, without any expressed reason, supposes, then, as the poet names her *Ἰχναλα*² the tracker of crime, the older and later conceptions meet. In short, an examination of the legends and cults in various parts of Greece suggests that the more recent character of Themis was influenced by the recollection of the earlier myths.³

Her appearance on the Pergamene frieze among the deities shows of course that her personality is entirely independent of that of Ge, else the inappropriateness would be glaring; but it corroborates the conclusion that she is a real existence, available for dramatic representation.⁴ Unfortunately there is nothing to determine her exact place in the frieze, and there are no intrinsic reasons that can decide. *Prima facie*, she would be looked for near the group of Zeus, but in tradition and cult she is as closely related to Apollo.⁵ And if she were really placed near Apollo on the frieze, a new suggestion might be offered in explanation of the fragmentary winged figure, referred to already as a possible Iris. We have seen and shall see how the Pergamene sculptors have been prone to surround a prominent deity with a group of kindred or subordinate beings, and we might thus suppose that the daughters of Themis, the Hours, were in her company. Then if the place of the winged goddess and the place of Themis have been rightly indicated as near Apollo, the former might be interpreted to be Eunomia,⁶ for the representation of one of the Hours as winged can be illustrated by one instance, and by the parallel of the winged figures that personify the divisions of the year. But much doubt attaches to all these hypotheses; we are certain of the presence of Themis—it is not unlikely that she was in the neighbourhood of Apollo, and it is perhaps probable that the mutilated winged figure was

¹ *Hymn to Apollo*, line 94.

² This word has more properly an ethical than a geographical reference; but *vide* Strabo, 435.

³ Such combinations as Ge-Themis and Athene-Themis, found in inscriptions from the Athenian theatre, do not prove that *Θέμις* is a mere abstract epithet. Compare such composite figures as Zeus-Poseidon, Zeus-Dionysos.

⁴ Somewhat analogous is the part which the Moirae play in the action. Apollod. i. 6.

⁵ Pausanias, 9, 22, 1, and 10, 5, 6.

⁶ The letters ET have been preserved on a fragment giving the name of a deity; one of three suggestions will probably be accepted, viz. that the name is Eurynome, or Euterpe (for the Muses probably appeared on the frieze), or Eunomia.

close behind the lion-headed giant, and that these three were also near to Apollo, placed in fact immediately on his left.

However we are to name them, the figures of the god and the giant (given on Plate N in Conze's *Bericht*) are of interest. At first sight one might be tempted to name the former Heracles, so exactly does this contest resemble his contest with the Nemean lion as represented on many vases and reliefs. But this is impossible, as there are signs of Heracles elsewhere, and the action here is quite unfitted to the part usually assigned him in the Gigantomachy.¹ The young god whose head and most of whose legs are missing, seems to have taken a firm stand, while his arms are clasped round the neck of his enemy. The latter is of monstrous and fantastic shape; though the lower part of his body is missing there are faint indications of serpent-legs, and his head and arms very closely resemble the head and forepaws of a lion. As Conze has remarked, the Milesian legend of the giant Leon,² said to have been conquered by Heracles, may have given the hint for such a representation which recalls some of the grotesque figures of Oriental art. The combination, however it may violate the spirit of Greek sculpture, is full of skill and subtlety. Though the expression in the features is purely animal, some traces of the human features yet remain. The nose and the eye are distorted certainly, but recognisably human, and the wild mane is so arranged that a lock falls over the forehead resembling human hair. Again, the nails with which he is lacerating the left arm of the god belong neither to a human hand nor to a lion's paw, but to a limb which resembles partly one, partly the other. We have the testimony of Pausanias³ to the excellence of certain representations of animals which he saw wrought in iron at Pergamon. But this fusion of the human and animal natures is rare, and is the one quality of the work which is original. I know of no instance of such a combination, except a small bronze at Vienna.⁴

¹ Traces of a long lock of hair appear on his back between the shoulders; a long-haired god will scarcely be Hermes, and certainly not Heracles. The Oriental character of the other figure in the group suggests that it belongs to the company of Cybele, and that the young god is akin to her.

² Are we to give this name to the curious lion-headed and winged figure found on a Cyzicene stater, of which a cast is in the British Museum?

³ Paus. x. 18, 5: θαύματος οὐκ ἐλαχίστου καὶ ἐν Περγᾶμῳ λέοντός τε καὶ ὕδς ἀγρίου κεφαλαί.

⁴ *Annali dell. Inst.* xiii. p. 170, 260.

of later origin, showing the lion-headed Mithras—whose head seems closely to resemble that of the Pergamene giant in its admixture of human expression. We see in the group of Hekate the same skill in rendering animal forms, but this supplies us with no additional argument for placing group N in proximity to Apollo. There is a detail in the arrangement of these bodies which illustrates the special character of Pergamene work, the profusion of effect; the right hand or paw of the monster is burying its nails in the left arm of the god near his shoulder: the other paw, if as would be natural in such an attitude it had been lacerating the corresponding limb, would have been hidden from our sight by the body of the god. But in order to show as much of the action as was possible, the sculptor has brought the left arm of the giant obliquely across the body of his antagonist, and it is clutching with its claws his left thigh which is nearest to the spectator. Such an arrangement does not at first glance appear strained, but on reflection it strikes one as neither obvious nor natural; and the aim at fuller display of the figure is much more skilfully attained by the composition of the group on the coin of Heraclea: (Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, v. 32.) But the execution is masterly; the marble becomes sensitive flesh yielding to the pressure, as it seemed to Pliny in a work exhibited at Pergamon by Cephissodotus, a pupil of Praxiteles.¹

For beauty of sculpture and for importance in the history of sculpture, the slabs on which the form and combat of Apollo are represented stand very high (Fig. 2); and the best traditions of the great schools are followed here. The archer-god, whose quiver is made fast by a band that passes round his shoulders and waist, stands above a fallen giant of human limbs who lies before his feet. On the right is another giant whose torso and fragments of the lower body are preserved, and who stands so that his back is facing the

¹ Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori verius quam marmori impressis. Pliny, 36, 24.

It is interesting to compare the Pergamene group with the bronze of Heracles and the lion; Furtwängler, *Sabouroff*, ix. cxlviii. The type of the action is the same, but the head of

Heracles is bent much further forward, and his body has more of the 'distortum et elaboratum,' but the bronze shows a glaring defect in the position of the left arm of Heracles,—which is avoided on the corresponding figure of the frieze.

spectator, and though the right arm is lost, the muscles of the right side and shoulder suggest that he is lifting the heavy weight of a rock against his enemy. By his left side are the fragments of a wild beast's fell, which his left arm was holding out in the usual fashion. He and Apollo are the chief figures



FIG. 2.

of a scene which is far less profusely crowded than is usual in the frieze; for the space between the two combatants is comparatively wide, and would admit a minor episode such as the combat of an eagle and serpent. But enough is preserved to show us that the upper part of the frieze was not thus filled,

and could have displayed nothing but the fell of the giant and the bow of Apollo. The middle and lower parts of the field were relieved by the himation that falls from the latter's outstretched arm, and covers the background like a curtain.¹ In fact there are fewer picturesque elements in this group than in most others, and a very high effect is achieved within the proper style of sculpture.

As the figure of the so-called Orion is distinct among the giants, Apollo is distinct among the gods, and nowhere else in the frieze can be found proportions so ideal, or such fineness of execution, or such lightness and studied balance in the attitude. The whole form is instinct with life and with the assured consciousness of victory, and the impression of slim and elastic strength is given in accord with the Lysippean method, by the soft and fluent treatment of the muscles, which are never massed together, but pass from the one course over into the other with facile gradations.

The best traditions of an older style have guided the sculptor in choosing the action which the forms were to express. This has been misinterpreted by Dr. Furtwängler,² who considers that Apollo is marching to the left. On the contrary, there is a momentary pause, as the muscular tension in the legs shows that they are firmly planted on the ground; otherwise the quiet downward sweep of the drapery, possible and effective when the movement is for the moment arrested, as we see in one of the Lapith combats of the Parthenon's metopes, and on the metope of the Theseum, would be altogether inappropriate. Apollo is not at this moment discharging the arrow; if so, the shot would have been ineffective, for his enemy is erect and as yet unconquered; but we see the instant preceding the discharge when the right arm is being lightly lifted towards the quiver which appears behind his neck. A small fragment of the biceps of this arm has been recently fitted on, and as it is not perceptibly rounded, the movement can only be just beginning, and the fingers are not yet closing on the arrow as in the representation on the vase of the British Museum which

¹ On the frieze of the Theseum we see this motive effectively employed for the figure of the so-called Theseus, and the Pallantid that hurls the stone

against him recalls the figure of the giant that confronts Apollo.

² *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, 3, p. 251, note.

shows Apollo rescuing Leto from Tityos.¹ But the intention is still the same; the chief action is not given, but the eager preparation, and by this happy choice of motive the scene gains in dramatic fulness, and the highest effect of sculpture is secured, the effect of collectedness. The sculptor then has followed the older generation in his adherence to this principle; has he also borrowed from some earlier work the details of the action, and the special rendering of the forms?

There is certainly no known representation of the Gigantomachy in which we can find the original, or any hint of the original of the Pergamene figure. His form scarcely occurs in the earliest vase-paintings that deal with the myth; and on the vases of the² second period his weapon is not the bow, but the sword, though he sometimes bears the quiver on his shoulders as an emblem. Even on the amphora of the Louvre, which belongs to the third period, and which shows an excessive profusion of detail, he fights with the torch, though he holds the bow in his left hand. In fact, neither these nor any existing works present us with the original of which we are in quest. That the Pergamene Apollo is itself a derived work we may assume, first because of its affinity with contemporary or nearly contemporary works, and again because there is no known type of a purely Hellenic deity which can be ascribed to the creativeness of the second century. Its connection with the Belvedere and Stroganoff Apollos has been much noticed,³ and by Furtwängler perhaps exaggerated.

The points of agreement between the Belvedere and Pergamene works are such as these: the outstretched left arm, which is less rigid in the former, the garment which hangs down from it, the quiver-belt around the chest, and the slight leftward inclination of the body. But the motion of the right arm is very different, the legs of the Apollo on the frieze are far more firmly placed, and the poise of the head—of which a faint print remains on the back of the frieze—seems much simpler and more direct, showing, or rather suggesting, none of the elegant curvature

¹ Published by Lenormant, *Élite Céram.*, vol. 2, pl. lv. Very similar is the action of Apollo on the relief from Termessus (of late date, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 158).

² *E.g.* on the vase from Altamura, published by Heydemann.

³ *Vide* Overbeck, *Geschichte d. griech. Plastik.* 2, p. 237; Conze, *Die Ergebnisse d. Ausgrabungen...* 1880, p. 61; Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 251.

which is essential to the main effect of the Belvedere Apollo. And the difference in the treatment of the flesh is too obvious to need much comment: the surface of the body is made warm, fresh, and articulate by the Pergamene sculptor: while the chief fault of the Vatican work is the uninteresting inarticulate surface. We cannot compare them in respect of the countenance and expression, because only a small fragment of the Pergamene head has been preserved: but a certain number of heads of deities belonging to the frieze and to separate works have been discovered at Pergamon, sufficient to establish a certain distinct type which will afterwards be described, and to which the Belvedere head, with its mobile Alexandrine cast of features, its sudden depression from the cheeks to the centre, does not at all closely conform. It is probable that the head of the Pergamene Apollo reproduced the main features which Kekule¹ has illustrated from a series of coins that may go back to the beginning of the fifth century; but its expression may yet have remained native and distinct.

But if we suppose that the Pergamene and Vatican statues with the kindred Stroganoff bronze are free replicas of some common original, no one has been successful in discovering where or when or under what circumstances this was created. A suggestion made by Preller has been laboriously worked up by Overbeck² into the theory that the Belvedere Apollo (regarded as closely related to the Pergamene), the Artemis of Versailles, the Capitoline Athene, are copies of a group of the three deities dedicated at Delphi by the Aetolians after the great repulse of the Gauls from the temple, that Apollo was represented as the shaker of the aegis, and that the group itself was no original conception, but derived from a supposed group produced in the fifth century, and commemorating at Delphi the similar repulse of the Persians. But this argument is a valueless accumulation of hypotheses; we do not know that the figures seen by Pausanias at Delphi formed a group engaged in a common action at all: indeed his words suggest a number of single³ and separate statues: still less do we know the significance or motive of these

¹ Kekule, *Apollo-köpfe*, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 7; *vide* silver coin from Epidaurus, *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, taf. 23, 8.

² *Gesch. d. griech. Plast.* 2, 320—328.

³ Paus. x. 15, 2: στρατηγὸς δὲ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς, δύο τε Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγάλματα ἔστιν Αἰτωλῶν.

figures—and we are not certain that the Belvedere Apollo is shaking the aegis, and the supposed original group of the fifth century is a pure figment. It is a theory at least as plausible that the representation at Delphi of Apollo and Artemis discharging their arrows at Tityos, the violator of Latona, and himself an earth-born giant, suggested or reproduced the type of the Apollo Gigantophonos; and certain points of resemblance have been noticed between the figure on the fifth-century vase, published by Lenormant, and the Pergamene Apollo. If indeed there had been a group of statues at Delphi clearly presenting the deities in the act of warding off the Gauls, it is probable that this would have supplied some motives for the Pergamene frieze, for the event commemorated was very similar in both cases, and we have seen that the giants were the mythic counterpart of the Gauls. Positive evidence is wanting; but there is this negative evidence against the supposed derivation of certain Pergamene figures from the work at Delphi. The Athene on the frieze could have borne no likeness to the Athene which Pausanias saw in the temple, as the pose and action would be quite unsuitable for a single statue, or for a statue in such a group as Overbeck conceives.

Leaving the question of origins, we may ask whether the fragments of the Pergamene Apollo serve to clear up the difficulties concerning the Belvedere and Stroganoff works, with which we may admit its affinity. The main questions touching the Belvedere, its correct restoration and its dramatic meaning, will still remain undecided. The discovery at Pergamon does not even increase the probability that Apollo Belvedere is combating the giants or the Gauls; for replicas of the same original might be used for the purposes of very different representations.

But the question whether the thing held in his hand is an aegis or a bow is now on a slightly altered footing. As long as the Stroganoff bronze was the only work which could supply a parallel, and no doubt existed that the fragment in its left hand was part of an aegis, it seemed natural to describe Apollo Belvedere as *Αἰγιοχός*. But if we allow that the Stroganoff Apollo holds the aegis, yet the value of the illustration is lost; for it is met by the counter-illustration from Pergamon of an Apollo admitted to be of kindred work and conception who holds out

the bow. Of course no other argument would avail at all, if the attribute of the bow were unsuitable to the Belvedere statue, if, as has been said, its pose did not conform to the action of the archer. But this is surely not the case: the actual discharge of the arrow, or the fitting of the arrow to the string, could not be the motive of the figure, but the movement of the limbs, the pose of both arms, the eyes fixed upon the distance, might suggest that the arrow has just been sent, and that the muscles are just relaxing from the tension of the effort, and that, though the change has begun, the limbs still preserve something of the forms into which the action of the instant preceding had set them. If he is holding the aegis, the outstretched fingers of the left hand, the quiver belt round his chest, the direction of the eyes, have much less appropriateness and meaning.

At present the task of rearrangement deals rather with probabilities than proofs. It is probable that Apollo was not far from the chief Olympians; and it is a reasonable conjecture that in the centre of one of the fronts were seen the groups of Athene and Zeus already described. As these deities are the leaders in the action, a conspicuous place must have been assigned to them, and this could not have been the centres of the small façades on each side of the staircase. For a fragment which has fortunately been discovered proves clearly that the two scenes are continuous, and that the figure of Athene was seen on the right of Zeus, separated by only a small interval from him. The fragment is part of the slab which completes the group of Athene on the left, on which we can discern the mutilated upper parts of the giant's body who lies below Typhon. Above is preserved a small portion of Athene's serpent and a fragment of Typhon's wing, and on the extreme left of the recently found slab appear remains of a serpent's body which exactly fit the broken surfaces of the serpent-limb which belongs to the giant who confronts Zeus.

Near the centre of this front came in all probability the four-horsed chariot which a winged Nike was driving over a heap of the slain; and the figure of Hera, who though never a personage conspicuous in the action was almost indispensable for the Pergamene artists, must have been placed in this part of the frieze.

She is found on the amphora of Caere, clothed in a long chiton, and grasping her enemy by the shoulder while she strikes

with her sword. She is found on the cylix of Aristophanes, which in conception and style comes near to the Pergamene work, and her form has there the softness and elegance of the later type. The stephane rises above her forehead, her veil falls down behind her head, but this time her weapon is the spear which she levels at the fallen Rhoetus whose uplifted arm she clutches. This type may have become fixed for the armed and combating Hera,¹ but it does not enable us to discover the goddess in any of the Pergamene figures; for the action of grasping the arm or shoulder of the enemy is too natural and common to serve as a clue.² It is probable that the Hera of our frieze did not differ essentially from the goddess represented on the cylix.

Near to the group of the more prominent Olympian deities we should expect to find Ares. He cannot be identified in any of the combatants, but a fragment which has been found with his name upon it proves his presence on the frieze, and shows also that he was placed on the left of one of the corners. As he had appeared very frequently both in earlier and later representations of this action, the Pergamene sculptor was under no necessity of creating any new type for the sake of his theme.

But Ares himself seems to have been one of a group of related deities; for among the inscriptions are found the names of Enyo and Aphrodite. Both goddesses must have been seen near Ares; but the only artistic record of Enyo³ that has been preserved does not help us to discover her with certainty in any of the existing figures. Neither in Homer nor in other source of religious legend does she possess any independent existence or cult, nor is she employed by poetry or art as a dramatic agent. But it is not surprising that her figure should have been used by the sculptors of the frieze whose task demanded a multitude of

¹ On the fifth-century vase, published by Heydemann, Hera, according to his explanation, is seen fighting with the spindle. The same figure is explained by Trendelenburg as Artemis with the plectron.

² One might conjecture that the figure from the Gigantomachy of the frieze of Priene, whose left arm seizes her antagonist's head, is Hera (Over-

beck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plast.* vol. ii, p. 102, fig. b.

³ She is found in coins of Bruttii hurrying forward in long chiton, with helmet on head, and holding shield in both hands. The conjecture that the sons of Praxiteles who carved a statue of Enyo fixed for sculpture the type of the goddess has some plausibility.

deities, and whose age was not offended if beings who had little hold on the popular mythology were brought into action.

The place of Aphrodite on the frieze is easy to fix, though there are not many works to which we can appeal for direct illustration. She could not have been far from Ares; as she is placed by his side in the only other representation of the Gigantomachy in which she occurs, namely, in the painting on the Louvre amphora, where she is guiding the chariot of the god.

It has been thought by many that the goddess under *F* (according to the enumeration in the *Beschreibung der pergamenischen Bildwerke*) can be recognised as Aphrodite. But the only reason for this belief is the beauty of the light and half-transparent drapery; and that this figure is proved by the marks of the joining of the stones to be the corner slab on left of the north-east corner is a fatal objection, because the stone on which the name Aphrodite is inscribed is no corner-stone. It is a misfortune that the Aphrodite of the Pergamene frieze has been lost, for it would have been interesting to have compared her form with the Melian statue, and to have seen if the Pergamene school had done anything for the creation of the type of the Venus Victrix.

It is noteworthy that the participation of Aphrodite in the action dates from the Alexandrine era. It was as unsuitable¹ to the spirit of earlier tradition, as it was suitable to the Alexandrine treatment of tradition, and later poetry, as well as later art, gave as has been seen, an erotic colour to certain passages of the myth. But considering the epic dignity preserved in nearly all the representations on this frieze, we should expect to find the action of Aphrodite free of any erotic sentiments, and the type of the armed Aphrodite had long been known to temple-worship (*e.g.* Paus. 3, 15, 10).

There is still another goddess who must have been placed near this group, for the evidence of inscriptions again supplies the gaps on the monument and proves the presence of Dione. The Pergamene sculptor would hardly have placed her in the vicinity of Zeus, for it is only the Dodonean cult that maintains

¹ The myth of the destruction of the giants at Phanagoria (Strabo, 495) through the guile of Aphrodite, if au

early local legend, is possibly non-Hellenic.

her close relation with him. Whatever may have been the original conception of her as Titan-goddess akin to Ge, she is of importance in later times merely as the mother of Aphrodite.¹ Once more we are left to conjecture to discover the form under which she appeared on the frieze; she cannot be the thinly-robed and youthful goddess on slab *F*, for we must expect more august drapery and more matronly forms. Scarcely known in sculpture, she is clearly defined in the numismatic record alone. It is possible that the ample and austere figure in the Parthenon west pediment on whose lap Aphrodite is sitting is Dione, represented by Pheidias's school, if we may trust Carrey's drawing, as without the veil which she always wears on the coins of Epirus and Thessaly.² On these she appears sometimes by the side of Zeus, sometimes alone, always veiled and wearing at times the polos and the crown of laurel or oak-leaves. Her face has something of the features and expression of Ceres, to whom her personality is rather akin. As these coins belong to the beginning of the second or end of the third century, it is probable that the Dione at Pergamon was not materially different from the type of these.

The row of figures immediately on the right of the north-east corner are preserved, if it is certain that here was seen the goddess on slab *F* whose chiton is transparent enough to reveal the beauty of her limbs, and who is treading with her left foot on the face of a fallen giant. On her left arm is a shield, and near it are traces which seem to indicate the butt-end of a spear which she will then be holding in her left hand as a weapon in reserve. Her head, and most of her right arm and the lower part of her right leg are gone, but enough remains of the whole figure to show the nature of the action. Her enemy, who is youthful, and as he bears a shield is probably of human form throughout, has fallen hopelessly before her, in such a way as to suggest that a few instants previously he was fleeing before her and that she had dragged him back by the hair. She is now bending forward, and her whole force is directed

¹ Theocritus, 17, 36. Hyginus, ed. Schmidt, p. 12.

² *B. M. Cat. Greek Coins*, Epirus, pl. 17. 5, 12; pl. 18, 1. The vase pub-

lished by Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, 3, p. 136, does not serve as an analogy. Dione is there in the cortège of Bacchus, and wears a vine-crown.

downwards, as though she were about to give him the *coup de grace* with the sword, which though not seen we may believe to be her weapon, because of the sword-belt round her breast and the sheath that hangs at her side.

We may perhaps regard her as a goddess subordinate to Aphrodite, if the latter actually appeared on the left of the corner. The head of the young giant whom she has overthrown is wrought with sharp lines and smooth surfaces, and the expression is concentrated in the middle of the face about the mouth and in the lines of the forehead where the pain is shown.

As for the pose of the figures, it seems to be an invention either of the Pergamene school itself or of the later Alexandrine era, and testifies to the effort of the sculptor to win a strong effect of pathos; it is not employed elsewhere in the frieze.

Pathos is also the intention of another trait in the same scene. Beneath the first giant is seen another, who is lying with his head resting on his arms and his face buried in the earth, so that nothing more of him is visible than the back part of his head, his arms and shoulders, and the matted hair streaming downwards. The attitude betokens the shame of defeat, the quiet of death amidst the tumult, and is found in another place of the frieze where the winged horses of Zeus are represented, and beneath the chariot an armed giant is lying prone.

But the motive—a prostrate combatant with the head sunk and the hair falling over—was a tradition of frieze-sculpture both early and late, and seems proper to a wild type; thus we see it in a representation of a dead Centaur on the Phigaleian frieze and of another on a Roman sarcophagus.¹

Few parts of the frieze are more intentionally pathetic than these picturesque details which show the ruin and confusion of the battle-field; and it is with these that the lower part of the ground is chiefly filled. We have here a principle of frieze-composition which had never been so conspicuous before; for while the tendency of the larger relief-works belonging to the fifth and fourth century, where a multitude of figures is given, is to concentrate the interest rather on the centre of the slab, the

¹ *Mon. inediti dell. Inst.* 1854, pl. xix.

base of the Pergamene frieze is filled up with so rich a store of accessory themes that it appears as a decorated architectural support of the upper parts. This principle is still further carried out in the Roman sarcophagus reliefs.

On the next connected slab (*G*) a goddess is again in combat, but here the victory is by no means certain. A youthful winged giant with serpent's feet is dangerously threatening her with a stone which he appears to be raising in his right hand, though only fragments of his arms remain; and by the manner in which he faces his antagonist we are reminded of the giant confronting Hekate. The goddess is turning partially in the opposite direction, and at first sight her movement recalls the movement of Athene, but is due to an altogether different reason, for she is not merely drawing her body back for the blow, but we see something of fear displayed in the retreating motion of the left limbs. Her right hand is lost, but from signs that remain it is judged that she must have been holding a weapon across her breast, ready for defence or for a stroke. Neither her position on the frieze nor her form tell us anything of her personality; but at most the suggestion may be made that it is a subordinate goddess whose action has not the boldness or promise of victory which suits the action of the deities. The wild nature and animal characteristics of her opponent are combined with a youthful beauty of countenance, of which the features belong on the whole to the first type, but yet produce a new effect on account of the short flattened chin, the sharply-marked cheek-bones, and bow-shaped curve of the lips. The expression is of determination rather than rage.

At the top of the frieze on the left is a combat between his serpent-limb and an eagle, the arrangement being the same almost by necessity as a similar combat in the group of Zeus. We may take this example to show that a mere correspondence in motive is no sufficient criterion for asserting correspondence in position.

The composition of the next group (*H*) shows nothing original. A giant of human form has fallen before his foe, and while supporting himself on his left knee is raising his right arm against the god who has thrown him down. The main outlines of the action have become almost stereotyped in reliefs of battle-scenes, and may be seen at least three times in the Pergamene altar.

The god who is here in combat is apparently youthful and long-haired and almost naked, wearing nothing but a chlamys that flutters behind him. On his left arm is a round shield and in his right hand probably a spear, which he draws back for a thrust. The question how to name him will be discussed in connection with the next scene.

The composition of group *I* has more originality. A giant has raised a young god off the ground, and has encircled his chest with both arms, at the same time fastening his teeth into his left arm, while the serpent-limbs are entangling his lower parts, and the serpent's head towering on high threatens him from above. The god is making a furious effort to free himself, his left foot is pressed hard upon the serpent's thigh, but his other foot can find no hold on the slippery coils, and he has no weapon free for offence except the right arm that is levelling a blow at the giant's head with a weapon which is shown by the pose of the mutilated hand to be a spear. What is most striking in the whole is the skill with which the different parts of the two combatants are welded together, the involution of the human and animal limbs. The gigantic hands that meet and are interlaced under the breast of the god look like the seal of a heavy chain, and the giant's head, which belongs to the most ferocious type of these, is so placed as to coincide compactly with the small shield and left arm of the god that appears over it.

The group of Heracles and Antaeus in Milton house, which recalls and yet essentially differs from this group, has been already mentioned; and no one would see Heracles in the god on this slab. He has been regarded as one of the Cabiri, only because no other but a subordinate deity could be represented as so hard pressed. But as other subordinate deities might be mentioned the weakness of such reasoning is plain, and the theory is confronted by the probability that the Cabiri, if present on the frieze, were in the vicinity of Cybele, and that her place was on the right of one of the corners, and was therefore removed from the position of group *I*.

We come somewhat nearer to the interpretation of the figures when we see that the god who is entangled by the serpent-limbs and he who is striking down the giant on the left are of kindred nature. Both are naked, both carry the shield and probably the spear. Such accoutrements and the

long hair¹ of the one that is still visible behind his neck suggest the belief that these are the Dioscuri. And it is not surprising that the contest of one of the Dioscuri should be more doubtful and desperate than the contest of the Olympians.

It is true that there is no literary record of their presence in the Gigantomachy, but the Louvre amphora, with its rich illustration of the myth, supplies monumental testimony; the two riders who there appear fighting with spears can be none other than the Twin Brethren; and they appear there as deities, just as on the Pergamene frieze, if these Pergamene figures are they, they are given as deities.

A new and remarkable illustration, or partial illustration of the myth is given by the vessel found at Tanagra (see next page) and published in the *Ephemeris Archaeologike*; ² its painting, according to M. Tsounta, who describes it, has no mythological meaning at all. But when we compare the action and movement of the figures with those of the combatants on the Louvre amphora and the crater of Ruvo, there can be little doubt that here also is a Gigantomachy; that the mounted youth³ on the left wearing the Thessalian hat and the long chlamys, and striking downwards at his enemy with his spear, is one of the Dioscuri, and that the other is the warrior on the right who fights on foot, armed with the shield and spear, wearing a cone-shaped hat, and a flowing chlamys around his arm. The deity between them is almost certainly Ares. The character of their antagonists is attested by the wild beasts' skins which some of them carry⁴. Now the likeness is striking between that one of the Dioscuri who is seen here on the right and the Pergamene god under *H*; the weapons being the same and the flowing chlamys being common to both. If I have rightly interpreted the Tanagrean work, it supports the conjecture that the figures now in question of the Pergamene frieze are the Dioscuri, and as the painters of the Louvre amphora and the Tanagrean vessel place them near to Ares, so if we admit the

¹ Cf. the representation of the twin-brethren on the sarcophagus of the Lateran *Die antike Bildwerke des later. Museums*, Benndorf u. Schöne, 250.

² Year 1883, p. 196.

³ The resemblance of this figure to one of the Dioscuri on the Louvre

amphora is most striking and almost conclusive.

⁴ They cannot be barbarian warriors, for they carry Hellenic arms, and the figures of some of the giants on the Ruvo vase strangely recall these.



conjecture, it is probable, according to the arrangement mentioned above, that the sculptors of the frieze brought the three deities together.

Now if the great group of the deities that personify the lights of heaven, Selene, Eos and Helios, is to be placed as has been suggested near to the north-east corner, they will be contiguous to the deities in *H* and *I*. If these latter are the Dioscuri we can give reasons why they should be in this vicinity. There seems little doubt, as Welcker has pointed out, that the character of the Dioscuri was originally not heroic but divine; and although Homer knows of them only as mortal yet their worship at Sparta goes back to the aniconic age; in the myths and beliefs that attach to them they appear as half disguised celestial powers of the light. The greater number of vase-paintings present them indeed simply as heroes; but neither in art nor in literature does their divine nature entirely pass from view, and it emerges clearly again, perhaps through the growing strength of hero-worship, in the fourth century and survives the fall of Greece. On several of the latter vases they appear associated with beings of light and darkness; and the theory that if the Dioscuri were on the Pergamene frieze they were near the group of Helios and his kindred, could be well illustrated by the inscription found on a block from Ancyra, probably the base of two statues of the twins in which the Dioscuri are addressed as *οἱ σύνναοι θεοὶ* of *Ζεὺς Ἥλιος Σάραπις*.¹ The theory can only be put forward as a perhaps plausible hypothesis; but at present much of the arrangement and most of the interpretation is nothing more than hypothetical.

The right side of the frieze shows us the fragments of a figure armed with a club and clothed with a lion's fell, striding forward towards the last-mentioned giant, and looking back as upon some enemy against whom he is raising his club. It has been but is probably no longer maintained that this is Heracles; the action does not suit such an interpretation, since the fragments seem to speak of a combatant who is defending himself while still retreating.

We may say with certainty that this is a giant, whose costume is arranged so as to remind us of Heracles, just as on a vase published by Millin² the fallen giant has a wild beast's fell drawn

¹ *Corp. Ins. Graec.* 4042.

² *Galerie Mythologique*, 2, cxx.

over his head in something of the same way as it appears on the head of the Pergamene giant in question. Against what god or goddess is he advancing? Different answers might no doubt be given: a combination that is suitable enough and has been suggested by Signor Freres is that which would place him opposite to the spear-bearing god who is set up in the rotunda of the Museum. But this conjecture is all the more uncertain, as it is not proved that the combatant who bears the spear is a god; his massive flesh and his violent stride suggest that he may be a giant, and it seems certain that however we are to name him, he was advancing before the mule of Selene, since a fragment of a hoof¹ is seen on the right close to his right arm; and it is stated that evidence of the same fact is given by a fragment not long discovered of the head of the mule with the guiding hand of Selene near it.² Other fragments belonging, or probably belonging, to the group of Helios have been found, the most important being a serpent's head which was fastening upon his right arm that held the torch. But nothing has as yet been discovered to prove the place of the group, which we might more naturally assign to the east than to the north side, as tradition speaks of the battle beginning at sunrise.

NOTE.—Since the above was written, a discovery has been made at Berlin which is of the utmost importance in the reconstruction of the frieze-work of the altar, but which at present has led to little more than a destruction of a former theory hitherto undisputed. It was officially stated that the group of Hekate occupied the south-east corner, and at the corresponding corner of the south-west Cybele and her nymphs with a crowd of maritime divinities were to be placed in such an order that Cybele appeared at the extreme left of the south side, and Triton and Nereus a little removed from her on the right. Certain gaps in the sequence of the slabs and the lack of any mythological propriety were made of little account in this arrangement of the figures. At the same time it was given out

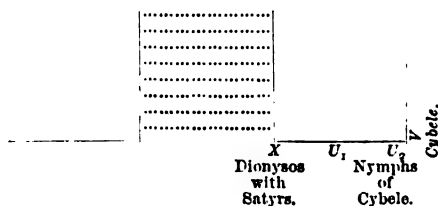
¹ I had wrongly conjectured that this belonged to the horse of Eos.

² There is a fragment, of very fine workmanship, of a goddess who is car-

rying a torch, of which the traces appear on her breast, and who will belong to the company of Helios or Hekate.

that the staircase leading up to the interior of the great altar was on the south side; and it was supposed that the breadth of the steps was about a third of the whole front. Now a small fragment has been found which belongs to the sea-centaur or Triton (fig. *X* in the *Beschreibung der pergamenischen Bildwerke*) and which proves conclusively that Triton as well as Cybele was placed on the right of a corner. But the slabs from Triton onwards towards the right form an uninterrupted series of reliefs which covered both the left wing of the side broken by the staircase, and the left wall of the staircase itself on which the length of the frieze figures diminishes as the steps rise. Now as Cybele is not among those figures, and she like Triton is on the right of a corner, it follows that, wherever else on the frieze she is to be placed, she is far removed from the neighbourhood of the sea-divinities. But more than this follows from the new discovery: we already knew the figure that stood at the right corner of the left wing of this broken front, the figure of Amphitrite (slab *V*), and as the figure of Triton is now found to be at the left corner of this same wing we have now an exact measurement of the length of this wing, and as the girth of the square altar has already been almost exactly fixed, we can estimate now the breadth of the staircase, which is considerably broader than was believed. The wing on its right must have been of the same length as the left; and as regards the figures upon it one thing is almost certain—that the figure at the extreme left of this right wing was Bacchus; but are we able to place in his vicinity, as the theory before maintained would place, the numerous goddesses in the following of Hekate? It is a question of measurement which to be precise must be made on the spot. But a very rough calculation of the slabs will show that when we have made room for the antagonist of Dionysos, we shall have exceeded the limited space of this wing if we join to this group the goddesses in *A* and *B*. The deities therefore of the lower world have no connection with Dionysos on the frieze. But the question with whom he is to be grouped is nevertheless not quite an open question, for until it can be shown that the Pergamene sculptors in grouping the deities abandoned the long-established principle of mythological or religious affinity, and as long as the various sets of slabs where the sequence is certain display this principle clearly, we

are obliged to follow it in suggesting a restoration, and we may even hold it to be a securer criterion than is the place where the fragments were actually found. Now we can fall back on the only alternative suggestion that he should be placed with Cybele, in such a way that while he is at the left extremity of this wing the latter, who we know to be on a corner-slab, shall be round the adjoining corner.



This is indeed impossible, if the cortège of nymphs on the left of Cybele is as long as it appears to be on the sequence of slabs (*T* to *U* 3) assumed by the official *Beschreibung* (1883, page 18). But this sequence admits of no proof and is not now defended.

If the figures under *T* and *U*₁ are brought round the corner and set on the right of Cybele (for they seem to belong to her following), then there is room on the wing for Dionysos and his missing opponent and the goddess with the lion and the fallen giant (*U*₂ and *U*₃). We know that her figure was placed at the left of a corner, and according to the present arrangement she is at the right extremity of this right wing; and now if we allow for a slab on which her antagonist was placed, this sequence of figures will fill a length of frieze-work almost the same as the given length of the left wing, and certainly not exceeding it. Dionysos will be assisted in the combat by the lions of the great goddess, the cognate character of the two deities will be marked as it is marked on a terra-cotta relief¹ on which the forms of Maenads are placed round the throne of Cybele, and this part of the frieze will show the influence and some of the forms of oriental Greek worship.

L. R. FARNELL.

¹ Furtwängler, Sabouroff Coll. v. cxxxvii.

INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY COCKERELL IN GREECE.

I HAVE been requested to examine a MS. collection, bound in two volumes, and entitled *MS. Inscriptions collected in Greece by C. R. Cockerell, 1810-14.*¹ A fuller description of the contents is added on the title page, apparently by the hand of the collector himself—'*Inscriptions collected in various parts of Greece by C. R. Cockerell, from the year 1810-14; they were copied from the original manuscripts in this form by Signor Amati, in Rome, in 1815, and examined by Mr. Akcrblad, who made all the notes and corrections in red ink. Mr. Walpole has made copies of those marked "Cd.," and has noted those already in print.*' It is evident, therefore, that we have here documents of considerable importance, especially as all trace of the original manuscripts referred to has been lost. Signor Amati, the transcriber, seems to have done his work with great care and accuracy, even the forms of letters being, in most cases, faithfully preserved. A comparison with other independent transcriptions from the same originals will soon show that we may rely on his copying; where mistakes occur, they are almost always such as would arise from indistinctness on the stone itself. This statement is of importance, for other transcribers, whether

¹ [On the occasion of one of his lectures at University College, Mr. Newton asked his auditors to let him see any MS. collections of inscriptions lying in private possession of which they might be aware, such collections having been commonly made by English travellers in past times, and often merely laid aside. As a result of this request, Mrs. Frederick Cockerell sent

to Mr. Newton the collection here described of inscriptions copied by her father-in-law, Mr. C. R. Cockerell. The laborious and somewhat unattractive task of investigating whether these inscriptions were unpublished, or whether they amended existing texts, was undertaken, on behalf of the editors of this journal, by Mr. E. A. Gardner. Ed.]

independent or immediately deriving their material from this book, often show a carelessness which can easily be corrected by a reference to it, and which has, in many cases, affected the copies preserved in the *Corpus* itself.

The book contains 240 inscriptions in all, of which some fifty, probably, are as yet unpublished. This computation may have to be modified, but is confirmed by a more careful search for the earlier ones. The rest afford considerable material for correction of the copies preserved in the *Corpus* and elsewhere, but are hardly, in most cases, worth separate publication.¹ They enable us, also, to check the accuracy of copies derived immediately from this book, especially those of Walpole; and such a check is by no means superfluous. For instance, in *C.I.G.* 391, derived from Walpole, common forms are given throughout; in this book we find ΑΑ, Δ, λ, ζ, ς; again, in *C.I.G.* 464, the distinctive forms Α, ε, λ, ς, ω, are completely lost. One more instance under this head may suffice. In *C.I.G.* 1593, Walpole represents Cockerell as giving ΒΟΙΩΤΟΝΤΑ . . . ΟΔΑΝ; he really has ΒΟΙΩΤΟΝΤΑ . . . ΙΟΔΑΑΝ, thus being nearer to the true reading Βοιωτοὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀνέθεικαν; here, in ΩΝ, Walpole has given as resting on good authority a false and misleading emendation, which is written in red ink above the line in Cockerell's book. It is therefore clear that a careful collation is advisable in the case of all inscriptions in the *Corpus* derived from this source.

Another question arises which cannot be fully answered until more of our material has been published. Many English travellers of the beginning of the present century seem to have examined this book of Cockerell's; Akerblad, Walpole, and Leake, have all left traces of their revision in it; and some of these drew from it the inscriptions which they published. How far others may have done the same is not yet clear; but in *C.I.G.* 1707, for instance, a transcription quoted in the *Corpus* as made directly by Hughes from the stone, shows too many correspondences, even in mistakes, with Cockerell's version for us to believe the two versions are independent. In l. 6, for instance, Hughes gives ΑΝΕΙΑΗΠΤΟΝ for ΑΝΕΦΑΠΤΟΝ: now Cockerell has ΑΝΕΙΑΠΤΟΝ, differing only from the true reading

¹ A collation with published copies has been made in the case of all not here reproduced.

by the omission of part of the ϕ : but over the line is written the very emended form given by Hughes in his copy. This fact, which is not isolated, tends to throw serious doubts on the independent value of such copies. Perhaps it will be worth while later to return to this question; for the present, this indication will suffice.

Specimens follow of such inscriptions as are new, and, therefore, worthy of reproduction; some are included which materially increase already published inscriptions. These specimens comprise all that were found upon the mainland of Greece, and are taken from the first sixty examples in Cockerell's book. A complete list of these follows. An asterisk is placed against those reproduced below.

1 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 336	23 = Le Bas and Wad. II. 12	40 = Le Bas and Wad. II. 806
2 = „ 373	(24 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 2139)	41 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1620
3 = „ 471	25 = Le Bas and Wad. II. 453	42 = „ 1608
*4 Unpublished ¹	*26 Unpublished	43 = „ 1689
*5 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 300	*27 „	44 = „ 1715
6 = „ 464	*28 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1632	45 = „ 1721
7 = „ 177	29 = „ 1579	46 = „ 1694
*8 Unpublished	30 = „ 1663	47 = „ 1716
9 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 830	31 = „ 1564	48 = „ 1707
*10 Unpublished	32 = „ 1593	49 = „ 1764
11 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 917	33 Rang. <i>Ant. Hell.</i> 1815.	50 = „ 1297
12 = „ 653	34 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1574	*51 Unpublished
13 = „ 660	35 = Le Bas and Wad. II. 603	*52 „
14 = Kumanudes, 3251	36 = Le Bas and Wad. II. 601	*53 „
15 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 958	37 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1628	54 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 1501
16 = „ 808	38 = „ 1595	55 = „ 1504
17 = „ 610	39 = „ 1596	56 = „ 1187
*18 Unpublished		57 = „ 1186
19 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 438		58 = „ 1184
*20 Unpublished		59 = „ 1183
21 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 386		60 = „ 1185
22 = „ 391		

Before proceeding to the inscriptions themselves, I need only add that a few marks, both in pencil and red ink, are

¹ Inscriptions not to be found in the new or old *Corpus*, in Le Bas and Waddington, in Kumanudes' *Sepulchral Inscriptions*, in Rangabé's *Antiquités Helléniques*, &c., are here treated as unpublished. I have also referred

to periodicals, where I had any clew to guide me; but a complete and systematic search through all these would have been laborious and almost impracticable.

found in the book as well as Amati's copies: but these are seldom, if ever, more than obvious restorations, and do not seem to have any authority from the original manuscripts, or other sources. Signor Amati has sometimes recorded in Italian both the place of finding and other details; these have been, in every case, reproduced below. Inconsistencies in his copies, especially when two forms of a letter occur in the same inscription, have also been as far as possible preserved.

4. ΖΩΣΙΜΗΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥΜΙΛΗΣΙΑ
ΦΩΚΙΩΝΟΣΟΤΡΥΝΕΩΣΕΥΝΗ

*Ζωσίμη Καλλινίκου Μιλησία
Φωκίανος Ὀτρυνέως [γ]υνή*

The name *Ζωσίμη* seems to have been common among Milesians; cf. *C.I.G.* 711, 712, 714. For the question whether Miletus ranked as a deme of Athens, and the Milesians as Athenian citizens, cf. Boeckh, *ibid.* 692. A discussion of more recent opinions upon the subject is given by Mr. Hicks (*Brit. Mus. Inscriptions*, I. p. 150). It seems that Milesians, though very numerous at Athens, had no peculiar rights of citizenship; even the form of the inscription, with the local name in the fem. nom. instead of the masc. gen., to agree with the father's name, would be unusual for an Attic deme. Intermarriages such as that here recorded have been adduced as evidence for the Athenian citizenship of Milesians, but the balance of authority seems to be on the other side.

5. This is identical with *C.I.G.* 300, but preserves so much more of the original that it seems worth while to add a new transcription.

In tre corone:—

ΑΘΥΣ

· Δ : : Σ

ΥΜΙΣ

ΠΟ/ ΙΣ

ΑΧΛ . ΝΕΥΣ

Α
ΠΩ ^ ΑΙΑΝΟΣ

ΑΧΑΡΝΟΥ

ΟΞΕΝΟΣ	ΒΑΚΧΙΟΣ	ΔΙΟΣ
ΖΑΛΩΝΙΟΣ	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ.	ΣΤΗΙ: ΟΣ
ΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ	ΔΗΜΟΣC=Ν : ::	ΚΛΞΙΔΙ
ΛΩΝΙΑΣ	ΛΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ
Υ=ΙΣ	Ξ=ΕΡ·ΟΣ	Χ: ΔΟΦΩΝ.
ΟΣ	Ι: Ε: :: ::	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ
ΛΩΝΟΣ	ΦΙΛΑ-Ι: ΟΣ	ΞΓΙΚΤΑΣ
ΜΕΝΟΣ	ΣΕΡΑΠΙC . .	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ
=	ΙΣΑΣ	ΑΜΑΡΑΝΤΟΣ
ΛΑΣ	ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ	ΛΥΚΟΣ
ΩΝ	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ	ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ.
ΣΙΟΣ	ΑΞΙΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΑΣ	ΝΙΚΩΝ
ΦΟΓΓ.	ΙΞΙΚΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ.	

Nel giardino della κύρα Κουτρικου.

(*Sic*; altered in pencil to *κυρά Κοτ*—.)

The dotted line indicates the amount extant in the *C.I.G.* copy. It will be observed that in one case λ, in two Α is given, probably by mistake.

If the inscriptions in the three wreaths belong to the text below them, they may help to explain these mere catalogues, of which several occur in the *Corpus*. In the second wreath we have Δ.....ς Πο[...]ς 'Αχαρνεύς; in the third, —ς Πωλλίανος 'Αχαρν[ε]ύ[ς]. In the new columns are clear the names

Φιλ }
 Δημ }] ὄξενος, 'Απ[ολλώνιος, Σωσ[τή]πατρος, 'Απολ[λ]ώνι[ο]ς.

The rest are too fragmentary for probable restoration. Turning next to the part preserved also in the *Corpus*, we find, in the left column l. 1, the conjecture Βάκχιος confirmed; in l. 5 the -ος confirms again Boeckh's emendation. In l. 9 we find 'Ισᾶς for 'Ισίας. In l. 7 Cockerell's transcript suggests Φιλάδελφος; this is confirmed by 'Αδελφός in l. 6 of *C.I.G.*, if one may assume a confusion of the two lines.

In the right column we find, l. 6, the form 'Απολλώνιος, and in 10, Λύκος quite clear, thus confirming Boeckh's emendation in both cases.

8. ΙΣΜΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ : ΛΓΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ

ΚΛΑΙΟΜΕΝΙΟΣ

Θε]σμόςβουλος [Ἄπ]ολλοδώρου

Κλαζομένιος.

The form of ζ, Ι, indicates an earlier period ; also, probably, Π, which has often, in other cases, been mistaken for Γ by the transcriber.

10. ΤΟΒΟΥΛΗ

ΣΣΓΙΚΗ

Ἄρισ]τοβούλη

Θε]σ(τ)σπική

If the second word be rightly restored, we have here a peculiar form of the adjective. For the ΣΣ, on the accuracy of which, however, too much stress must not be laid, cf. Boeckh on *C.I.G.* 25. Such doubling is found both in Attic and Boeotian inscriptions.

18. ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ

ΠΟΡΙΟΣ

Ἱεροκλῆς

Πόριος.

Poros is a deme of the tribe Akamantis.

Above this is written 'Vaso,' by the original copyist. This probably means that the inscription was on one of the marble lekythi often found on tombs in Attika.

This, and all that precede it, seem to come from Athens.

20. Apparently from Eleusis ; those before and after it certainly are so ; and geographical order is usually preserved.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΔΟΙ:ΝΑΝ

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΑ:ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΥ

ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ

ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΚΟΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ

ΑΡΑΒΙΚΟΥΑΔΞΑΒΗΝΙΚΟΥ

ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΜΗΤΕΡΑΚΑΣΤΡΩΝ

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ

Ἰουλίαν Δόμναν

Σεβαστήν Α[ε.] Σεπτιμίου

Σεουήρου Εὔσεβους
Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ
Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδ[ι]αβηνικοῦ
γυναῖκα Μητέρα Κάστρων
ἡ πόλις.

This string of titles of Septimius Severus is found pretty frequently repeated. Julia Domna's last title is found both in this merely transliterated form, and also in the translated one, *Μήτηρ στρατοπέδων*.

26. 'In Platea,' written over 25, but probably applies to this also, which is transcribed immediately underneath. λ and Λ, λ and Λ, occur with strange inconsistency in the copy.

ΤΙΣ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΑΝ ΣΥΛΗΣΕΝ, ΤΙΣ ὦ]λεσεν ὄρμον ἀπάντων
Σκεπτιάνην Π[ρ]ώ[τ]ευσ φιλόξεινον [καί] φιλόχριστον
οὐνεκεν ἐν Παραδίσω συ[ν] ἀθανάτοις λ[ά]χε κλήρον
αὐτῇ καὶ πόσει σοὶ [τ]όνδ' ἐ[δέμε]το τάφον
ΕΞΑΘΕΠΡ . . Ρ . ΤΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΤΟΛΙΣ

Τίς Πλάταιαν σύλησεν, τίς ὦ]λεσεν ὄρμον ἀπάντων
Σκεπτιάνην Π[ρ]ώ[τ]ευσ φιλόξεινον [καί] φιλόχριστον
οὐνεκεν ἐν Παραδίσω συ[ν] ἀθανάτοις λ[ά]χε κλήρον
αὐτῇ καὶ πόσει σοὶ [τ]όνδ' ἐ[δέμε]το τάφον.

—— Δι]ονυσόδωρος φιλόπτολις

'Who robbed Platea, who destroyed that refuge of all Skeptiane, daughter of Protes, friend to strangers and to Christ? Since she hath won a portion with the immortals in Paradise, for herself, and thee, husband, she built this tomb.'

If the restoration *ἐδέμετο* in l. 4 is right, it is scarcely harsher than *Πλάταιαν, φιλόξεινον*. We might read *ἐπονείτο*, or some such word, but this would depart further from our copy. The pentameter following three hexameters is hardly unusual. Other obvious irregularities of scansion hardly call for remark in such an inscription.

27. Perhaps still Platea; at any rate Boeotia, as the next is 'in Tebe.'

ΓΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ
ΑC)
ΙΚΙΑΝΟCΖΩΠΥΡΟΥ
ΑΛΚΟΜΕΝΕΙC
ΛΥΚΟC)

5. OC

ΙΕΙ ΑΙΤΙΩΝ
ΑΡΚΟΥΝΤΟC ΔΕ ΗΝ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤC
ΡΟΔΕΙC ΟΥ ΕΦΗΒΕΥC ΑΝ ΜΕΤΑΦΙ
10. ΠΟΡ · ΓΜΑΜΜΕΝΟΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΝ
ΟΥ . . . ΤΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΛΙΟC.

Not much seems intelligible beyond the words, l. 8, δὲ ἦν ἀγωνοθέτ[η]ς; l. 9, ἐφήβευσαν; l. 4, Ἀλ]αλκομενεῖς, and the proper names; l. 1, Π]αμφίλου; l. 3, Ζωπύρου; l. 5, Λύκος; l. 9, (?) Ἀφ]ροδισ[έ]ου; l. 11, Φιλοκράτης.

In l. 7, one is reminded of the formula 'τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἀ]εὶ αἰτίων[γενομένων];' but this has not otherwise the appearance of a complimentary inscription.

28. *C.I.G.* 1632.

Cockerell gives a line, wanting to the sense which is absent in the *C.I.G.*; l. 1, | inserted after second Λ; l. 3, the | supplied after the first Τ in *C.I.G.* is given by Cockerell; between l. 4, and l. 5.

ΔΗΜΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΤ

Thus we read the whole

. . . ἄλλιος Φαν
στείνος δόγμα
τι βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ
δήμου ἄριστα π[ο]
λειτευσάμε
νον.

The fourth line seems to have been dropped from the letter Δ apparently beginning both it and l. 5.

51. This and also 52, are immediately beneath an inscription found 'in Messene.'

ΥΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ
ΚΙΠΠΙΔΑ
Να]υσίνικος
Γλαν }
'Αλ }] κιππίδα.

52. See 51.

ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ
Σωσικράτης
'Αριστοκλής

53.

1. ΝΙΚΟΔΑ
:Ι

ΣΩΣΙΚΙ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕ

5. ΠΥΡΙΛΑΜΠΟ
ΕΙΦΙΛΙΝΟΣΞΕ

ΉΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ
ΣΨΚ
ΑΒΗΤΟΣ

10. ΧΙΜΕΝΗΣ
ΙΣΩΝΔΑΜΙΝΟΣ
ΩΝ

ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤ'Ι,Α
ΙΣΟΔΑΜΟΣΦΙΛ

15. Κ
ΡΑΤΟΚΛΗΣ
ΜΕΝΙΩΝ ΚΑΛΑ
ΣΙΛΑΣ.

ΚΛΟΥ
ΔΑΜΑΡΙ
ΩΣΙΚΙΑΣ
ΙΚΛΥΩ
ΑΥ

Clearly a mere catalogue of names.

1. 1. Νικόδα[μος.
1. 3. Σωσικ[ράτης.
1. 4. 'Αριστομέ[νης.
1. 5. Πυρίλαμπο[ς.
1. 6. Φιλίνος.

- l. 7. Κτ]ησικράτης, Σωσίπατρος.
- l. 10. Ἀλε]ιμένης.
- l. 11. Δαμῖνος
- l. 13. Καλαῖς,
- l. 14. Ἰσόδαμος.
- l. 16. Ἐρατοκλῆς.
- l. 18. Κρη]σίλας.

This, probably, also belongs to Messene, as it follows immediately on 51 and 52. 54 was found 'in Sparta.'

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

THE ÆSCHYLEAN TREATMENT OF MYTH AND LEGEND.

A SKETCH IN OUTLINE.

It is the part of sound criticism to beware of rashly assuming tendencies of any kind in dramatic poetry. The imaginative act of realising situation and character requires no end beyond itself. The faculty is satisfied with its own mere exercise; which may be as widely varied as the fables on which it works, or as human experience itself. If in single dramatists we find certain limitations, or an apparent preference for a particular class of subjects, we must not rush to hasty conclusions, but should distinguish as far as possible between accidental and essential differences, the former depending on the subject-matter which either chance or popularity threw in the artist's way, as jealousy for example in the Spanish drama, the latter resulting from the colour of his own thoughts, and his individual attitude (as an artist) towards the universe and towards mankind.

The power of Æschylus as a mere dramatist is so great, that the neglect of such precautions is, if possible, more than usually disastrous to the study of him; while on the other hand, they are more than ever necessary in his case, because certain important tendencies, both of the man and of the age, are so apparent in him. In attempting, therefore, to characterise some of these underlying motives, it is necessary to warn the reader at the outset against expecting anything like a complete description or survey. Such motives are very far from accounting for that complex phenomenon, the Æschylean drama. At most they do but constitute one of several factors that have worked together with the supreme dramatic instinct in the creation of it. Nor shall we be tempted by any theory into the error of supposing that the same motives are to be traced everywhere.

Variety is the chief note of the highest invention, and though few chords remain to us of the Aeschylean lyre, they are suggestive of a widely ranging plectrum.—Readers of the *Eumenides* or of the *Prometheus*, however, cannot help surmising an intention of the poet standing behind his creation. And although such a mode of regarding these two masterpieces has often been pressed too far, and has sometimes landed the student in barren enough fancies, yet it is an aspect of them which cannot be ignored, and when reasonably investigated may throw some light even on the poet's other dramas.

Some obvious facts about Aeschylus may be further premised.

That the victory at Marathon in which his youth took part, and that of Salamis, which he has celebrated, had a deep and inspiring influence upon his genius, is abundantly clear. Nor is it less manifest, that the idea which these triumphs represented for him was the glory of Hellas, and of Athens as the eye of Hellas.

Another fact relating to his mental history is sufficiently attested by the line of Aristophanes (*Ran.* 886), *Δήμητερ, ἡ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα*.

The Marathonian soldier, the Hellenic and Athenian patriot, the Eleusinian devotee—here are three notes of Aeschylean inspiration which in general terms we may confidently affirm, and from which we may hope for guidance in looking deeper.

Nor is there any doubt about the soldierly and patriotic notes;—above all, in the play which Aristophanes justly describes as ‘full of the spirit of Ares,’¹ the *Ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας*. The character and situation of Eteocles in that drama, moving onward to his fore-destined doom, yet heroically caring for the good of his country; the successive pictures of the seven warriors and the chiefs opposed to them, the splendid eulogy on Amphiaras—all this is calculated, as hardly anything could be, to make ‘honour’s thought reign solely in the breast of every man.’ It is where the patriot and the devotee are mingled, that the difficulty of understanding Aeschylus begins.

¹ *δράμα... Ἀφ’ ὧς μεστόν*.—*Ar. Ran.* 1022.

I. Let us turn, then, to the *Eumenides*, where the combined presence of these two motives is most evident. The religious and political significance of the drama has already been amply drawn out by K. O. Müller. Without resuming his observations, it will be enough to state simply the leading thought which is suggested by the drama itself, or rather by the Oresteian trilogy (which it concludes) when taken as a whole.

All great poetry idealises something, and imagination, especially the tragic imagination, ever delights in contrast. Now in most periods the contrasted ideal has been imagined as remote either in time or place, or both, and the poet has been either visionary or reactionary (according as he placed his good either in the future or the past), or, thirdly, pessimistic, as in the poetry of regret or of despair. Hesiod sings of a lost golden age, and in this he represents the most pervading sentiment of ancient culture. Dante, on the other hand, had fixed his gaze on 'one far off divine event, towards which the whole Creation moves.' But there have been two moments, and perhaps only two, when the highest imagination found its ideal in the actual present, as seen in the light of wonder, joy, and love; the opening of the fifth century B.C. in Hellas, and the earlier years of Elizabeth in England. In this respect there is an affinity between poets otherwise so different as Aeschylus and Spenser. And for other expressions of this feeling in the England of that day, it is enough to allude in passing to the Prologue of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, especially the lines (Gorlois' ghost is speaking):—

'For you there rests

A happier age, a thousand years to come;
An age for peace, religion, wealth, and ease,
When all the world shall wonder at your bliss,
That, that is yours;'

and to Shakespeare's description of 'this most balmy time' in his one hundred and seventh sonnet:—

'The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured,
And the sad augurs mock their own presage;
Incertainties now crown themselves assured,
And peace proclaims olives of endless age.'

But that which to the Elizabethans was a romantic sentiment, had for Aeschylus all the depth and force of a religion, and of a religion resting on eternal principles of righteousness and truth. His fervour is even of a nobler kind than that which the Pericles of Thucydides seeks to inculcate. (See especially the words *τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξα εἶναι, ἐνθυμούμενους*, κ.τ.λ. Thuc. ii. 435.) For the essential glory of Athens symbolises for him the secret of all happiness for Hellas, and for mankind.

Where then, it may be asked, is the opportunity for contrast, if the present is your ideal? It lies in holding up to view the confusions of a remote or of a former world: a world not yet reduced to order, in which righteousness is only inchoate and often overborne by wrong, in which wisdom is oppressed and not triumphant, in which mercy and reverence are still debatable; or again a realm in which the many are enslaved, and the latent energies of a great people have not been developed by freedom. Hence the scenes of Aeschylus are laid in remote ages and remote lands, or even in a pre-Olympian heaven.

And that which most fascinates his imagination in dwelling on mythology and legend is the contrast between past evil and present good. What gave to Hellas the assurance of strength, of blessedness, of the continuance of national well-being and of individual life? The glory of free and law-abiding Athens. What gave to Athens her true glory? The principles of reasonableness, equity and mercy, which lay at the foundation of her special institutions, and were associated with the worship of Zeus, Athena, and Apollo.

Now it is on this contrast between the glorious present and the legendary horrors of a remote past, that much of the interest of the great trilogy is made to turn. But Aeschylus is not contented with the imagined antithesis: the poet, who is also a religious *ἐξηγητής*, points further to a positive relation between the contrasted terms. For in his philosophy, as in that of Heraclitus, order comes out of disorder, peace is fathered by war, and equity is preluded by the 'wild justice' of revenge. And of course this primæval maelstrom, in which elemental passions clash and rave, gives to the tragic muse her proper

opportunity, the same of which Shakspeare availed himself in *Lear* and in *Macbeth*.

I trust I may not be understood as ignoring or extenuating the magnificent dramatic power which constitutes the eternal charm of the *Oresteia*, if I trace in it the inspiration of this ground idea. It is because Aeschylus is himself and not another, because he is poet, prophet, citizen and soldier in one, that I maintain as partially applicable to him, a method which has often proved fatal to dramatic criticism.

The accumulated horrors of the house of Pelops, from the *πρώταρχος* ἄτη of Atreus or of Thyestes onwards, have their culmination and coping-stone in the matricide of Orestes. Hitherto the law of retribution has prevailed—the *πρυγέων μῦθος, δράσαντι παθεῖν*. All has been 'action and reaction.' And over this law the *Ἐρινύες* have presided. So Clytemnestra and Aegisthus justified the murder of Agamemnon. So Orestes and Electra justify that of Clytemnestra. And in the vista of human memory there is a long train of similar acts, each accompanied by a similar plea: the sin of Paris visited on Troy, the sin of Atreus horribly avenged by Thyestes, the sin of Pelops against Myrtilus atoned by all that followed. But now it begins to be revealed that the *Erinyes* themselves may be convicted of transgressing the bound. A vision of equity, of regulated and reasoned justice, at length appears, and is embodied in Athenian institutions by the act of Athena. The *Erinyes* are transformed to the *Eumenides*, and remain for blessing not for cursing, as guardians of Athenian weal. All acts both private and public, so long as they are done in truth and equity, are henceforth under the protection of the Gentle Powers.

I do not pause here upon the question whether or not the *Eumenides* was written at a time when the privileges of the *Areopagus* were threatened. For it appears to me that in any case the poet's eye was fixed on a far simpler and far nobler theme, viz. on equity as the corner-stone of civilisation, and therefore as the secret of Athenian glory, and the security of all in Hellenic life that made it worth living. Thus it is not only the contrast between past and present, about which the poet's imagination plays, but the illustration, and in some sense the explanation of the present by the imagined past on which his speculative

genius broods. Nor is the present when so illustrated, the present merely, but exemplifies the true condition of all nations through all time.

In the *Persae* also there is an illustrative contrast, not now between past and present, but between East and West. The *Persae* is no doubt a pæan of victory, but it is also more. For the highest Greek genius of that age could not look upon events with mere selfish personal reference, although the self were co-extensive with all Hellas, nor without a comprehensive glance over all time and all existence. With the same disinterested objectivity which is so striking in Herodotus, but with more of sympathetic insight, Aeschylus enters within the heart of the great empire: so realising the pride of Atossa, incredulous of defeat, the devotion of the elders to their Emperor, the holy reverence of the faithful for Darius 'of blessed memory,' the personal dependence of the whole state upon Xerxes.

But while thus feasting the Athenian imagination with the moving panorama of a world so alien from the Hellenic mind, he is all the while pointing to the lesson which Herodotus also draws from the triumph of Athens: ἡ ἰσχυροῖν ὥς ἐστι χροῖμα σπουδαῖον.¹ The magnificent image of paternal despotism was sure to endear to his Athenian audience those free institutions and that respect for 'King Law,' under which they had conquered the Mede and saved Hellas—while it also enlarged their thoughts through the genial and sympathetic contemplation of an alien and a hostile world.

Hitherto, although in the *Eumenides* we have dwelt on mysteries, and in the *Persae* a visitant from Hades comes upon the scene, the subjects of the plays considered have belonged to the human sphere. But in the *Prometheus* we are carried altogether away from man: except that it is for befriending the whole human race that the suffering god is bound with that chain.

And excepting Io, who is the ancestress of Heracles, and is no longer altogether human, the persons in the *Prometheus* are all of the celestial mould. This circumstance of itself makes it excusable to look for a 'tendency' behind the action. Abstrac-

¹ Hdt. v. 78.

tions such as Strength and Force are not brought upon the stage except to read some lesson. And after what has been said, it will be easily understood that Aeschylus is not merely the dramatist here, but also the prophet. The lesson may now be read in the light of the preceding observations.¹

There is again a contrast between that consummate reign of right and wisdom in which Aeschylus believes as the actual source of all existing good, and a far distant past, which is figured as a time of spiritual chaos, in which not only the elemental passions of humanity, but the very elements of deity, were not yet harmonised, but conflicting and opposed. Rumours of change and succession, even in that supreme region, seemed to come down in the cosmogonies and theogonies of early mythology, embodied, for example, in the works of Hesiod and Pherecydes; and the story of Prometheus was felt to convey the echoes of a time, when Zeus himself was not a beneficent

¹ See a letter from the present writer to the editor of the *Academy*, printed July 14, 1877. The following sentences, in which the gist of the *Prometheus* is paraphrased, may be quoted here:—

‘There was a time when the power of Zeus, which, as all know, is now established in righteousness, was not yet finally secure. In accordance with the presage of Themis, Goddess of Eternal Right, the son of Cronos had been victorious over the Anarchs of the former time, not by brute violence, but by the help of forethought, which the Titans had despised. But, having won the heavenly throne, he was liable to the disease which all experience shows to be incident to an irresponsible ruler, and began to exercise his power without regard to the Wisdom by whose aid he had gained it, or the dictates of Primeval Right; and towards mortals in particular (as ancient legends show us), he manifested an excessive harshness. But to these courses the irrepressible spirit of Wisdom was opposed, and succeeded in obtaining gifts for men and rescuing them from the destruction which the new Sovereign of Olympus

had designed for them.

‘So long as this opposition and divorce between power, or authority, and wisdom was continued, the sovereignty of Zeus was imperilled. For blind force breeds blind force, and is destined to sink beneath the violence to which itself gives birth. So the Fates were heard to whisper.

‘On the other hand, had the contrariety remained, Wisdom must have been held in lasting bonds. For Thought unseconded by Energy is ineffectual.

‘But Wisdom knew the secret word which solitary Power had failed to apprehend, and Necessity at last made Power submit to learn the Truth from Wisdom. Thus Zeus was saved from fatal error (Cf. *Eum.* 640—651).

‘Then the long feud was reconciled, and an indissoluble league concluded between Wisdom and Power, and they went forth conquering and to conquer. Thenceforth the reign of Zeus became identical with that growth of Justice which is destined ultimately to subdue all moral discords throughout the Universe.’—The *Academy* of April 14, 1877.

but a malignant ruler. It was indeed the outcome of an age when men's conception of the Highest was a creature of their fear. We know from the story of Mycerinus,¹ and from the words attributed to Solon² (τὸ θεῖον—πάν φθονερὸν καὶ παραχῶδες), that such conceptions had been powerful in former ages, and had been revived and accentuated afresh by Ionian pessimism. The myth of Prometheus, in particular, presented a special aspect of this mode of thought, expressing the superstitious dread with which a rude conservatism regards the inventor, as one who by sheer force of mind transcends the limits appointed to the human lot, and makes the divine powers of nature subservient to human need; who is ready in his arrogance to give a charge to the lightnings, and expect them to say to him, 'Here we are.' Possibly, but this point I leave to professed mythologists, the special form of the myth may have been occasioned by the horror of some fire-worshipper at seeing his god put to menial use. In any case the myth belonged to a mode of thinking which the Athenian imagination had outgrown.³ Now the mind has various modes of dealing with such survivals of an outworn creed. Abstract philosophy would have said, 'the story is not true.' A new lawgiver might have exclaimed, 'Ye shall no longer use this proverb in your land.' But that is not the method of Aeschylus, the imaginative seer. He says, in effect, 'This happened under an earlier dispensation. But it involved an opposition which could not last. For power rejecting wisdom must come to nought, and wisdom rebelling against power is fettered and manacled. Omnipotence, to be eternal, must be at one with wisdom and beneficence, in a word must be just. And because power, alone and unaccompanied, is brittle and transient, wisdom and beneficence are co-eternal with almighty power.'

We should inquire too curiously if we thought it necessary to trace this motive (supposing it assumed) in every feature of the extant play, or if we supposed that it must have been explicitly set forth even in the *Prometheus Unbound*. Indeed, it may never have been consciously formulated by the poet himself. But it may be maintained nevertheless to have been immanent in the part-dramatic, part-mythological creation,

¹ Hdt. ii. 129, ff.

² *Ib.* i. 32.

³ See for example, Soph. *Ant.* 332, ff. πολλὰ τὰ θεῖα, κ. τ. λ.

through which the sublime thought of Aeschylus was communicated to the child-like imagination of his contemporaries from a height that was very far above them. We do trace a consciousness of the truth that Zeus himself could not rule for ever without conforming to the eternal law, which is one with the decree of fate;¹ and at the height of the conflict between the untamable spirit of the Titan and his oppressor, we are made to know that a reconciliation is to be, that the words of Prometheus,²

εἰς ἄρθμον ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότῃτα
σπεύδων σπεύδοντι ποθ' ἤξει,

are not an empty vaunt.

The absolute fearlessness with which the poet, when the conception has once been formed, throws himself into a situation so abhorrent to the religious associations of the Hellenes, is not only characteristic of Aeschylus, but also marks an interesting aspect of Greek religion generally.³ The same people who went mad about the mutilation of the Hermæ could revel in such free handling of mythology as that of the comic poets.

This is strange until we reflect that while religious *custom* lay upon them with a weight as deep as life, and was inseparably associated with their national well-being, the changing clouds of mythology lay lightly on their minds, and were, in their very nature, to some extent, the sport of fancy and imagination.

(Themis, in the *Prometheus*, line 209, is identical with Gaia; in the *Eumenides*, line 3, she is her daughter, who at Delphi, took her mother's seat, &c.)

Nor would the faith in the everlasting reign of Zeus in righteousness be shaken by the imagination of a time when he ruled harshly, being young in power. Rather it was the child-like certitude of the popular faith, that made it possible for the poet thus to inculcate a higher truth. It would be extremely interesting, but the fragments of the Lycurgen trilogy do not supply materials for the purpose, to inquire whether Aeschylus had conceived of a change in the spirit of Dionysus analogous to that here attributed to Zeus. It may be imagined, for example, that the magnificent fragment of the *Edonians*, (55 Dind.),

¹ *Prom.* V. 516.

² *Id.* 191, 192.

³ See Mr. E. Myers in *Hellenica*,

p. 21, ff.

descriptive of a super-human revelry in which were heard the *ταυρόφθοργοι ποθὲν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῖμοι*, may have been part of a representation of an earlier and cruder phase of the life of Bacchus, to be succeeded by a *σώφρων βακχεία*, a subdued and temperate enthusiasm.

II. To pass on now from mythology to legend.

History, no less than mythology, was to some extent the sport of imagination. At least the tradition of events which through lapse of ages had reached up into the fabulous, as Thucydides says, offered much plastic material to the poet's hand. Versions of the same event as different as those of the Arthurian romance in T. Hughes' ¹ tragedy, Sir T. Mallory's prose, and Tennyson's *Idylls*, co-existed and afforded opportunity for choice—and also gave an excuse for invention, for if two or three ways were permissible, another yet might be equally near the truth. In the sphere of history, as elsewhere, invention was not yet separated from discovery.

From the fragmentariness of our knowledge it is impossible to say with perfect confidence in particular instances, 'the poet invented this or that.' Leaving the question doubtful between invention and selection, we must be contented with ascertaining the poet's own version of his fable, and divining, if we can, his motive for preferring it to others.

An obvious example of the free imaginative handling of historical tradition is presented in the *Suppliants*. We learn from that play, in which, as the first of a trilogy, it is unsafe to speculate on the existence of a main underlying motive, that there was a time when the whole region, from the northern parts of Thessaly and Epirus to Cape Tænarus, was under one king, who had his throne at Argos, and was eponymus and ruler of the Pelasgi, the Hellenes being as yet unheard of. And there it fell to his hard lot to decide between protecting the suppliant Danaïdes, to the imminent danger of his own people, and delivering them, at the risk of some great pollution, into the hands of their cousins, the fifty sons of Aegyptus. All this, no doubt, led up to the tragedy of *Hypermnestra*. But in the fable itself so far, there are two points especially worthy of notice.

¹ *The Misfortunes of Arthur* (in Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. iv.).

1. Can this notion of a Pan-Pelasgic kingdom (alluded to later in the *Prometheus*) be much older than Æschylus? Must it not at least be regarded as the creation of a time, when, in consequence of the united efforts against the Medæ, Pan-Hellenism had made way in advanced minds? In adopting it Æschylus in so far follows the tendency which I have traced in him elsewhere, as by going back to pre-Hellenic times he can, without offence, imagine an age when respect for the suppliant was an open question only to be decided after long debate.

2. Thus, in a period imagined as far back, the plain of Argos is the seat of sovereign rule for what was afterwards called Hellas. We have now further to observe that the centre of this 'nurse of royal kings,' as conceived by the poet, was in the earliest ages the city of Argos itself, and not Mycenæ. This is an assumption which we know to have been false in fact, but which for some reason seems to have been consistently held by Æschylus. It would also appear that the city was imagined by him as unfortified.

The presumable date of the *Suppliants*, as one of the earliest plays, in so far corroborates the doubt which has lately been thrown on the connexion which some had suggested between the suppression of the name of Mycenæ in the dramas of Æschylus, and its alleged actual suppression by the Argives in 454 B.C. The fact remains that of this time-honoured city, so prominently mentioned in the *Iliad*, and in the plays of Sophocles, a city whose ancient supremacy was known to Thucydides, no trace remains on the Æschylean page.

In repeating this assertion we do not rely on the often fallacious argument from silence. The occasions for mentioning Mycenæ in the *Oresteia*, if the city were supposed to exist, especially if it were the seat of government, are too frequent and too obvious to admit of any other explanation. The Herald in returning salutes Argos and his country's gods—whose temples are manifestly there—and not *Μυκῆνας τὰς πολυχρύσους*, to which the Paedagogus points in the *Electra*. This is only one of many similar proofs. The late Bishop of Lincoln was, so far as I know, the first to call attention to this blotting out of Mycenæ, and it has been adverted to by subsequent writers. It has been less observed, however, that in the pre-historic

imaginings of Aeschylus, Sparta is equally non-existent with Mycenae.

That the legend of Menelaus and Helen should have undergone such an important modification may be a surprising fact, but so it is.

Menelaus is the dear (joint) sovereign of *this* (Argive) land τῇσδέ γῆς φίλον κράτος.¹ Not from Sparta but from Argos do Paris and Helen steal away.² It is in *this* house—the palace of the Pelopidae, that Helen's remembered beauty flits amongst other phantoms less beautiful but not more sad. For a fuller statement of this point I may refer to an article ('Notes on the Agamemnon') which I contributed to an early number of the *American Journal of Philology*.

The fact, if admitted, affords a very strong illustration, both of the unfixed condition of Greek heroic legend, and of the boldness with which Aeschylus took advantage of it. I wonder that it should have escaped the notice of Mr. F. A. Paley—for it must count for much amongst the indications on which he relies that 'our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*' had not yet the position of a 'Greek bible,' which Plato seems to assign to them. That in the imaginative flights in which the poet thinks to get behind the Dorian conquest into the pre-Dorian and even the pre-Hellenic world, he should have used this liberty of prophesying, need not surprise us greatly. At all events to have observed the fact, is, I think, of some moment, in connexion with the task of interpreting him.

Two other points in the trilogy are often misconceived: the position of Aegisthus, and the instrument of Agamemnon's murder. That Aegisthus is not installed in the palace at the opening, is, I think, clearly shown by l. 1608 of the *Agamemnon*, καὶ τοῦδε τάνδρὸς ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὦν. I imagine him to have returned from exile during the absence of the king, and to have lived obscurely in the borders of Argolis, while Clytemnestra in the great solitary palace was studiously nursing her revenge. The two hatreds coalesce into an adulterous union—but this is not avowed until l. 1436 of the *Agamemnon*. And the reproach of the Chorus in l. 1625, γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἤκοντας ἐκ μάχης νέον, κ.τ.λ., is the first outbreak of public indignation on this score.³

¹ *Ag.* 619.

² *Ag.* 402. 427.

³ See also *Choeph.* 132, *f.*

Lastly, it has been the common view, derived from the *Electra* of Sophocles, that Clytemnestra kills Agamemnon with an axe. But how can this be reconciled with *Choeph.* 1011 ὥς ἔβαλ' ἐν Αἰγίσθου ξίφος? Aegisthus, in the Aeschylean fable, took no part in the actual murder. But it appears, from this crucial passage, that it was done with his sword. And the incident which is thus suggested, viz. that the dastardly assassin should have purposely left his sword with Clytemnestra at their last secret meeting, is a lurid touch which is admirably in keeping, while it accounts for the abnormal circumstance that the princess, who affects to be too dainty to know aught of such matters (any more than of the craft of the smith), is found to be, after all, possessed of a lethal weapon.

The limited scope of this article forbids my touching on many tempting themes—the attitude of Aeschylus towards women (that aspect of the *Ewigweibliche* that was revealed to him); his estimate of domestic life; his manner of combining strength and tenderness; his power of reconciling individuality of treatment with pervading dignity and sonorosity; his strong conviction of the latent forces of democracy, and of the powerlessness of government to crush lastingly the popular will. All such points, however, are secondary to that which it has been my chief object to bring into prominence in the present paper, the faith of Aeschylus in the ideal which his own age had realized. Something kindred to this was at the core of all Hellenic art of the greatest period; but nowhere does it assume such depth of religious and ethical conviction, as in the Father of Tragedy. And, by imaginative contrast it accounts for much of what is gloomiest in him as well as for some things that are obscure. For as Keats has sung,

'In the very temple of Delight
 Veiled Melancholy has her sovran shrine,
 Though seen of none save him whose strenuous tongue
 Can burst Joy's grape against his palate fine:
 His soul shall taste the sadness of her might,
 And be among her cloudy trophies hung.'

And the joy of Aeschylus is a prophet's rejoicing in the triumph

of good. One remark of a somewhat practical nature may be offered in conclusion. When Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, are found to differ in respect of the details of a fable, it by no means follows that the earliest version is that adopted by the earliest poet. Each had his own manner of innovating, and his own special motives. While Aeschylus seems, occasionally at least, to have profoundly modified the whole spirit and intention of a myth or legend, and Euripides would often adopt the more fantastic in preference to the accredited version, the novel features either invented or preferred by Sophocles, had immediate reference to the harmonious structure of the drama, and to the most effective realisation of the leading human motive.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

NOTES ON (I), THE TRILOGY AND (II), CERTAIN FORMAL ARTIFICES OF AESCHYLUS.

I.—ON AESCHYLEAN TRILOGY.

1. THE interesting *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus' Tragödien* of R. Westphal (1869), which contains the germ of the idea worked out in Mezger's recent edition of Pindar, suggested to me to inquire why Aeschylus and the other pre-Sophoklean tragedians wrote tetralogies,—for this is the form in which Westphal's book suggests the question. But it becomes soon apparent that the real problem is why it was the habit to write a trilogy + a satyric drama; and this question contains two distinct parts: (1) why tragedy took the form of a trilogy—not a dilogy, tetralogy, or single drama; (2) why a satyric drama was also performed. Of these questions the latter has been discussed and adequately answered in every treatise on Greek drama.

Westphal was seriously misled through not keeping the satyric drama separate from the three plays that preceded it. These formed a connected whole and were really equivalent to one consecutive drama of three acts, from which the satyric piece was quite distinct, albeit its subject usually had some external connexion with them. He connected the tetralogical form with the fact first noticed by him that every Aeschylean play contains four *χορικά*, so that Aeschylus, he supposes, used a quadruple division as his artistic *τεθμός*, in the same way as the Terpendric *nomos* was based on a seven-fold division. But why was the number 4 chosen? Was it a mere accident? Did Aeschylus or whoever introduced it toss up to determine the number of his *τεθμός*? Or was he a mystic who believed

in the hidden virtues of the Pythagorean *τετρακτύς*? Westphal makes no attempt to assign a motive for such a fundamental phase of Greek dramatic art.

2. Avoiding the false and superficial comparison which misled Westphal, we propose the question: Why was the first artistic phase of tragedy trilogical? By 'artistic' we would distinguish it from its undeveloped stage in the hands of Thespis, &c. Thus proposed, the question is not hard to answer. The motive for a triple division was the canon that lies at the foundation of all Greek art, which is stated for poetry in Aristotle's *Poetic* (7). A work of art must be a whole: *ὅλον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἔχον ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευτήν*. Aristotle states this of *ἡ σύστασις τῶν πραγμάτων*; but as the artistic form and the *Inhalt* mutually determine each other, what applies to one applies to both. Thus a drama, conforming to this canon of art, would fall into three acts, just as a plastic group should have a centre and two symmetric sides or wings (cf. pediments of temples). It is curious that Aristotle ignores trilogy in discussing tragedy, although this canon is so well illustrated by it. This principle also underlies the Terpandric *nomos*, in which the number 7 is accidental. It really consists of three main parts, *ἀρχά*, *ὀμφαλός* and *σφραγίς*; the other four (*προοίμιον*, *κατατροπά*, &c.) were only parasitical accessories, any of which could be omitted (as we find frequently in the odes of Pindar). Similarly of the five parts of the Pythian *nomos* of Sakadas, three were especially prominent, *πεῖρα*, *λαμβικόν* and *καταχόρευσις*; and Aristoxenos mentions a *nomos* of three parts, *ἀρχή*, *μέσον* and *ἐκβασις*. The system of strophe, antistrophe and epode (whose invention is attributed to Stesichoros) depends on the same principle.

3. Westphal observed that each of Aeschylus's seven plays contains four *χορικά*. But four *χορικά* imply three epeisodia, and this is what he should have insisted on. Each drama of the trilogy, as well as the whole trilogy, obeyed the canon of art and consisted of three acts. The poet could vary the importance of the *prologos* and *exodos*: in the *Agamemnon* the *exodos* is perhaps the most prominent part of the play.

The canon itself has its foundation in the nature of space and time, but it would be *ἀπροσδιόνυσον* to discuss this here.

4. From all we know of Aeschylus's contemporaries there is

every reason to suppose that it was Aeschylus himself who first composed artistic trilogies. But the question arises whether it was the custom in earlier times to contend with three (or four) plays whose subjects might or might not be connected. If it was, the supposed innovation of Sophokles (contending with unconnected dramas) would have been only a reversion to the original pre-Aeschylean habit (compare however the important article of Mr. W. Lloyd in last number of this Journal). We have little evidence to trace the development of drama from Thespis to Aeschylus. The excellence of Aeschylus' three elder contemporaries, Phrynichos, Choirilos and Pratinas, lay either in satyric drama or in lyrical composition rather than in drama proper. Phrynichos was noted for his *πάθος*, but chiefly for his sweet lyrics (*μέλη*); Choirilos was more famous for his satyric dramas than his tragedies; Pratinas, whose high poetic power is proved by his extant hyporcheme, is recorded to have separated tragedy from satyric drama; he exhibited fifty plays and of these no less than thirty-two were satyric.¹

Proceeding upon this slender evidence, and remembering that at the festival of Dionusos there must have been a certain order of the day, that fixed times must have been allotted to the procession, to the tragic and comic representations and all the ceremonials connected with the feast, we may suppose that each competitor had a certain time given him, and that it was left to his own choice how he should use it—with how many and with what sort of plays. Poets whose *forte* was tragic style would naturally fill a relatively large proportion of the time with serious representations taken from epic poems; those who, like Pratinas and Choirilos, excelled in the satyric style might exhibit chiefly plays of that kind. Then the genius of Aeschylus appeared and prescribed a law to drama by making it serve an idea. He occupied about three quarters of the allotted time with an artistic drama of three long acts, and thereby made the satyric drama less prominent. He had to adapt the length of his plays to a limited time, just as a sculptor had to suit the size and number of his pedimental figures to the dimensions of the pediment. A new idea like this would necessarily have legislative effect, for when he gained a prize by his new method,

¹ Cf. Mahaffy, *Hist. Gk. Lit.* vol. i. p. 281, *et seq.*

his competitors would see that (to use his own expression) they must slay him with arrows feathered from his own plumage.

5. It is true that we have no direct evidence that a definite time was prescribed for the dramatic performances. But there must have been an order of the day at the Dionusia involving fixed hours for its several parts, and I do not see how we can avoid supposing that the time for comic and tragic representations must have been limited either by statute or custom. It is not necessary to suppose that the time was measured accurately *πρὸς κλεψύδραν* (and Aristotle, *Poet.* 7, seems rather to make against such a supposition), only that there was at least a conventional broad limit, which a dramatist could not exceed with impunity, and that each of the three competitors had the same amount of time. Now, although we have no direct *proofs* of this, which is *a priori* natural and cannot be disproved, there are certain *indications* which are worth mentioning. The average length of Sophokles' seven extant dramas is 1477 lines; the average length of fourteen plays of Euripides (I omit purposely the *Iphigeneia in Aul.* because it has extensive interpolations which make it impossible to determine exactly its original length, the *Herakleidae* because there is probably a lacuna of some extent in it, the *Kuklops* as a satyric drama, and the *Alkestis* as a quasi-satyric drama) is 1463. This is a remarkable coincidence in numbers, and I think we may roughly conclude that the average length of a trilogy of Sophokles or Euripides was about 1470×3 ; the satyric drama would be larger or shorter according to the variation from this average. When we turn to Aeschylus the length of his plays seems at first sight to point to an opposite conclusion. The actual average of the number of lines in his seven extant plays is 1160; but it is probably an accident that the four unconnected plays are all short, and, judging from the *Oresteia*, it is probable that in the trilogies to which they belonged the other dramas, one or both, were longer. The average length of the three plays of the *Oresteia* is 1265 and, even if we suppose it to have been unusually long, we may conclude the average length of the Aeschylean trilogies to have been $1200 \text{ odd} \times 3$. This does not contradict but confirms our hypothesis, for the plays of Aeschylus had a larger proportion of music than those of his two successors, and consequently a play of his would take on an average a

longer time to perform than a play of the same length of either of the latter: the *Agamemnon*, e.g., would take much longer to perform than the *Orestes*. If we really have a trilogy of Sophokles in the *Trachiniai*, *Aias* and *Philoktetes* (as Mr. Lloyd has suggested), it is interesting to compare it in this respect with the *Oresteia*. The supposed Sophoklean trilogy is 372 lines longer than the Aeschylean, but there is as much music in the *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* alone as there is in the three plays of Sophokles together. It is true that the length of the *Oresteia* may be above the average length of Aeschylean trilogies, and the length of this triplet of Sophokles probably below his average, but this will not invalidate the general indication that as the musical element became less the average length of the trilogy became greater—an indication in favour of the thesis that the time of a tragic representation had approximate, if not accurate, limits, whether statutory or conventional.

This question of the development of the drama at Athens is very fascinating, but the evidences are so scant that it is vain to attempt to fill in details, and one must be content with such general indications.

6. We may now approach the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus and see how he adapts his trichotomy to the three moments of a deep moral doctrine which is the *Grundgedanke* of this trilogy. The law of justice is ἐρξάντα παθεῖν (*Agam.* 1564, cf. 533, *Choeph.* 313); but there is an object in πάθος, namely μάθος, as is twice insisted on in the first choral ode of the *Agamemnon*, l. 176: τὸν πάθει μάθος θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν, and 250 Δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει τὸ μέλλον; cf. *Eumen.* 520: ξυμφέρει σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει. Aeschylus is sounding the law of life, ἐρξάντα παθεῖν, retribution, but he explains it in two directions, so that it really contains three moments, to which the three dramas correspond: (1) A πάθος or ἄτα implies a crime (ἔργμα); (2) conversely, he who has done must suffer, ἔργμα implies πάθος; (3) the object of suffering is experience, to teach. The *Agamemnon* contains the ἔργμα, the *Choephoroi* contains the πάθος, the *Eumenides* the μάθος. But the ἔργμα of Klutaimnestra and Aegisthus is also the πάθος of Agamemnon, and all through the play a past ἔργμα, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, is kept before us. In the *Choephoroi* the second aspect of the lesson is brought home to us. But the πάθος of the guilty pair is also an ἔργμα

of *Orestes*, which must be followed by another *πάθος*. In the *Eumenides* we have the third aspect, *πάθος* may result in *μάθος*; and so Aeschylus justifies the ways of Zeus with man. Agamemnon failed to learn, Klutaimnestra failed to learn, but Orestes learned (*Eum.* 276, ἐγὼ διδαχθεὶς ἐν κακοῖς ἐπίσταμαι πολλοὺς καθαρμούς, κ.τ.λ.), and the troubles of the house ceased. The *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoroi* balance one another, the *Eumenides* is the resultant. There is a *δέσις* in the first play which receives a *λύσις* in the second, but this very *λύσις* is a new *δέσις*, which receives a final *λύσις* in the third. At the beginning of the *Agamemnon* there glimmers a *φῶς αἰνολαμπές*, at the end all is darkness; it is still dark at the beginning of the *Choephoroi*, but at the end *πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν*; in the *Eumenides* the children of Night are overcome by the God of Day. We may add that in the *Agamemnon* Πειθώ is the *προβουλόπαις ἄφερτος ἄτας*, instigating to a deed; in the *Choephoroi* she is *δολία* and assists the *πάθος*; in the *Eumenides* she helps to soothe the Erinnues.

The Prometheus trilogy enforced the same doctrine in a different form. As Firebearer, Bound and Unbound, Prometheus represents successively *ἔργμα*, *πάθος* and *μάθος*. On the other trilogies we shall forbear speculating, as there is so much uncertainty in regard to the plots of the lost plays, and shall proceed to point out some other characteristics of the form of Aeschylean tragedy.

II.—CERTAIN FORMAL ARTIFICES OF AESCHYLUS.

7. The scenes in *Prometheus Bound* respond to one another very accurately. In the *prologue* and *exodos* Prometheus is in the presence of his tormentors. In the first epeisodion the conversation with Okeanos answers to and contrasts with the scene with Io in the third. In the second epeisodion, which is as it were the *omphalos* of the piece, Prometheus is alone on the stage. The contrast between Okeanos and Io seems to be that while the *God* can give no assistance to the chained hero, a *mortal* is destined to deliver him by her future progeny. But the introduction of Io has another, deeper meaning, which commentators have not seen because they have not sufficiently

attended to Aeschylus's own indications in his choral odes. The great doctrine of this play is that abnormal (*i.e.* contrary to the *ἁρμονία Διός*) intercourse of mortals and immortals is a subversion of the order of the Universe and must result in pain. *Prometheus is the example of an immortal lowering himself to an undue concern for mortals; Io is the converse example of a mortal raised above a mortal's rank to approach a God.* The choral ode l. 529 *sq.* insists on the folly and evil consequences of the former error; then follows the scene with Io; after which the final choral ode of the play (l. 887 *sq.*) insists with equal stress on the misfortune of a mortal marrying an immortal. That Aeschylus meant these two odes to be taken in close connexion will be plain from the following comparisons:—

l. 526 (str. a).

μηδὰμ' ὁ πάντα νέμων
θεῖτ' ἐμὰ γνώμα κράτος ἀντί-
παλον Ζεὺς...
μηδ' ἀλίτοιμι λόγοις.

l. 894 (ant. a).

μήποτε μήποτέ μ', ὦ
πότνιαι Μοῖραι, λεχέων Διὸς
εὐνάτειραν ἰδοῖσθε πέλουσαν
μηδὲ πλαθείην γαμέτα τινὶ τῶν
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

l. 535 (ant. a).

ἀλλὰ μοι τόδ' ἐμμένει καὶ
μήποτ' ἐκτακέη.
¹ ἄδύ τι θαρσαλέαις
τὸν μακρὸν τείνειν βίον ἐλπῖσι,
φαναῖς
θυμὸν ἀλδαίνουσιν ἐν εὐφρο-
σύναις.

l. 886 (str. a).

ἦ σοφὸς ἦ σοφὸς δὲ
πρῶτος ἐν γνώμα τόδ' ἐβάστασε
καὶ γλώσσα διεμυθολόγησεν,
ὥς τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἀριστεύει μακρῷ
καὶ μήτε κ.τ.λ.

l. 540 (ant. a).

φρίσσω δέ σε δερκομένα
μυρίοις μόχθοις διακναιόμενον.

l. 898 (ant. a).

ταρβῶ γὰρ ἄστεργάνορα παρ-
θενίαν
εἰσορῶσ' Ἰοῦς μέγα δαπτο-
μέναν
δυσπλάνοις Ἥρας ἀλατείαις
πόνων.

¹ This parallelism supports Mr. Verrall's suggestion that the words ἄδύ τι

κ.τ.λ. are a 'slightly disguised version' of an elegiac couplet.

l. 546.

οὐδ' ἐδέρχθης
 ὀλιγοδρανίαν ἄκικυν,
 ἰσόνειρον ἔ τὸ φωτῶν
 ἀλαὸν γένος ἐμπεποδισμένον·
 οὐποτε θνατῶν
 τὰν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν παρεξίασι
 βουλαί.

l. 555.

τὸ διαμφίδιον δέ μοι μέλος...
 ὅτε τὰν ὁμοπάτριον ἔδνοις
 ἀγαγες Ἑσιόναν πιθῶν δά-
 μαρτα κοινόλεκτρον.

l. 902.

μηδὲ κρεισσόνων
 θεῶν ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσ-
 δράκοι με...
 Διὸς γὰρ οὐχ ὀρχ
 μῆτιν ὅπα φύγοιμ' ἄν.

l. 901.

ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτι μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος
 οὐ δέδια.

Finally the *χάρις ἄχαρις* (l. 545) of τὸ σέβειν θνατοὺς ἄγαν corresponds to the ἀπολέμιστος πόλεμος ἄπορα πόριμος (l. 906) in which Io was involved with Here.

8. Having seen from this instance the closeness with which Aeschylus attended to formal details and the mode in which he utilized correspondences of phraseology to indicate his deeper meaning, we may proceed to consider some passages in the *Agamemnon* on which this observation will, we think, throw new light.

It will be noticed how closely the ἐπάργεμα θέσφατα of *Kassandra* (l. 1072–1176) correspond not only in the metre, strophe to antistrophe, but also in parallelism of sense. This consideration will enable us to establish that the right reading in the much-troubled line 1172 is that which involves the very slightest change from the MSS.:

- 1156 ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι φίλων. str. η
 ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν.
 τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς αἰόνας τάλαιν' ἡνυτόμαν τροφαῖς
 νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτόν τε κάχερουσίους
- 1161 ἔχθους ἔοικα θεσπιψήσσειν τάχα.
- 1167 ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας τὸ πᾶν. ant. η
 ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσίαι πατρὸς
 πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν
 τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν.
- 1172 ἐγὼ δὲ θερμὸν οὖς τάχ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ.
 (θερμὸν οὖς, Canter for MSS. θερμόνους).

L. 1156 contains the cause of the effect described in 1167 : notice γάμοι, πόνοι; Πάριδος, πόλεος; ὀλέθριοι, ὀλομένας. In 1157 πάτριον, 1168 πατρός.

In str. η *Kassandra* contrasts the past with the present prospect; she used to dwell by the banks of the river Skamander, but she will *soon* prophesy by the banks of the Acheron and the Kókutos. In ant. η also she contrasts the past with the present prospect. She used to assist at the sacrifices of cattle offered by her father, but they availed not; now she will *soon*—what is the contrast? She tells us herself afterwards when she has ceased to speak in riddles; l. 1275 sq.:

καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ
ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας.
βωμοῦ πατρός δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει,
θερμῷ κοπεῖσαν φοινίφ' προσφάγματι.

A block waits her instead of her father's altar. θερμῷ here seems to me to prove θερμὸν right in 1172. At first sight I was tempted to read ξήνφ for πέδφ,—the simple form of ἐπιξήνφ, but not found except in Suidas. But there is no necessity. οὗς is an allusion to the μαντική: 'my ear that used to listen to the utterances of the victims.' τάχ' corresponds to τάχα in 1161.

9. In the *Agamemnon* there is an implied parallel throughout between the destruction that had come upon Troy and the destruction about to come upon the house of Agamemnon. This parallel is drawn with special clearness in the second chorus l. 403–455, and the poet indicates throughout the *responsions of thought by responsions of phrase*. The grief of Menelaos for Helen is contrasted with the grief of the Greeks for the warriors slain at Troy:

Compare 408 πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον
 τότ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται·
with 445 στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.

Of Helen there is only left an image of fancy or vain dream-visions; of the slain warriors there only return urns of ashes:

Compare 414	πόθω δ' ὑπερποντίας
	φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν
and 420	ὄνειρόφαντοι δὲ πενθήμονες
	πάρεσιν δόκαι φέρουσai χάριν ματαίαν
with 434	ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν
	τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκάστου δόμῳ ἀφικνεῖται
and 441	...φίλοισι πέμπει βραχὺ
	ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀντήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί- ζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.

(With πενθήμονες in 420 compare πένθεια τλησικάρδιος in 430). Aeschylus emphasises his intended parallel by twice repeating the same idea. Helen went away to Ilion, *βέβακεν ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν*, and only a passing dream of her came to Menelaos *παραλλάξασα διὰ χειρῶν βέβακεν ὄψις*. And so the Greeks sent away their soldiers to Ilion, *οὓς μὲν γάρ τις ἔπεμψεν οἶδεν*; but Ares sent back only dust, *φίλοισι πέμπει βραχὺ ψῆγμα*.

To (l. 415 sq.)

εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί·
ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

corresponds (l. 452 sq.)

οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος
θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς
εὐμορφοὶ κατέχουσιν· ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν.

εὐμορφοὶ κολοσσοί are statues of Helen. So far from being a comfort to Menelaos in her absence, they are hateful to him—for they have no eyes to see. To these correspond the comely bodies of the fallen heroes; they are no comfort to the mourners because they are far off in the land of Ilium, covered by a hateful soil. It must be specially noticed that these lines *correspond strictly in metre although they are not strophic and antistrophic* (the first three belonging to str. β, the second three to str. γ). *ἔχοντας* is almost certainly corrupt in l. 455; only a strained meaning can be elicited from it. Read

ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔρροντας ἔκρυψεν,

'as they perished' (imperf. part.). This will correspond to ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

The *προφήται δόμων* of Menelaos mourn thus after Helen's flight (l. 410):

ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,
ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες.
πάρεστι σιγᾶς αἰμός αλοιδόρος
ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων ἰδεῖν.

In dealing with these corrupt words the commentators generally start with referring *πάρεστι* to Menelaos; he is however expressly referred to a few lines below (*ἐχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί*) in a manner which gives the impression that he was not mentioned so directly before. We propose to read with less change than any of the readings hitherto put forward¹—

πάρεστι σιγᾶς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους
ἄδιστ' ἀφειμένων ἰδεῖν.

This only involves the assumption that $\delta = \text{ou}$ in cursive MSS. was corrupted to σ in *ἀτίμους* and *ἀλοιδόρους*. *ἄδιστ'* was changed by a person without understanding to *ἄδιστος* to agree with *ἄτιμος ἀλοιδόρος*. The passage may be paraphrased, *πάρεσιν ἰδεῖν ἀτίμους καὶ ἀλοιδόρως σιγῶντας τοὺς ἄδιστα ἀφειμένους* (middle; = Menelaos). *σιγᾶς ἀτίμους* would be an instance of 'interchange of attributive forms.'

Corresponding to this lament, the universal grief of Greece (in l. 445 sq.) is thus described:

στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄνδρα τὸν μὲν ὡς
μάχης Ἰδρις τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'
ἄλλοτρίας διαὶ γυναικός. τάδε σιγὰ τις βαύζει.

σιγὰ τις βαύζει corresponds plainly to *σιγᾶς ἀλοιδόρους*; both expressions mean that there is no open grumbling. *βάζω* and *βαύζω* were often equivalent to *λοιδορέω*, cf. Hesychius, *ἔβαξας ἐλοιδόρησας* (and see Mr. Verrall's interesting note on *Medea*, 1374). It may be noted that *λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες*, the 'harvest-fields' of Aphrodite, correspond to *μάχης* and *ἐν φοναῖς*, the sphere of Ares. The theme of the first part is connected with the goddess (mentioned in l. 419), as the theme

¹ In the antistrophe, read with Dindorf, τὸ πᾶν δ' ἄφ' Ἑλλανίδος γὰς συνορμύοις.

of the second part is connected with the god (mentioned in l. 437).

10. It may be useful to exhibit the results of our investigation of this ode by giving a brief summary of its contents, arranged in such a way as to show its peculiar structure, which produces the effect of a tide retreating and advancing.

a. The gods do not fail to punish injustice, and it is unjust to tamper with *χάρις ἀθίκτων*.

b. Paris was guilty of injustice in carrying off Helen,

c. who went to Ilion, bringing destruction upon it (and Paris),

d. and leaving to the bereaved in Sparta lamentation and silent complaint—regret for the love and beauty that had departed :

e. for only a phantom of her was left in the palace, and her beautiful images became hateful to her husband, for they had no light in their eyes, and, without that, Aphrodite could give no charm ; she could send

f. naught but empty dreams,—phantoms that came, and departed as Helen herself had departed.

g. Such were the private woes in the palace at Lacedaemon.

g'. But there are now universal woes throughout all Hellas :

f'. for only the ashes of the warriors who were sent to Ilion are sent back therefrom :

e'. Ares could send naught but the ashes of some ; other beautiful bodies are at Ilion, buried in a land that is hateful to Greece.

d'. To Greece they have left lamentation,—regret for the brave that have bravely fallen,—and silent complaint

c'. to issue in woes for the sons of Atreus who brought them to Ilion,

b'. and were thereby guilty of the slaughter of many (*πολυκτόνοι*),

a'. a crime which the gods do not fail to punish.

11. It will appear no doubt surprising, and many will be *a priori* indisposed to believe that Aeschylus could have elaborated his odes on such a subtle plan as this principle of *antiphony*, if we may so call it. On the other hand (as Mr. Mahaffy has suggested to me), it will render intelligible Aristophanes' criticism on him for being over artificial (cf. Mahaffy, *Hist. Gr. Lit.*, i. p. 274), and this seems a conclusive answer to all *a priori* objections. To examine his other choral odes in the light of this principle, *non est hujus otii*. The examples I have given are, I think, sufficient to show that he worked (at least sometimes) with an artistic elaboration and minuteness of detail that has never been suspected,—a minuteness which, if practised by a modern poet, would be scouted as oversubtlety, and considered, to use the phrase that Aristophanes applies to the musical 'zigzags and dodges' of Agathon, *μύρμηκος ἀτραποί*. We may also learn that no study can be too microscopic to bring the ideas of Aeschylus to light.

JOHN B. BURY.

EARLY PAINTINGS OF ASIA MINOR.

IN the history of Greek vase-painting the comparative rarity of early examples of undoubtedly Asiatic *provenance* is a problem that has always remained a vexed question. It is difficult to account for the fact that, whereas from the islands studding the coast of Asia Minor a rich harvest has been gathered, yet the examples hitherto recovered from the mainland itself may be counted on the fingers—at least, with the exception of a few found in the Troad. Since, therefore, anything should be valuable which adds to our information, or throws light upon the existence of an Asiatic school of black-figured vase-painting, I propose to introduce in as few words as possible the vase before us (Figs. 1, 2) as a possible product of Asiatic soil, and as a commentary upon the examples we already possess.

It is an *amphora* of an unusual form, rather more rounded in proportion than the customary shape, reminding us perhaps in this of the rounded outline of the so-called Oriental *oinochoe*; unfortunately, only about half of the many fragments into which it was broken were found in Mr. Biliotti's excavations in Rhodes, so that the painted panels on each side are sadly dilapidated; still, enough remains to show us the intention of the painter, and, what is more important, perhaps, the technical conditions under which he worked. The natural colour of the clay is a fine deep red, upon which the figures are laid in black, which, from inequalities of baking and painting, merges in the thinnest parts into a bright vermillion. The details are in most cases incised, but in some cases indicated by white and purple, over and above the sparse use of these colours as accessories. On the side best preserved have been represented two satyrs with shaggy hair, full beard, and horse's tail and hoofs, who seem to be dancing one on either side of a large

amphora, a handle of which is grasped by each. On the other, and probably the more important, side, (Fig. 2) we have only the remains of a large wing, which may have belonged to a Gorgon,

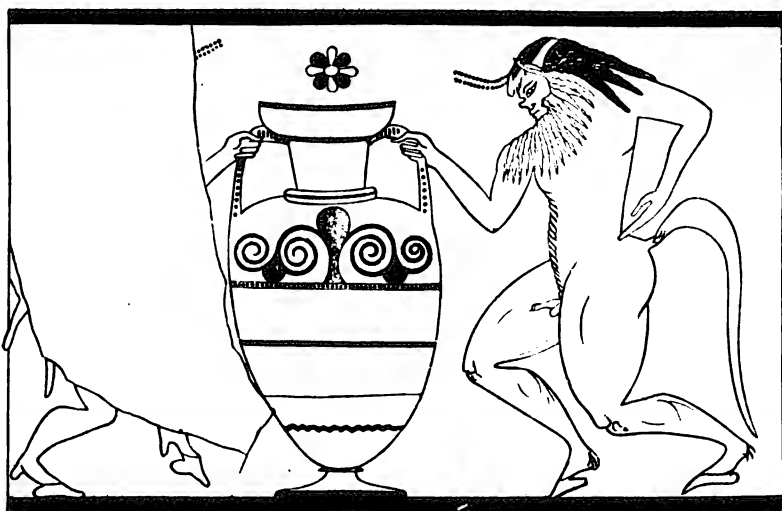


FIG. 1.

on either side of whom has stood a bird, only partially preserved, and two rosettes above the scene.

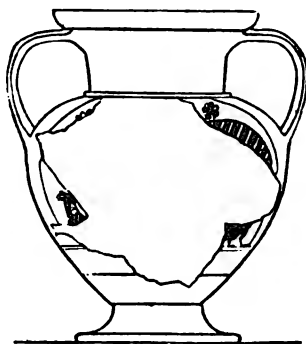


FIG. 2.

Height $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

The scenes which the artist has chosen have, then, as far as we can judge in their imperfect condition, no connection with

any definite story or myth, but are purely decorative; and for this reason, as well as from certain crudities of treatment and *technique*, I should assign it to an early stage of the black-figured period. It was found, as I have said, in Rhodes, but there is at present no similar Rhodian fabric with which it can be properly classed; it belongs rather, I think, to a class of paintings of which the examples hitherto forthcoming hail from Asia Minor. Considering how few these are, it would be rash at present to state anything definite as to this fabric; I will only endeavour to draw attention to the proofs of relationship with the remainder of the class.

We have, first of all, the vase bought by Mr. Ramsay at Smyrna, and published by him in this *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 305.

This vase, however, though it certainly has little in common with any known Greek type, belongs equally little to the black-figured style with which we are dealing; the only instance with which it can be compared is a vase published in the *Barre Catalogue*,¹ No. 79, and which seems identical in every respect of style with it; this latter is from Cyprus, and it may be that both are originally from some part of Asia Minor further south, if not from Cyprus itself. Next we have the Myrina vase, published by Rayet in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*, vol. viii. pp. 509-14, pl. vii., which is a typical instance of the class I allude to; and finally, the numerous fragments of painted sarcophagi, published by Dennis in this *Journal*, vol. iv. pp. 1-22. Before the publication of Dennis's instances no similar painted sarcophagus had been known, except the one from Rhodes, now in the British Museum; and at first sight both these and the Myrina vase seem to class themselves most naturally with the fabric of which Rhodes has given us such abundance; but on closer inspection, for which I have lately had the advantages of

¹ I cannot at all agree with M. Rayet in the extremely early date which he assigns to Mr. Ramsay's vase; the wood-cut of it given *loc. cit.* very fairly represents what is at best a very crude production; it is true, the head painted on it resembles a type found on Phrygian monuments, but that is no reason why it should necessarily date from the earliest of this long series of monu-

ments. Indeed, when we compare it with the Barre vase, the style seems to represent, not so much genuine archaism, as that florid ignorance of which we have samples in some late ware in the British Museum from South Italy, and where we find a similar reminiscence of an earlier art very much debased.

handling some of the principal fragments quoted by Dennis, it is apparent that there are certain decided points of difference; the Rhodian sarcophagus, for example, though it follows in the main the same traditions in the disposition and even the choice of subjects, and though the *technique* and treatment are similar, yet shows decided evidence of being a later imitation of some early style, like that of the Dennis fragment, copied by an artist who could have drawn more skilfully if he had been working independently of any model; the animals are freer, the ornaments much more florid, and the warriors' heads are almost grotesque in the evident desire of the artist to adapt an early original to his own environments. As the vases collected by Dennis are from the neighbourhood of Clazomenae, and as no other site has produced painted sarcophagi, it would seem as if this spot was a centre of production of this fabric. As a sarcophagus of terra-cotta would have been too unwieldy to be suitable for export, I would suggest that the Rhodian instance may perhaps have been a local production on the lines of the fabric of Clazomenae, or some such external model; while, for the same reason the Clazomenae fragments are valuable, as evidence of the fabrics probably of that locality. And there is one point in the relative treatment of the two styles of sarcophagi which seems to bear upon this possibility; that in (so far as I can make out) all the instances from Clazomenae, the inner markings, *i.e.* the features of the faces, the hair, the muscles, etc., are marked in white paint on the black ground of the body; so far as I know this peculiarity is confined to the instances from Asia Minor. The method of rendering these markings to which we are most accustomed in black-figured vases is, of course, the incised lines which became universal among black-figured vases; but this invention had not always existed, and in Rhodian vases in particular we have the opportunity of studying its development. The successive steps would seem to have been something in this order; first we have the rudimentary figure in plain silhouette, with no inner markings at all; this is followed by an attempt to indicate the eye and other of the more prominent characteristics by leaving thin lines in the silhouette unpainted; then we have the entire face left in outline, as well as perhaps the hoofs of animals, etc.; and from this point we branch off in two directions, on the one hand of figures left entirely in outline,

on the other the whole figure is blacked in, and the necessary details afterwards scratched out in fine lines. Now among the vases found at Rhodes we have a great number of *oinochoai*, which seem to belong precisely to this stage of development, and which illustrate a time when the last two stages of development must have existed temporarily side by side. Of exactly the same form and general system of decoration, they divide themselves naturally into two distinct styles. These *oinochoai* are ornamented with horizontal bands of animals in a field thickly *semé* with flowers and other patterns; but whereas one series have the inner markings indicated by the unpainted line, and most of the patterns in the field are such as belonged to the geometric style, in the other the inner markings are incised, the figures are more conventional and more highly coloured with purple, and the more crowded patterns in the field consist almost universally of the round rosette. Now it is obvious that this general style must have been borrowed more or less directly from an Oriental source, for which reason, indeed, the name 'Oriental' has been specially applied to it; and since the peculiar characteristics of the second class are such as we should most naturally attribute to an Oriental origin, we may be allowed to suppose that this second class represents more distinctly the eastern productions from which the remainder of these *oinochoai* borrowed their system of decoration. To the eastern artists, accustomed to work similar friezes in metal, the use of incised lines would be no new thing. The graving tool of the metal-worker accustomed to incising details on metal, and accustomed to similar methods of decoration as we see in the Patras cuirass, (*Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vol. vii., pl. i.-iii.) would obviously have suggested a similar expedient for the painter of vases. Hence, then, it seems probable that the usage of incised lines must have existed among the Asiatic fabrics before it was employed in Rhodes; and we may expect to find this fact verified in the case of the sarcophagi. The Rhodian sarcophagus is decorated still in what we may, for convenience, call the Dorian style, *i.e.* with the faces left in outline, and markings on the body indicated by unpainted lines; on the other hand, in the earliest of the Clazomenae fragments we have some of the figures still in rude silhouette, others on the same fragment with the details indicated by thin lines of

white paint laid on the silhouette, exactly on the same method as incised lines would be used, which, in fact, at first sight they closely resemble. And the reason for this is not far to seek; on a vase of soft clay which has undergone one slight baking it is a comparatively easy matter to trace with a point a fine line; but these sarcophagi are made of pounded brick, which is baked hard before ever the groundwork of paint is laid on, and it would at this stage be extremely difficult to incise lines as fine as the decoration would require; accustomed, however, more to incised lines than to the 'Dorian' practice, the artist avails himself of the white paint already in use for the background, and finds in it an easy and sufficient substitute. As more black-figured vases are discovered from Asia Minor we shall see whether or no this simple substitute for the troublesome practice of incising commended itself to the artists of the black-figured style, and how far it became, as one would expect, universally substituted among them. So far as I know it has only been found at present in use upon one black-figured vase, as yet unpublished, but of which Mr. Ramsay showed me a tracing; as the evidence is strongly in favour of that vase having been found near Smyrna, it offers valuable testimony in favour of my contention. At present the evidence is too slight to found any definite case upon it; but what I would suggest is this: that the use of incised lines came originally from Asia Minor, and that where white inner markings are found in their place the presumption is in favour of an Asiatic origin.

Mr. Murray in the *Rev. Arch.*, N.S., vol. xliv. p. 344, has already called attention to this distinction of brush and graver in the two styles of Rhodian *oinochoai*, but he finds it strange that whereas, on the one hand, the mechanical conditions of the engraved style show more advanced work, the drawing is of a feebler style of art; and that vases of the Dorian style should be found in the same tombs with glass rosettes, such as must have prompted the decoration of the field peculiar to the 'Oriental' style; from which he concludes that the Oriental style is later than the Doric. But the difficulty disappears if we can prove that the two styles represent two distinct fabrics. In the large collection of Rhodian pottery now in the British Museum we can trace the 'Dorian' style from an early time down to the point where it is influenced by the Oriental vases; and there

seems no doubt that already when this takes place the Oriental style is in a condition of full development, and certainly not a newly-founded art. We have special facilities for judging this in the case of an *oinochoë* (Fig. 3) at present in the British



FIG. 3.
Height 13 inches.

Museum, which shows us a combination of the two styles, and which must from its appearance belong to a time when neither style was far advanced. It is of the ordinary shape, and at first

sight presents much the same appearance as the rest of the class with which we are dealing ; but if we examine it closely we shall find that it is distinguished by several peculiar characteristics. It is decorated on the body with two bands of animals, of which the upper band exhibits the Oriental, the lower the Dorian, *technique* throughout, that is to say, while the upper band has the inner markings incised, and large masses of purple employed upon the silhouette, in the lower band less purple and no incised lines are used ; the inner markings are left unpainted. Below these friezes are thin horizontal bands of black, upon which purple and white lines are painted alternately, a peculiarity which seems to belong exclusively to this series of the class ; the clay is not of the ordinary light colour, with a thin yellowish engobe forming the ground tint, but is of a warm reddish colour, upon which a wash of white seems to have been laid with a brush. And there is one more point which in connection with these seems more than accidental, that in the field of the Dorian frieze, instead of the customary geometric patterns, the rosette is almost exclusively used, and the animal principally represented is the stereotyped goat looking backwards, of whom only the limbs nearest the spectator are shown.

From these points I think we may gather that the vases of this style were not made in Rhodes, but rather by an artist whose Oriental tendencies had been brought under the influence of the Dorian style. On one instance we have an elaborate anthemion ornament similar to that upon the *amphora* which is the subject of this paper, and which reminds us of the florid patterns used upon the sarcophagi from Clazomenae ; and, on the whole, I think the evidence is strongly in favour of referring this series also to an Asiatic origin. If the Dorian vases of Rhodes show traces of the influence of Asia Minor, we may naturally expect a corresponding reaction upon the Asiatic style ; in any case, if my conclusion is correct, this series is interesting as showing the sort of medium through which Asiatic vase-painting influenced the Rhodian painters ; and we probably shall be able to judge best of the period of this class according as they exhibit in a greater or less degree this combination of the two styles.

I mentioned just now the use of white paint in this series

with the purple upon the black bands round the body; this is most important, because although, as I have shown, white paint is used at an early period in the sarcophagi and vases of Asia Minor, it does not seem to have been employed at all by the Rhodian artists of the Dorian or Oriental styles;¹ nor does it appear among any of the Melos vases given in Conze's *Melische Thongefässe*. Like the practice of incising lines, it came into general use later on for the vases of the black-figured style, and if we can show that before the black-figured period it was not employed except in the class of vases from Asia Minor, this will be an additional test for the identification of this class. Unfortunately, from its natural tendency to decay and rub off, it has, no doubt, in many instances almost disappeared where it was originally used, especially in the case of very early vases where the artists had apparently not yet learned the art of fixing this colour permanently; in the black-figured vases it lasts fairly well, and is never applied except upon a substratum of black glaze; but just as in the case of the hydria from the Polledrara tomb, the polychrome colours, once as bright as an Egyptian fresco, have so faded as to leave merely a trace of the original design, a sort of dull mark on the glaze, so there is a class of brownish-black ware which bears all the marks of being very archaic, and of which we have two or three instances from Rhodes, in which patterns have stood probably in red and white, but now have left only a dulness in the glaze and an occasional patch of colour. Now considering that previously to the introduction of the Oriental style the colours in use for Greek pottery were exclusively those of the clay and black, and that the idea of other colours seems to have come from the East with their tapestries and richly-coloured vases, we may, I think, fairly conclude that early vases of this polychrome fabric would have been, in all probability, Asiatic.²

It is interesting, therefore, to observe that in the large *amphora* grasped by the satyrs of Fig. 1, the ornament has been applied,

¹ Except one instance, upon a Camirus pinax.

² Unless indeed the Polledrara vases and the remainder of this class can be traced to some such Egyptian site as Naukratis: the porcelain objects and

ostrich eggs found with them would render this probable, besides the Egyptian character of the scene represented on the *hydria*: see Micali, *Mon.* pl. iv.

not as we should have expected, with incised lines, but in the less enduring pigments of two colours, one of which, as the faint traces show, is white. The inexperience of the artist in the use of his materials is further shown in the uneven character of the black glaze, which, in the earlier sarcophagi, is burnt in some parts to a bright vermilion colour; and in the case of the wreath worn by the satyr where white paint has been laid upon the natural surface of the clay, in later art this colour being always laid upon a medium. The decoration on the shoulder of the *amphora* in Fig. 1 consists of an arrangement of volutes which occur, so far as I know, only upon the early *amphorae* and *oinochoae* of what I would call the Asia Minor style. On the other hand, the delicate incised work employed to indicate the hair in the satyr's beard reminds us of the Oriental metal-work,¹ while the rosettes above each design, with their petals alternately purple and black, are a direct reminiscence of the Oriental style of decoration. In one of the sarcophagi from Clazomenae a scene occurs in which several cocks are introduced without any apparent relation to the other figures; and two birds appear in the reverse design of our *amphora*; it may be that in both cases the artists were working upon the lines of an Oriental frieze of birds, of which the Xanthian frieze is an instance, and inserted the human figures as a more important element, and left some of the original figures of animals in a subordinate character; just as we saw in the case of the Sphinxes and Sirens upon the archaic kylix (*Hell. Journal*, vol. v. pls. xl.-xlii.). The decorative character of both scenes, where no definite myth is represented, but where the figures are arranged with a view to symmetry, would suit the character of our vase as an early specimen of an Orientalizing style; it is a tendency which marks the decoration of *amphorae*, where the vertical handles would naturally interrupt the continuity of a frieze decoration; and hence we find our *amphora* already spaced off in panels. It is curious to note how the artist of the *Myrina* vase, much earlier than ours, instinctively felt this necessity, and has attempted to give the character of a metope-group to his scene by raising an arm vertically on either side of the human head² which he

¹ Cf. for example the bronze cuirass from Patras already quoted.

² The head on the *Myrina* vase is to

to all intents the same as those upon the sarcophagi; it is perhaps worth noting that the same principle of deco-

portrays. The sarcophagi give us both systems. Where only a narrow space is available we have either human heads or single human figures; and where, as at the top and bottom, a long narrow band offers itself, the artist falls back upon the traditional frieze of animals.

The satyr in our *amphora* appears at first a remarkable type; he seems to be the progenitor of the 'langbärtigen, zopftragenden Gesellen mit Thierohren, Thierhuf und Pferdeschwanz die auf der Leidener vase (*Roulez*, Taf. 5) nach den Mänaden greifen,



FIG. 4

auf den nordgriechischen Münzen sie fortschleppen' (Klein, *Euphr.*, p. 34). And it is remarkable that our satyr is an almost exact counterpart of one upon a sarcophagus. Dennis (*loc. cit.* p. 20) describes him as having "the crest and mane of a horse with a very brute-like nose of a yellow hue, though the rest of his body is black save a large patch of red between the eye and ear," but he has been misled by the imperfect condition

ration is frequent in early Greco- jewellery in *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.*
Oriental gold work. Cf. the Lydian vol. iii. p. 129, pll. iv. v.

of the fragment to which he refers¹; on examining it with a lens and beside the evidence of our *amphora*, there is no doubt that a satyr identical with ours (see Fig. 4) is there represented. The curious upward curve of the eye, the finely-marked hair, the squat nose, even the muscles of the limbs and the peculiar marking of the knee joints are the same in both cases. Such a resemblance could hardly be merely accidental, and this is one of the strongest proofs of the close connection of our *amphora* with the fabric which the sarcophagi of Clazomenae represent.

To sum up, then, I have intended in this paper to draw attention to certain points of similarity between the painted sarcophagi, the Myrina vase, the vases of red clay with painted white ground, and our *amphora*; I have endeavoured to trace in them such tendencies as we should expect to find in the early Greek art of Asia Minor; in this way we may evolve some sort of formula by which the vases of such a fabric may be tested. The study is necessarily very fragmentary, perhaps wholly premature, in the absence of more evidence; but it may do something towards preparing the way for a more scientific investigation when the materials for it shall be forthcoming.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ The 'yellow' and 'red' here mentioned, and the 'polychrome treatment' (see *Annali dell. Inst.* 1888, p. 178) are also not due to different pig-

ments, but to accidents of baking; the only colours used on the sarcophagi being, as usual, black, purple and white.

AMPHORA-HANDLES FROM ANTIPAROS.

MR. BENT has brought from Antiparos, and the British Museum has acquired, several of those stamped handles of diotæ which have been the subject of numerous papers by various savants, and of a special work by M. Dumont (*Inscriptions Céramiques*).

To record the find-spots of the several classes of these handles is a matter of some importance, because they furnish us with archæological evidence in a matter of great complexity, where archæological evidence is rare and desirable—in the matter of ancient Greek commerce, its marts and its course. The stamped handles which bear the names of Rhodian magistrates and potters are, as is well known, found in all parts of the Levant from Kertsch to Egypt and Sicily; those which derive from Cnidus are also found in many places; Thasian handles are found chiefly on the shores of the Euxine sea, but at Athens and elsewhere also. Why Rhodes, Cnidus, and Thasos should in Hellenistic times have almost monopolized the trade in wine, or why these states should have monopolized the custom of using stamps for handles of wine-jars, we do not know. But the latter statement at all events must be true: there are but very few other known sources of stamped handles. In the lengthy work of M. Dumont there are published, besides handles of the three great series, only the following:

Two of Paros inscribed ΠΑΡΙΩΝ and ΠΟΙΡΑΠ respectively.

One of Colophon inscribed ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΝ.

ΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ.

One of Naxos inscribed ΝΑΞΙΟ.

And one of Ikos (?) inscribed ΙΚΙΟΥ.

And in the very extensive series of these objects preserved in the British Museum numbering not less than 2,000 specimens, there is no certain instance of the occurrence of any locality besides the three well-known ones.

It is therefore a noteworthy fact that among the stamped handles found at Antiparos by Mr. Bent, which are but seven in number, there is not one specimen which certainly comes originally either from Rhodes, Cnidus or Thasos; while some certainly belong to other ancient cities. Here is a list:

1. ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ

ΜΙΚΡΙΟΥΤΟΥ Bunch of

ΠΥΘΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ grapes.

ΦΙΛΗΜΩΝ

Here Philemon seems to be the potter's name; Micrius, son of Pythocritus, the Astynomus of his city at the time when the diota was made. There are Cnidian handles which bear the name of an astynomus (*Dumont*, p. 23), but in the absence of the ethnic ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ we cannot be sure whether the present handle comes originally from that city.

2. ΜΩΙΡΑΠ

3. ΑΜΟΡ

No. 2 bears the ethnic of Paros; No. 3 seems to bear that of Amorgos, which lies not far from Paros. It is easy to understand what purpose was served by placing on the handle of an amphora the name of a potter, a merchant, or a magistrate (the last to fix the date); but not easy to see what object would be served by inserting only the ethnic.

4.

. Crescent.

ΑΓΑ?]ΘΙΝΟΥ

5. ΕΠΙΝΥ ΟΡΑ

ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ

. N Grapes.

6. ΕΠΙΠΠΟ Head of lion (or dog?).

Unfortunately the inscription of all three of these handles is incomplete; otherwise it would doubtless have enabled us to attribute them. The fabric appears to me to be unlike those of Thasos, Cnidus or Rhodes.



This cruciform monogram seems to belong decidedly to Byzantine times; and to indicate that even at a late period the custom of stamping amphora-handles had not disappeared.

The occurrence, from one source, of so many exceptional amphora-handles may well encourage travellers among the Greek islands to pay more attention to this somewhat despised class of antiquities; and raises a hope that if their provenience be in all cases recorded, such record may be of real service towards recovering the history of Greek commerce.

PERCY GARDNER.

ON THE GOLD AND SILVER MINES OF SIPHNOS.

WHEN on a visit to this island last winter, I felt much curiosity about the almost legendary gold and silver mines of Siphnos, which in former ages made the inhabitants so rich, and which enabled them to build their 'Prytaneum and white-browed Agora.' The story of these mines we owe to Herodotus, and as the veracity of the statements of this historian, so far as Orientalism is concerned, is being sorely impugned just now, it will be satisfactory to find that on Hellenic subjects he does not entirely draw on his imagination. He tells us that the Siphniotes were the richest of all the islanders, owing to the gold and silver mines which existed there, but that they were mean in their donations to the oracle at Delphi, and hence the Pythian oracle prophesied ill for them. 'When in Siphnos there shall be a white Prytaneum, and a white-browed Agora, then will they have need of a shrewd man to protect them from the wooden troop and red herald.' When the Samian fugitives came and sacked their town, the Siphniotes recognized too late the purport of this warning, for the Samiotes came in boats painted with red paint, doubtless with the miltois or red paint, mines of which still exist in the neighbouring island of Keos.

There is another version of this story, and one which bears obviously on the mines, and which we read in Pausanias. The Siphniotes sent as an annual tribute to the shrine of Delphi a golden egg; but, being an astute race, they doubtless thought their gold might be better employed at home, so they sent a gilded egg, whereat Apollo was so enraged that he subnerged their mines. This is one of the stories attached to the frequent motions of the earth's crust and consequent encroachments of

the sea, which in former ages took place in the Aegean sea. We have the story of Delos being raised out of the waves for the birth of Apollo, we are told how Apollo himself raised up Anaphe out of the sea as a refuge for the Argonauts, and in our own times we have seen an island rise up from the sea at the volcanic Santorin. This Siphniote legend is a parallel case.

Many ancient writers speak of these gold and silver mines besides Herodotus, Pausanias, Strabo, Pliny, and others; and on making inquiries in the island I was told of two spots where it was commonly supposed ancient mining operations had taken place. The first of these to which we went is called 'the hole of the Holy Saviour,' from a little church close to, or 'refuges' (*καταφύγια*), a name common to all caves or grottos where in disturbed times a retreat could be found in case of the descent of pirates on the coast. It is a long ride from the cluster of villages where the modern life of Siphnos exists, not far from the ruins of the ancient town, to this point. The entrance to the hole is near the sea, to the north-east of the island; it is a very small entrance indeed, but leads to a perfect labyrinth inside, so that any one who wishes, I was told by my guide, could wander for many hours without finding the end, and that the danger of being lost was very great without a guide. This I fully realized during my short stay in the cave. Evidently the precious metal must have been in veins, which these multitudinous passages followed up; along the sides there were quantities of niches, where the workmen evidently put their lamps.

The appearance of this mine inside is as if sparkling with silver, and the stones we broke off from the side had the weight and colour of lead; there were stalactites here and there, as if water had percolated through, but no appearance of soil whatsoever. Numerous tools have been found inside, pointed and cone-shaped axes, and the marks of these instruments are visible on the walls.

The exterior however is the most interesting, for on the cliff, close to the sea-shore, exist certain hollows, called by the people *Καμίνια* furnaces, and in these it would appear that the smelting of the precious metal took place by the admixture of other metallic substances, such as iron and volcanic stones, which

contributed to the quicker liquefaction. All round these hollows are quantities of scoriae, which the ancient smelters have used and cast on one side, especially on the hill side, near a small church dedicated to St. Silvester, and from which the spot is called by the natives *Λεψαβα*, or 'the remains.'

It was fortunately a very calm day, and by going in a boat and taking with us a 'sea telescope,' as they call it in these parts, being a tin can with a glass bottom, which, when put into the water below the ripple, makes it easy to distinguish objects at the bottom of the sea in shallow water, we were able to see traces of scoriae and hollows similar to those we had just seen, far below the surface of the water. This proves beyond a doubt that either the land must have subsided, or the sea encroached, since the time when the furnaces were used, and corroborates the substance of the legend as told by Pausanias. It is probable that below the present sea-level would be found the entrance into the mine, which was being worked at the time of the inundation, and that the mine which we had entered had been previously exhausted.

The second mine which we visited lay on the slopes of Mount Prophet Elias, to the north-west of the island, at a spot called 'the fissures' or *Κάψαλον*, a word used for 'fuel,' and probably referring to the quantity of burnt stones which lie in all directions. The entrance to this mine has only been lately discovered, being hidden by the thickness of the brushwood all around; owing to the burning of some of it a short time ago the entrance so long concealed from view was disclosed. On entering, the same features are disclosed as in the other mine, the appearance of the sides is silvery, and winding passages lead in all directions, and on chipping bits off there is a curious metallic ring. Inside have been found pieces of broken jars and lamps, which were doubtless in use at the time of the working of the mine. There are traces of sulphur here on the sides of the walls.

It is a curious fact that during the rainy season the far-famed potters of Siphnos come to the spot and pick up in the stream bits of vitrified lead, which they use for mixing with their clay to prevent its expanding; undoubtedly this comes from the smelting which once went on here, and this suggests another subject. Pliny tells us how celebrated were the potters of Siphnos, and

that clay was found three stadia from the sea, which made an exceedingly prized pottery, becoming black and hard when exposed to the fire and rubbed with oil. This clay is not found to-day, but nevertheless the potters of Siphnos are celebrated throughout Greece. In the spring time they start on their travels far and wide, and settle in towns and villages for days and weeks, until the place is supplied with large and well-made earthenware, amphorae, and cooking utensils.

On the adjacent island of Seriphos there are numerous traces of ancient mining operations. Above the town, cut on a rock very difficult of access, is an inscription in large badly-formed letters, as follows :—

ΠΕΝΤΕ ΑΠ ΕΜΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΕ ΑΠΟ ΣΟΥ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΝ ΟΡΥΓΕ.

What can this mean—‘Five from me, five from you, dig up a treasure’? Does it refer to the mines of Seriphos? Not far from the spot we saw a magnet mine, where the earth sticks to the point of a knife; probably this inscription refers to co-operation with a view to working this treasure.

J. THEODORE BENT.

13, GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE.

A TORSO OF HADRIAN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN the *Gazette archéologique* for 1880 (pp. 52–55; pl. 6) M. Al. Sorlin-Dorigny published, with a photograph, an interesting statue of a Roman Emperor found at Hierapytna in Crete and preserved in the Constantinople Museum (cf. *Catalogue du musée impérial de Constantinople*, 8vo. 1871, no. 123). This statue was originally thought to be one of Metellus Creticus or of Caracalla, but—though the likeness is not very close—there can be little doubt that M. Sorlin-Dorigny is right in assigning it to the Emperor Hadrian. The Emperor is represented standing, facing, with his left foot trampling on a captive. He wears a cuirass, and a paludamentum which is flung behind over his back, so as to form ‘une espèce de fond sur lequel la statue se détache en haut relief.’ The cuirass, says M. Sorlin-Dorigny, ‘est une des plus belles que nous connaissions et en même temps l’une des plus intéressantes. Le motif sort du banal usité pour ces sortes de représentations, qui se composent le plus souvent de griffons affrontés ou de prisonniers agenouillés au pied d’un trophée. Ici la scène est plus romaine...c’est la représentation de la louve légendaire, des jumeaux, et du couronnement de Pallas, la grande protectrice de Rome, par deux Victoires ailées...La déesse est de face, debout et dans l’attitude de la lutte; elle porte le casque et la tunique talaire recouverte de l’égide; de la droite levée elle brandit une lance et dans sa gauche elle tient un bouclier; à ses pieds sont des deux animaux symboliques, la chouette et le serpent.’ ‘Les lambrequins de la cuirasse sont ornés de sept médaillons. Celui du milieu représente la tête de face de Jupiter-Ammon.’

Among the sculptures in the British Museum which were discovered at Cyrene by Smith and Porcher about twenty years ago is the torso of a Roman Emperor hitherto unidentified. This torso was found in or near the building called by the

excavators an 'Augusteum' (Smith and Porcher, *History of Discoveries at Cyrene*, London, 1864, page 104; cf. p. 76, where the same building is called the palace of a Roman Governor), and on account of the remarkably good style of its workmanship it has been thought to be a product of the Augustan Age (cf. *British Museum Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, 1874, Part I. p. 16, no. 46.) What, however, I would now suggest, is that this torso is of a statue of *Hadrian*, which when complete constituted a substantial replica of the *Hierapytna* statue referred to above.

The other objects found in the building where our torso was discovered belong, so far as they can be dated with certainty, to a later time than the age of Augustus. And though the head, arms, and legs of the statue exist no longer, the cuirass displays a rich ornamentation which is almost identical with that on the Cretan statue of Hadrian—we find the same armed female figure, the two Victories and the wolf and twins resting on a floral basis. From this basis there springs up a spiral ornament on each side of the armed figure, which takes the place of the serpent and owl which appear on the *Hierapytna* statue. The latter attributes would seem to indicate, as M. Sorlin-Dorigny has already remarked, that the divinity represented is Pallas rather than Roma. The lower part of the cuirass of the British Museum torso is adorned with medallions which correspond (slight variations excepted) with those on the Cretan statue. The torso is now in such a poor state of preservation—it had lain in fact exposed to the weather for at least forty years before the visit of Smith and Porcher—that it is difficult to form a satisfactory opinion as to its original merits. The cuirass, however, evidently furnished an elegant specimen of decorative work and the Medusa heads (among the medallions) are decidedly fine. The floral basis is pierced with eight holes as if for the attachment of some metallic object. The paludamentum is arranged in the same way as on the Cretan statue, and there are indications that the Emperor's left hand clutched his jerkin at the side, and that his left leg was slightly raised. This leg doubtless rested on a prostrate captive, as is the case in the other statue.

It was suggested by M. Sorlin-Dorigny that the *Hierapytna*

statue was made to commemorate some particular victory of Hadrian's; and as Crete, at that period, formed part of the Province of Cyrenaica, he supposed that the event referred to might be Hadrian's suppression of the revolt of the Mauri or of the rising of African Jews. It is unlikely that the statue commemorates any special victory, but it is interesting—now that our Cyrene torso is identified—to find both halves of the Province of Cyrenaica producing nearly identical statues of the Emperor. The connection of Crete with Cyrene was probably at all periods tolerably close. In the fourth century B.C., especially, there must have been constant commercial intercourse between the two, for we find the inhabitants of Crete actually using numerous coins of Cyrene as *flans* upon which to restrike Cretan types and inscriptions (cf. Wroth, *Cretan Coins*, p. 6 and p. 35 = *Numismatic Chron.* 1884, p. 6, p. 35). This intercourse would still be kept up when the two countries became one province, and it is not unlikely that one and the same artist sometimes supplied both Crete and Cyrene with identical works of art,—compare *e.g.* the marble statuette of Aphrodite from Crete, (Spratt, *Travels in Crete*, vol. i. p. 72), with a copy of it from Cyrene which exists in the British Museum.

The head of our Cyrene statue of Hadrian I suppose to have been identical with that on the Hierapytna statue. And it is interesting to note that the Hierapytna head closely resembles a head which still exists on *another* statue from Cyrene in the British Museum—the statue of a male figure in civil costume who is in all probability the Emperor Hadrian (cf. *British Museum Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, 1874, Part I. no. 23; Smith and Porcher, *Hist. Disc.* pl. 63).

WARWICK WROTH.

THE DISCOVERY OF NAUKRATIS.

[The Honorary Secretaries of the Egypt Exploration have handed us for publication the following summary, drawn up by Mr. Petrie, of the results of his year's excavation at Nebireh. It may serve as an acknowledgment by the Committee of the Fund of the aid already received from the Society of Hellenic Studies; and as an invitation to further co-operation in the future.—ED.]

THE season which is now drawing to a close has been one of great interest in the work here, though of an interest which would scarcely be expected, since not Egyptian but Greek antiquities claim our attention.

We have here a city founded in the seventh century B.C., or earlier, and inhabited almost entirely by Greeks from its first settlement. Among its public buildings were a temple of Apollo with temenos, dating from the earliest period; a temple of Aphrodite, also existing from archaic times; a temple of Athene; a temple of Zeus; a *palaistra*; and a great enclosure containing two remarkable blocks of buildings.

Before going further we may point out that no city historically known can accord with the remains found here—the temples, the abundance of archaic pottery, the archaic coins, and the number of Greek inscriptions—excepting Naukratis; and it is here that a decree of the city of Naukratis is found. It is true that Naukratis has been hitherto fruitlessly sought near Desuk, on the strength of a passage of Herodotus; but there exists a far more definite authority, the Peutingerian table, which gives the positions and distances of towns; on that *Naukrati* is written on a road leading to the Libyan desert, running to the west of the river, and the distance given falls

within two or three miles of this place. If any student, however, should refuse to accept this site as Naukratis, it would then be a still more interesting place to him, as it would be a parallel site to Naukratis, an important town, settled by the Greeks in their archaic age, flourishing down to Byzantine times, and yet unknown in history.

The site is about half a mile long. In the north end of the town stood the temenos and temple of Apollo; here we found fragments of nearly a hundred bowls of an early period, incised with dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo. Of the first temple a few fragments of limestone columns, encircled with an early form of the 'honeysuckle' pattern have been found; on these the pattern has hardly developed out of the lotus, from which it can be traced in every stage on the archaic pottery. The first temple was destroyed, very probably during the Persian invasions, and was succeeded by a temple of white marble, of which some fragments of capitals and mouldings remain, richly painted in red and blue. South of the temenos lay the *agora* apparently, or possibly the *palaistra*, a large area without ruins, and bounded by thick walls on the three other sides. South of this the town extended for a considerable distance; close small streets, seven or eight feet wide, running through the mass of crude brick buildings, and now traceable by the shells and bones thrown out from the houses, and the streaks of stone dust used for filling up the puddles.

The potters' quarter was on the east of the *agora*, shewn by the kilns and the heaps of burnt earth. In the body of the town, south of the potters, was the quarter of the iron-smelters; here hæmatite ore, iron slag, and quantities of chisels and tools have been found of about the sixth century, B.C. On the western side of the town was the scarab factory, containing hundreds of moulds, where glazed pottery scarabs were made for export—very probably the source of many of the scarabs found in early Greek graves. That these could not be for sale to Egyptians is proved by the inscriptions being all more or less blundered; and their age is shewn by the names of Psamtik I. and II. being found, but none of the far more celebrated Aahmes (Amasis), who granted such privileges to Naukratis; this is much as if coins of Aurelian and Carinus occurred in a find, but not one of Constantine, and we cannot attribute this factory to a later date than 590 B.C. The town is,

however, older than this, as there is a burnt stratum underlying all the southern half of the town, at two to three feet below the scarab level; probably this shews the burning of a first settlement of wattle and daub shanties of the Greek traders, in the Assyrian or Ethiopian conquests. The temple of Aphrodite was in the south-western part of the town, as a piece of a dedicated bowl of 'Phœnician-Greek' ware was found there.

The area of the town has been dug out by the natives for nitrous earth until only the bottoms of the oldest houses remain in the greater part of it; and heaped around these mouldering walls are banks of broken pottery, including a great variety of archaic types. The so-called Phœnician-Greek is found in every variety, and passing by imperceptible stages into the ordinary Greek pottery; the egg-shell pottery painted white with orange patterns is also largely found; the geometrical patterns in red and brown are very common; and many other varieties occur which require to be compared with collections from other sites. Besides the early pottery two important classes of objects are found in the town—the weights, and the stamped amphora handles. No town in Egypt would be likely to be so rich in weights as Naukratis, a great centre of foreign trade; and no mound in Egypt has actually furnished a quarter of the number of weights that I have obtained here in only a few months. Over four hundred have been collected in this short time—a greater number than those from Egypt in all existing collections taken together. The stamped handles are also a class which will need careful study and classifying; over a thousand have been collected.

Beyond the town on the south is a great enclosure, 600 feet square, the wall fifty feet thick, and over thirty feet high. About half of the western side of this enclosure was formed by a mass of building; but it is probable that this was inserted at a later date, and that the enclosure is older. The building was founded by Ptolemy II., as under each corner of its foundations I discovered the founder's deposits of model tools and materials, together with his name—a unique group of objects of great interest in all ways. At the entrance to this building, which led into the whole enclosure, was a pylon, where two broken rams in white marble have been discovered, and a dedicatory inscription to the Theban Zeus, shewing that probably a temple of

Zeus was included in this building. Within this enclosure the greater part of the ground was open and unused, but there existed a line of small buildings along the north side of it, and two great blocks of crude brick building in the southern part; one of these consisting of passages opening into chambers has been almost entirely destroyed; of the other, consisting of deep isolated chambers, enough remains to shew its form, about 200 feet square. These chambers have no openings or connections for twelve feet from the ground; at that level there are doorways from a central passage and its branches; and the whole mass is thirty feet high. It was far more originally, as the chambers are filled with ruins of the walls. From various details, which we need not discuss here, this building and the great enclosure seem to belong to the early age of the town; later on Ptolemy II. inserted the large stone building in the gap in the great wall, perhaps where it had been ruined, and strengthened the great block of chambers by thickening the walls, and raised the floors of the chambers with stone chips: later still, in the first century, the chambers were much filled with rubbish, and the place was inhabited at the high level of the doorways only; and at last a Coptic church seems to have existed on the top, which gave place to an Arab cemetery. What the object of this building can have been is still doubtful, even after clearing out all the chambers. It may have been for store rooms; but looking to the great strength of the wall of the enclosure, I incline to suppose that that was a great temenos—probably of the Pan-Hellenic altar—within which was a treasury and storehouses; and these were so arranged that, in case of war, the temenos would be the camp, and the treasury the fort, of the Greek garrison.

Of the temple of Athene, and the *palaistra*, the sites are not yet fixed; the one is known from an inscription to a priest of Athene, who was keeper of the records, and the other from the inscription by four Greeks dedicating it to Apollo.

As I have said, a large part of the town has been carried off down to the foundations; the edges of it still remain, and further information will doubtless be forthcoming as they are gradually cleared away. What has been lost in the last fifty years is grievous; in the temenos of Apollo two inscribed marble stelæ were found a few years ago and broken up; and while I was here some—perhaps the only—remains of the columns and capitals

of the temple were found, and smashed in a couple of hours, some even before I could photograph them. All the lesser antiquities are destroyed if not saleable, and if of value are bought by travelling dealers, and retailed without any history in Cairo. No clue to the cemetery has yet been found, so we may hope that that rich field will be properly examined when discovered.

Among various antiquities which I have obtained, I may note also a large collection of incised names or monograms of owners on the bottoms of drinking cups; a series shewing every stage of the development of the crater handles with a head of Bacchus; a number of archaic statuettes in alabaster; two finds of archaic Greek tetradrachms; some fine late Egyptian bronzes; some good jewellery work of the first century, A.D.; and a large variety of terra-cotta figures and heads.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

NEBIREH, TELL EL BARUD

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* * Besides numerous woodcuts and other illustrations in the Text, the following Plates produced by chromolithography, lithography, or fine photographic processes have been published in the Atlas which accompanies the Journal :—

On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase Painting (Pls. I.-III.); Pythagoras of Rhegia and the Early Athlete Statues (Pls. IV.-VI.); An Archaic Vase, with Representation of a Marriage Procession (Pl. VII.); The Pentathlon of the Greeks (Pl. VIII.); Bust of Perseus (Pl. IX.); Kylix with Exploits of Theseus (Pl. X.); Votive Armour and Arms (Pl. XI.); Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus (Pls. XII., XIII.); Actors with Bird-Masks on Vases (Pl. XIV.); Perspective as applied in Early Greek Art (Pl. XV.); Statuette of Pallas from Cyprus (Pl. XVI.); The Rock-Necropoleis of Phrygia (Pls. XVII.-XXI.); A Hermes in Ephesian Silver-work on a Patern from Bernay in France (Pl. XXII.); Hermes with the Infant Dionysos; Bronze Statuette in the Louvre (Plate); Notice of a Laphid Head in the Louvre, from the Metopes of the Parthenon (Pl. XXIII.); Marble Head of a Horse (Pl. XXIV.); Herakles Epitrapeziot (Pl. XXV.); Some Phrygian Monuments (Pls. XXVI.-XXIX.).

THE TOMB OF PORSENNA.

[Pl. LX.]

THERE are few truths that are more forcibly impressed on the attention of any one engaged in restoring the lost monuments of antiquity than the painful one—that no form of written words is sufficient to convey a distinct idea of a building which has been destroyed. No adequate reproduction of its form can be made unless the words are accompanied by a diagram or drawing of some sort, or when these cannot be obtained, unless some sufficient remains of the building still exist to make its restoration possible, or if neither of these be attainable, unless it proves to be part of a known series—in other words, unless some edifices exist, either before or after it in date, so similar in form and purpose as to enable us from a study of their peculiarities to appreciate the meaning of the terms applied to the one we are attempting to restore.

The Temples of the Jews are a conspicuous illustration of this truth. Though so minutely described in the Bible or by Josephus, nothing can be more discrepant than the notions entertained by restorers of their forms and dimensions, and it is only very recently that we have begun to perceive that they form a part of a series (though it must be confessed not of familiar or well understood types), and that we begin to realize their forms with anything like distinctness. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, were

important buildings of which we knew nothing till very recently, except from written descriptions; and nothing could be more various than the restorations that were proposed to reconcile their features with the verbal texts. Thanks to the excavations conducted by Messrs. Newton and Wood, we now know what the real appearances of these celebrated buildings were with sufficient exactness for all practical purposes.¹ But the tomb which Porsenna erected for himself 'sub urbe Clusio' has not been so fortunate. Even at the time when Pliny wrote no remains existed;² and there is no hope therefore of assistance from that source; and the building both in its form and extent seemed, till lately, to be so extraordinary and so utterly exceptional, that little hope remained of bringing it into any sequence by which its peculiarities could be explained, and a reasonable restoration be attempted.

Under these circumstances, having nothing but the 'litera scripta' to guide them, it is not to be wondered at that the restorations proposed were of the most varying descriptions. An amusing instance of this occurs in the first volume of the Plates of the Roman Institute,³ where Quatremère de Quincy proposed one of the most singular, which seems to accord with no fact stated in the text; and the Duc de Luynes another on the same plate, which certainly reproduces all the dimensions and statements of Pliny with sufficient exactness, but results in a building so abnormally ugly and strange that it may safely be rejected. It may appear strange that two such distinguished antiquaries should read the same text so differently, while they are attempting to restore the same building; but the result is not uncommon, though seldom carried to so ludicrous an extreme. One of the best among so many attempted restorations is one proposed by Professor Beber of Munich. It is singularly ingenious,⁴ and if we are allowed to neglect all

¹ The *Mausoleum of Halicarnassus*, restored by Jas. Fergusson; Murray, 1862. The *Temple of Diana at Ephesos*, by the same, extracted from the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*; Trübner, London, 1833. The *Temples of the Jews at Jerusalem*, by Jas. Fergusson; Murray, 1878.

² De Aegypto et Cretico Labyrinthis satis dictum est—Lemnius similis illis. Extantque adhuc reliquiae ejus, cum Cretici Italique nulla vestigia extent. —Plinii *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

³ *Instituto de Corrispondenza Archeologica*, vol. i. pl. xiii.

⁴ Beber, *Geschichte der Baukunst im Alterthum*, p. 366, fig. 211.

reference to the purposes for which it was intended, and ignore all mention of the petasus, which was the most distinguishing feature in the design, it might be taken as fairly interpreting the text of Pliny, but as it stands it is quite inadmissible. In 1849, I proposed one which had at least the merit of conforming with every word of Pliny's description, and was a tomb.¹ It was therefore a *possible* reproduction, but I hesitated to advocate it as a *probable* one. The building seemed to me so exceptional, that I then despaired of making a restoration that would bring it into conformity with any series of known buildings, and admit of its taking its place in any established sequence. Since then, however, more experience in the art of restoring and greater familiarity with the architectural forms of all countries induces me to fancy that I am now able to bring Porsenna's monument within the confines of a series of five-steled tombs; while proposing a restoration which will accord with every indication of Varro's description, without doing violence to any expression used by him or by Pliny.²

The first thing that strikes any one on scanning the measurements quoted by Varro is, that they are all parts of a regular system; and that consequently if you accept one you must almost necessarily accept all. If on the contrary you reject any one, you throw the whole into a confusion that seems inexplicable. In this instance, the modulus seems to have

¹ *True Principles of Beauty in Art*, p. 458, figs. 79, 80.

² Namque et Italicum dici convenit, quem fecit sibi Porsena rex Hetruriæ sepulchri causa, simul ut, externorum regum vanitas quoque ab Italis superaretur. Sed cum excedat omnia fabulositas utemur ipsius M. Varronis in expositione ejus verbis. Sepultus est, inquit, sub urbe Clusio: in quo loco monumentum reliquit lapide quadrato: singula latera pedum lata tricenum, alta quinquagenum: inque basi quadrata intus Labyrinthum inextricabilem: quo si quis impropere sine glomere lini, exitum invenire nequeat. Supra id quadratum pyramides stant quinque, quatuor in angulis in medio

una, in imo latæ pedum septuagenum quinum, altæ centum quinquagenum: ita fastigiatae ut in summo orbis æneus et petasus unus omnibus sit impositus, ex quo pendeant excepta catenis tintinnabula, quæ vento agitata longe sonitus referant ut Dodonæ olim factum. Supra quem orbem quatuor pyramides insuper singulæ extant altæ pedum centenum. Supra quas uno solo quinque pyramides quarum altitudinem Varronem puduit adjicere. Fabulæ Hetruscæ tradunt eandem fuisse, quam totius operis: adeo vesana dementia quævisse gloriam impendio nulli profutura. Præterea fatigasse regni vires, ut tamen laus major artificis esset.—Lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

been 100 cubits: every part is either that, or some aliquot part of that measurement. The square base was 200 cubits (300 feet); its height was one third of it or fifty feet, the angular 'pyramids' were 100 cubits in height, and half that, 75 feet, in breadth. The upper pyramids were two-thirds of that height—100 feet—and the central pyramid, as we shall presently see, was equal to these two, or 250 feet, or with the basement of fifty feet, was 200 cubits in height, which was equal to its width. The whole results in a building 200 cubits in width by 300 cubits in height.

All this looks so consistent that we can hardly refuse to accept it as a description of a real building. Besides this, the last paragraph of Varro's or Pliny's description seems to negative the supposition that it was merely a fantasy elaborated from the brain of some imaginative author. Etruscan traditions would not have attached themselves to Porsenna's tomb as a wonderful and exceptional building unless it had really existed and been of an extraordinary character; and though Pliny himself does not seem to have understood the meaning of the 'fabula'—it does not appear to me doubtful that it was meant to express a relation between the parts of the building in conformity to this system.

But, be all this as it may, the main fact appears to be that whether it was only imagined or actually constructed, the whole so hangs together that it must either be accepted or rejected in its entirety—no tampering with any part of the design is admissible; and be the result what it may, every feature of the building must be represented in any attempted restoration. So far as I can judge, as represented in the annexed diagram (Pl. LX.), the result is a building by no means unpleasing in design—to my mind at least—nor, except in its dimensions, exceptional among the tombs of the ancient world.

In the ground-plan I have divided the basement into three divisions, two of seventy-five feet each and one in the centre of 150 feet. There is of course no authority for this, but I cannot conceive any architect,—even among the Etruscans who were not famous for their æsthetic treatment of their designs—when dealing with so strongly accentuated a superstructure, neglecting to carry its lines down to the ground. By doing so the building not only gains in height to the whole

extent of the basement, but the whole acquires a significance which would be wanting in a plain surface, which has no apparent connection with the upper storey.

The four angle pyramids I have represented as square, though the only direct authority for this is that Varro uses the expression 'latæ' as applied to them. Had they been circular, he would have said seventy-five feet in diameter, or used some such expression; but besides this the exigencies of the design seem to require it. Rising from a square basis they would seem more appropriate; though this, as in the example of the tomb of Aruns, does not seem always to have been felt. Either form is equally consonant with the style. In the celebrated tomb called the Cucamella¹ there is one square, and one round stele, rising above the earthen mound, but so unsymmetrically, that even if there had been three more it would be impossible to form it into a regular five-steled tomb; and at Castel d'Asso there are several rock-cut sepulchres, which were originally crowned by square structural pyramids of some sort.² Generally they are restored with triangular pyramids of about the height of their breadth, like the so-called tomb of Zacharia at Jerusalem, but there is nothing to show that they were not surmounted by steles, twice or three times their width in height, nor is there any evidence, in fact, how they were finished. Possibly it may have been by a petasus-form like that of the so-called tomb of Absalom at the same place. It seems to me more probable that they were terminated with square steles like many we find in Asia Minor, as at Tlos, or the Harpy tomb at Xanthus.³

The object for which these steles were erected in this instance seems to have been to support the brazen or rather bronze ring, which formed the base of the petasus, and for this purpose a square form seems to have been more appropriate as more solid, and contrasting pleasingly with the circular form of the central building. Above the 150 feet, this reasoning does not apply, and it may have been either square or circular; I have adopted

¹ *Mon. Ined.* vol. i. pl. xli. ann. 1832.

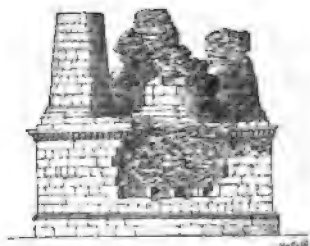
² *Mon. Ined.* vol. i. pl. lx. ann. 1833.

³ Sir C. Fellows, *Travels in Asia*

Minor and Lycia. Two Vols. Murray, 1839-41. The plates in these works are not numbered, so it is impossible to refer to them.

the latter form for the 100 feet that we are told existed above the 'orbs,' as more appropriate, and terminating these angular pyramids in a more pleasing manner than could have been done, had the square form been carried to a point.

The crux of the whole design is, however, the treatment of the central of the five pyramids. There is nothing in Varro's description which would lead to the inference that it differed from the four angular ones; but on the other hand there is nothing to contradict the assumption that it did so essentially; and all the exigencies of the design seem to point to this having been the case. Nothing could have been more unmeaning than a square pyramid in the centre. In Etruria, at least, it could have had no tomb-like significance or appropriateness, and it seems to me almost impossible to make it fit with the 'orbis aeneus,' and the petasus which were the principal features of the whole design. There is also at least one prominent authority for this in the so-called tomb of Aruns, which is the only five-steled tomb at present known to exist in Italy which may be assumed to be a copy of this one, or at least be classed with it as belonging to the same order. In it the central pyramid is appropriately twice



TOMB OF ARUNS AT ALBANO.

the diameter of the angle ones (see woodcut). It is true, the comparison cannot be implicitly relied upon, for from the architectural mouldings and general character of the design, it is evident that the so-called Aruns tomb is of a late Roman

character—it may be the tomb of Pompey to whom it is frequently ascribed¹—and it would not be safe to rely on its features as exactly reproducing those of a building erected five centuries earlier; but it is valuable as far as it goes. Besides this, strangely enough, though its general form and features have been before the public for nearly half a century, it has not yet been properly explored or represented²; though so near Rome it has never been dug into; and we do not yet know where or in what form the sepulchral chamber was. Doubtless it was in or under the central stele; but it is strange that this should still be left doubtful. There are in the neighbourhood of Rome numerous circular towers rising from square basements, all of which contain a sepulchral chamber in their centre, which is evidently the cause of their erection. One of the best known of these is that of Cæcilia Metella on the Via Appia, but even a more characteristic one is that of the Gens Plautia, near Tivoli,³ with a sepulchral chamber nearly fifty feet in diameter. The series culminates in the tomb of Hadrian, which was the finest and largest of the class to which the tomb of Porsenna belongs, that was attempted in the ancient world.

In attempting to restore the building described by Varro, we must never for one instant lose sight of the fact, that it was essentially a tomb, though it is the neglect of this that has rendered all the restorations I have hitherto seen such failures as they are. Bearing it in mind, however, with the other circumstances above alluded to, I have not hesitated to follow the design of the tomb of Aruns, and make the central stele twice the width of the angle ones, or 100 cubits in diameter. And to preserve anything like the same proportion, to carry it in one flight to the whole height of the two stories of the angle ones, or to 250 feet. This gives room for a sepulchral chamber of any desired dimensions, and if it is thought expedient, in two stories, like the Indian tombs. I have drawn it as a circular chamber with a pointed vault of 100 feet. By most people this may be thought excessive, but when we see a vault of a similar character erected at least five centuries earlier at Mycenæ, in the tomb or treasury of Atreus, I do not think it preposterous

¹ *Istituto de Corrispondenza Archaeologica*, vol. ii. pl. xxxix.; Dennis, *Etruria*, vol. i. page 455, note.

² *Annali dell' Inst.*, ix. p. 50, 57.

³ Canina, *Arch. Ant.* vol. iii. pl. ccxvii.

that under the most favourable conditions of a stone structure like this, they may have doubled its extent. To me it always has remained a problem how the Romans, as early as the time of Agrippa, attempted so vast a dome as that of the Pantheon, 136 feet in diameter—and so far as is yet known it was a first attempt—unless some very extensive vault existed before then, and nowhere would it have been more likely than in the tomb of Porsenna.¹

The upper part of the tower must have been constructed hollow, as shown in the dotted lines of the diagram, but whether it was used as ritual chamber to the tomb or not is by no means clear. I think it probably was; but there is so little evidence available on the subject that it is hardly worth while arguing the question here.

For the restoration of the exterior perhaps the most valuable indication is in the last paragraph of Pliny; though whether it was contained in Varro's description, or is a remark of Pliny's, is by no means certain. It seems clear, however, that Etruscan traditions would not have attached themselves to a building, and indicated, however enigmatically, its extraordinary height, unless such a building had actually existed and been remarkable for its elevation. Nor does it seem difficult to translate it so as to make it accord with the rest of the design. It only seems necessary that whoever wrote that the height of the third storey was the same, '*quam totius operis*,' meant to express that it was of the same dimensions as all the other parts of the design, that is, 100 cubits. Architecturally, no other dimension seems tolerable; but this one, so used, makes up a harmonious, even if not a beautiful, whole. To assume that the height of the third storey was equal to all the three, or even to the two lower ones, appears to me absurd, and not borne out by any words in the text. Indeed, if you make the five steles that rose from the *uno solo* of less elevation, it throws the whole out of proportion; and it is necessary, if the whole is to be in keeping, that the elevation of the third storey should not be

¹ On second thoughts, if I were drawing the tomb again I would make the sepulchral chamber 75 feet instead of 100 in diameter. My impression is, that it was certainly larger than the so-called treasury of Atreus, but whether

double its dimensions is another question. In the present state of our knowledge, however, any inferences on this point must be so vague, that it is hardly worth while altering the drawing to express them.

less. Whether its form was exactly as I have designed it, may be open to question; but as far as I can judge, it looks like a part of the same design. The central stele I have made square and 150 feet in height, and the four outer ones circular and identical with those of the second storey. For all these there is abundance of room on the 'solum' formed by the roof of the sepulchral chamber in the centre, and they make up the total height of the monument to 300 cubits (450 feet), which, from the system on which it was designed, we might expect the architect was aiming at. Considering that this is thirty-four feet less than the height of the Great Pyramid, and that it probably was less than one-tenth of its bulk, these dimensions do not seem improbable for the *resana dementia* of the greatest of Etruscan kings. It is not impossible that in the erection of his tomb Porsenna was proposing to himself to rival those of Egypt. The existence of a labyrinth in its base, which Pliny compares and couples with that of Egypt, renders this almost probable, but if so, it only serves to prove him a pigmy in comparison to the giant builders of the Egyptian Pyramids.

It is idle to attempt to offer even a plausible suggestion as to the form of the labyrinth which occupied the basement of Porsenna's tomb. It would be in vain until some one of these ancient buildings, from which we might obtain some analogous forms, has been identified with certainty, or until some traditions or descriptions shall throw further light on one of the most mysterious puzzles of antiquity. Concealment of the position of the sepulchral chamber does not seem to have been one of the leading motives in Etruscan burials. Protection was sought to be obtained by heaping vast mounds of earth over it, and protecting the foot of the slope of these mounds by massive walls which could not be penetrated without a considerable amount of labour. No secret attempt to penetrate these defences was possible. To reach the tomb the labour of a number of men employed for a considerable time was necessary, and in a manner which would not be thought of among a people who had any respect for the graves of their ancestors, or any religious feelings regarding the sanctity of the tomb; and so far as is known this was one of the leading ideas in the religion of this people. Under these circumstances the idea that Porsenna erected the labyrinth for the sake of misleading

people, and puzzling those who were seeking to desecrate his tomb, seems hardly worth consideration. If he wanted to protect it he would have done much better to have built the basement up solid. With a hundred feet of solid masonry all round he might have felt perfectly sure this would not be attempted. By letting people into the basement at all he certainly ran some risk of some one finding the tomb, in spite of the most ingenious attempts to bewilder them.

What Pliny tells us of the four labyrinths he describes—including Porsenna's—is that they were constructed of hewn stone and covered with vaults.¹ He does not seem to perceive much difference either in form or purpose between the Egyptian and the Italian labyrinths, though to us the one seems more like a federal palace and the other as if devoted wholly to sepulchral purposes. But the accounts of both that have come down to us are so indistinct, that no clear idea about them can be enunciated, especially as no remains of either are now known to exist.²

The probability seems to be that the basement of Porsenna's tomb was occupied by subordinate sepulchres like the Regulini Galeassi tomb;³ or with chambers dedicated to sepulchral rites in some form we hardly understand. These may have been connected by dark vaulted passages in a manner which would be sufficiently puzzling to any one who ventured into them after their desecration and desertion, when their purpose or meaning was forgotten (which would have been the case long before Pliny's time), and so have given rise to the tradition of people not being able to find their way out without the assistance of a guiding tape. We know, however, so little about the matter that all these speculations are tolerably idle, and hardly worth discussing on the present occasion. All we really know—or seem to know—is that the basement certainly contained the sepulchral chamber, probably in the centre, but whether of 100 or 75 feet in diameter is another question. The rest of the basement, 300 feet square, was occupied by vaulted apartments, but whether sepulchres or chambers devoted to sepulchral rites or ceremonies is not so clear.

¹ *Omnes lapide polito fornicibus texti.*
—Ch. xxxvi. p. 13.

² In spite of the plates (1 Abt. 46, 47 and 48) contained in the first part of Lepsius' great work, it is still very

uncertain whether even the site, much less the form of the Egyptian labyrinth has been discovered.

³ *Canina, Etruria Antica*, pl. I. li. lii.

One of the many advantages of the mode of restoration now proposed, is that the petasus¹ no longer presents the insuperable difficulties which most restorers have found in realising its forms. It was in metal, of course, but it is not quite clear whether it was formed with metal plates, rivetted together so as to form a weather-proof roof, or was composed merely of a series of chains used to support the 'orbis aeneus,' but so frequent and so close together as architecturally to give the appearance of a nearly continuous roof. Whichever was the mode of construction adopted, the term petasus could hardly be applied to any straight-lined feature, either conical or horizontal, nor to any dome-like form of convexity. In that case 'pileus,' or some sort of hat without a brim, would have been a more appropriate analogue. The petasus must consequently have taken somewhat of the form of a hollow curve, as shown in the diagram (Plate LX.).

The distance between the central stele at the point to which the petasus was attached and the brazen or bronze circle which formed its outward limit is almost exactly 100 feet in a horizontal direction; and the curve which joins these two points forms the quadrant of a circle, as near as may be, of about 130 feet. Without any contemporary example to guide us, it is impossible to say what was the exact form of the bells that were hung from it, or how they were suspended; but the intimation of a similar arrangement at Dodona, and the knowledge that it prevails in India and China to the present day, is one of the most satisfactory allusions in Varro's description. In India, as sculptured on the pillars of temples, these suspended bells are always represented as inverted cups with tongues or clappers, like modern bells, and that is the form they also take in China. But it is hardly likely that that was the shape of those at Clusium or Dodona. Most probably they were metal discs suspended by chains, which, striking against one another when 'agitated by the wind,' would make a sound heard a long way off.² It supplies a meaning and a use for the petasus,

¹ *πέτασος*, a broad-brimmed felt hat, such as Mercury is usually represented as wearing, and frequently found depicted on Greek painted vases, and elsewhere. In this paper it is used throughout to mean a circular roof,

formed with a hollow curve like those so generally adopted by the Chinese.

² Discs of various forms are I believe used for this purpose in Burmah, but I have no certain information on the subject.

which without it would be wanting. But the knowledge that these bells were suspended from it, 'ut Dodonæ olim factum fuit,' gives to Porsenna's tomb an ethnographic, as well as an artistic, value, which it is almost impossible to over-rate, and, when properly estimated, may lead to the most important results.

Hitherto, all restorers of Porsenna's tomb have considered the petasus as described by Varro, as quite exceptional, and as a feature belonging to that tomb, and to that only. This it seems, however, can only arise from our ignorance of the early forms of tomb building; otherwise it seems impossible to account for the almost universal prevalence of the umbrellas which surmount all, or nearly all, the stupas or dagopas in the East. An umbrella surmounting a tomb or tumulus of any sort, is a singularly anomalous architectural feature, and one for which it seems almost impossible to suggest even the reminiscence of any utilitarian use. It is, besides, the most unconstructive form that can possibly be imagined, and consequently nearly all have perished at the present day. Either they were in wood, and have perished from decay or been blown down; or they were in metal, and have consequently been stolen and appropriated to other purposes. So much, indeed, is this the case, that we should hardly know of their existence in India were it not for the rock-cut examples in the caves, and the representations of them in sculptured bas-reliefs, and in contemporary paintings. But these are quite sufficient to prove that no dagopa was considered complete without being surmounted by at least one umbrella. More frequently they were adorned by three or nine, or any number, up even to hundreds, when in the seventh or eighth century Buddhism ceased to be an architectural form. It is true we can hardly feel sure how far the small stone models which are so prevalent everywhere in India represent real buildings, and in China the examples are so modern that they are hardly recognisable, though in India we have bas-reliefs showing umbrellas used for this purpose at a date long anterior to the Christian era and till long afterwards.

None of the constructors of these Eastern petasi, or umbrellas, except, perhaps, in the case of that of Alyattes, seem to have adopted the eminently constructive expedient of the architect of Porsenna's tomb. By resting the 'orbis' that formed its lower extremity on four angular steles or pyramids he secured a

stability that might have preserved it to the present time, had not the building which it adorned perished so entirely. It would be unreasonable to suppose this was the only case in which the expedient was used; but it is the only ancient one of which we have at present any certain knowledge.¹

The slope or batter of the walls of the tomb as shown in the diagram (Plate LX.), is between six and seven degrees, which is, as nearly as can be ascertained, that adopted by the Etruscans generally in their tombs, but these are seldom drawn with such accuracy that the angles can be measured with certainty. It is, however, near enough for present purposes; and any slight alteration would make no difference in the reasoning on which the restoration is founded.

There is, of course, no direct authority for the Sphinxes which I have introduced in the upper part of the monument as figured in the Plate, but there is no sculptured ornament that seems more common in Etruscan design; and as appears from Mr. Dennis's work,² none that could be more appropriate for a building erected at Chiusi.

When all these elements are put together, as is done in the diagram (Plate LX.), the result is a design which certainly is not impossible, and to me does not even seem at all improbable. To many it must appear unusual and consequently strange, but it certainly is not without a certain weird beauty; and might be made even more so were more study and thought bestowed upon it. But this is hardly worth while at the present stage of the inquiry. The principles on which the reconstruction is based must first be established, and it then will be easy to copy details and gather suggestions which will make it more worthy to occupy its place among the great tombs of the ancient world.

SEPULCHRAL MOUND OF ALIYATTES.

There are not two tombs which, at first sight, seem more unlike one another than that of Porsenna, which we have just

¹ For a description of these Tees or chattahs surmounting Indian dagopas I need only refer to my works on Indian architecture, *passim*, especially to the

Cave Temples of India, published conjointly with Dr. Burgess by the Government in 1880.

² *Etruria*, vol. ii. page 352.

been describing, and that of Alyattes at Sardis, as described by Herodotus. Yet, when carefully examined and studied by an expert, it would be difficult to find two monuments which are more like one another in all essential respects, and which throw more light on each other's peculiarities. Unfortunately, the passage in Herodotus,¹ on which we principally rely for a description of the tomb as it existed in a perfect state, is shorter and less detailed than that in which Varro describes the tomb of Porsenna; but fortunately, in this instance, enough now remains to enable us to form a very perfect idea of what the monument actually was, and these confirm the measurements and details of the historian to a very remarkable extent.

The great and essential difference between the two monuments was not in the design, which was remarkably similar in both, but in the material with which they were constructed; that at Clusium was of hewn stone, *lapide quadrato*, that at Sardis a heap of earth, *χῶμα γῆς*, which makes all the difference. The one resulted in one of the tallest buildings of antiquity, 450 feet in height; the other in one of the broadest, or a mound 1,700 feet in diameter, according to Spiegelthal,² the one as remarkable for its vertical as the other for its horizontal dimensions. This difference of material is also the cause of the different relative durability of the two monuments, the hewn stone of the one making it a most desirable quarry for the inhabitants of Clusium, while there was no temptation for the citizens of Sardis to remove the worthless earth of which the other was composed. The consequence is that the one has been utilised to such an extent that even its site cannot now be ascertained; and the other is at this day so entire that its measurements can be ascertained with very tolerable exactitude.

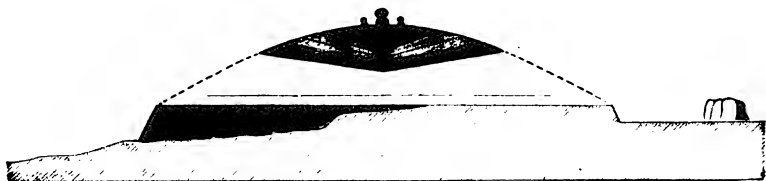
The dimension quoted by Herodotus is the extent of the base of the tumulus, which he says was six stadia and two plethra in circumference, and thirteen plethra in diameter. Taking the stadium at 606 feet and the plethrum at 100, this would result in 3,836, or a diameter of a little more than 1,200 feet, while Herr Spiegelthal makes it 355 metres, or about 1,175,

¹ Book i. chap. xciii.

² Olfers, *Lydische Königgräber bei Sardis*, pl. iii. p. 545. Nearly all the

details here quoted are taken from this work, which is the only detailed account yet published on the subject.

which is quite sufficiently near to justify our having every confidence in the information obtained by Herodotus, for he does not seem ever to have seen the monument himself, but to have trusted entirely to hearsay.



TOMB OF ALYATTES AT SARDIS, BY SPIEGELTHAL.

The measurement of Spiegelthal was taken at the basis of the earthen mound, where it rises from the top of the stone terrace supporting it. As that is sixty feet in height, and has a considerable slope, it would have been considerably more if measured at its base; but where he got the measurement of 1,700 feet diameter which he draws on his plate iii. is not quite apparent. His sections do not bear it out; but all the plates in his work are on too small a scale, and not sufficiently detailed to be quite depended upon. It is sufficient for our present purposes to know that the base of the earthen mound is now so nearly what Herodotus stated it to be, and that it is bounded by a circle within which the base of the Great Pyramid could have stood. It was thus a large monument, as far as horizontal dimensions were concerned, though very inferior as to height, the altitude of the mound being only 142, and the whole height from the level of the plain being only 228 feet, or less than one half that of the Pyramid, while the material was so immeasurably inferior in quality, as scarcely to admit of any comparison between the two buildings.

From a very early age the tumulus of Alyattes has been burrowed into in every direction by robbers in search of the treasures it was reported to contain, especially the golden bricks with which the sepulchral chamber was fabled to be constructed. In these explorations they did discover a sepulchral chamber, but whether it is that of Alyattes is doubtful. The dimensions are small, only eleven feet by eight, and seven feet

in height; and, though constructed with very perfect masonry, it seems a very small kernel for so large a nut. Nor is it situated in the centre of the mound, or even nearly so, but quite unsymmetrically about 100 metres from the central point, according to Herr Spiegelthal's plan on plate iii.; and altogether it looks so unlike what we should expect in such a tomb, that it is safer to assume that the real chamber is not known to modern explorers. If it were known with certainty it would be interesting, not only for its own sake, but for the light it would throw on the form and position of that in the tomb of Porsenna, and other tombs of the five-steled class, regarding which our knowledge is now lamentably deficient.

The principal argument—as far as I understand it—for this being Alyattes' grave—is, that on the roof of the tomb a layer of ashes some inches thick was found, which was assumed to be the remains of the funeral pyre; and which, consequently, must have been there before the mound was erected over the chamber—which, of course, they must have been. But this would be equally applicable to a secondary interment, such as are frequently found in Etruscan tombs, and might very well have been the case here. It is situated at nearly one-half the distance between the real sepulchre and the outer edge of the mound—assuming the real tomb to have been in the centre, and the whole diameter of the mound to be 514 metres, as Herr Spiegelthal states it to have been. In that case an excavation must have been made in the mound and a chamber constructed—probably at the level of the rock—and the body for this secondary interment burnt on its roof before the ashes were placed inside, and the mound 'made good' over the sepulchral chamber.

Even, however, if it were found, the sepulchral chamber would not be of such interest for us at present as the external termination upwards. This, according to Herodotus, consisted of five steles or termini (*ὄψοι*) on which were placed inscriptions recording the mode in which the tumulus was erected. These have perished; but on the summit of the mound there still exists a platform of masonry about eighty-five feet square, in the centre of which there is now lying the terminal capital of a pillar. It is of a globular form, and nearly ten feet in diameter, and most probably was the central one, as another

resting also on a square ¹ base, is found in the neighbourhood of the tumulus, very similar to it but very much smaller—only one-fourth its size ²—which therefore probably crowned one of the angle ones. As a square of eighty-five feet has a diagonal of 120, this would enable the architect to place these at about the same distance from one another as the five steles on the 100 feet 'solum' of Porsenna's tomb, and, except that we cannot feel certain whether they were square or circular, they may have been very similar. Nothing remains of the pillars or steles which these globular finials surmounted; they may have been built up of small stones, or even of brick, like the platform on which they stand, and stuccoed, and the inscriptions painted or moulded on them; but as nothing remains of them, and we have no synonym on which we can depend, it is idle to speculate regarding their forms.

It is very doubtful whether we shall ever learn much more about the original form of the tomb of Alyattes than we now know. The degradation of twenty-four centuries has obliterated its most prominent external features, and the ravages of the seekers for treasure have nearly completed the internal destruction of the monument. Enough, however, still remains to enable us to assert that a century before the erection of the tomb of Porsenna, there existed in Lydia—from which country the Etruscans are said to have migrated—a royal sepulchre, in many respects similar to and nearly as remarkable as that famous tomb. Both possessed the peculiarity that the principal feature of their exterior consisted of a group of five steles, though possibly differing in form, and it may be in use. But it is still a question whether the tomb of Alyattes was not surmounted by a petasus resting on these five steles, like that of Porsenna. My own impression is that this was certainly the case; but in the absence of any direct testimony, either for or against, the analogies seem so remote that it is not at present worth while to insist upon them. When the subject is more fully investigated it may be otherwise, but at present it is so unfamiliar that it seems only necessary to point out that such may have been the case, leaving it to future inquirers to deter-

¹ From Spiegelthal's drawings, it is not clear whether the bases of these capitals were square or circular; Mr.

Dennis—from memory—thinks they are square.

² Olfers, page 546, pl. iii. fig. 2.

mine as to its probability. Yet the universality of petasi, or umbrellas, surmounting dagopas, or simulated tombs, in the East, renders its existence here more than probable.

It is unfortunate, however, that neither Herodotus nor Varro saw the tombs they were describing; had they done so, they might have mentioned many particulars which we are now unable to supply from the total disappearance of the one, and the ruined state of the other, of these famous sepulchres.

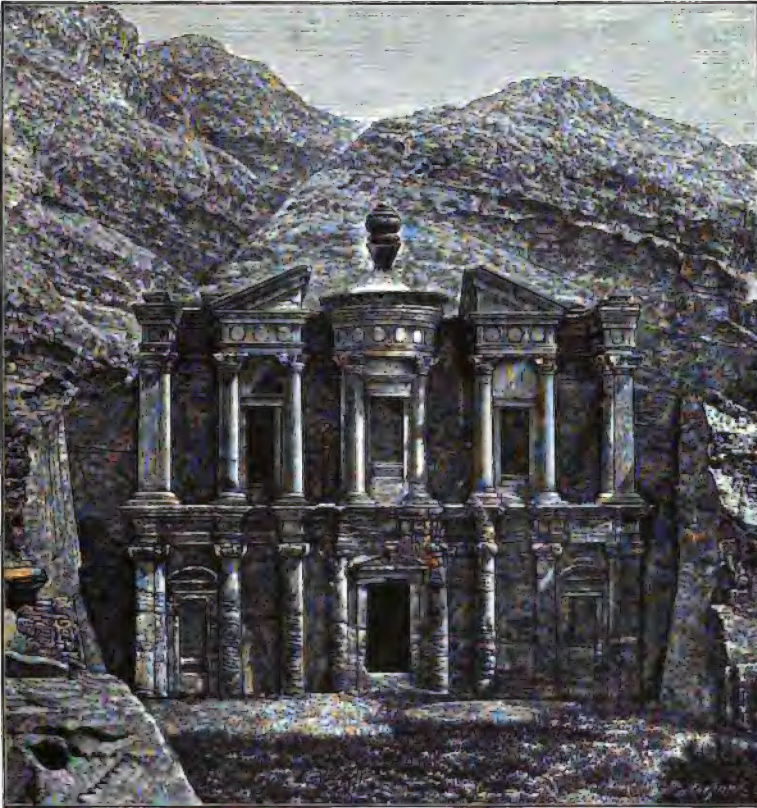
FIVE-STELED TOMBS AT PETRA.

At Petra, in Arabia Petræa, there exists a very beautiful and remarkable group of rock-cut tombs, but so singular and unlike anything that is known to exist elsewhere, that no one—so far as I know—has yet attempted to trace the origin of their peculiarities to any known edifices, or to explain what the form must have been of the structural buildings or tombs from which they were copied. To me it does not seem doubtful that their originals were five-steled tombs, the lineal descendants of those of Alyattes and Porsenna, though so modified during the six and seven centuries that elapsed between their execution, as scarcely to be recognisable. The form and nature of the rock in which the Petra tombs are excavated is another cause which has obliterated resemblances which might otherwise be easily traceable.

The finest and apparently the earliest of these tombs is one known as the Khasné, the beauty of which has struck every traveller to Petra, and which has been drawn over and over again by Laborde, Roberts, and other eminent artists, and now fortunately is represented in numerous photographs which enable us to correct and verify the mere pictorial representations. Its architectural design is so elegant, and the details throughout so exquisite that it must belong to an early age, before Roman force had superseded Grecian elegance. The Hellenic feeling is so apparent in every part that it must have been designed by Greek architects, and can hardly be dated later than the age of Augustus.

The most modern is one generally known as the Corinthian tomb, whose architecture is so contorted and vulgarised that it

may almost be called Byzantine. Practically it is of the same design as the Khasné, but at least a couple of centuries must have elapsed before the elegance of the one had been degraded into the vulgarity of the other. Between these in age there is a third known as the 'Convent,' or 'El Deir,' represented in the



EL DEIR, PETRA. (*From a Photograph.*)

annexed woodcut. It is essentially of the same design as the other two, but differing in detail as in age. There may be other tombs in the valley, similar to the three just mentioned, but owing to the savage nature of the inhabitants of the Wady Mousa, no one has yet been able to reside there long enough to

make a thorough and leisurely survey of the place. Laborde's¹ is probably best and most complete; but it is far from exhausting the subject, and leaves an unpleasing impression that many buildings may exist which are unnoticed in it. What would be as interesting as the discovery of similar tombs would be the existence of others, so varied as to enable us to trace the forms from which these three arose, or what the style afterwards became. They certainly did not spring perfect, like Minerva from Jupiter's brain. They must have had prototypes, but we search in vain, among all the drawings of Petra that are now available, for any trace of such a sequence. No one, however, seems to have visited the place to whom it occurred to look for them, though any educated architect must be aware that such a sequence did, even if it does not now exist, and most probably would be found by any one capable of conducting such inquiries.

The first objection that must occur to every one that examines such a representation of a tomb as that in the last woodcut is, that there are only three, not five steles, one circular in the centre, flanked by a square one on either side. It must not, however, be forgotten that we have not before us a complete tomb either structural or rock-cut, but merely a relief of a tomb modified to suit its situation on the rock. Unfortunately the nature of the cliffs that surround Petra does not seem to admit of a tomb being entirely isolated, like the Kailas at Ellora, and we have no remains of any structural example sufficiently complete to enable us, from its remains, to guess at its original form. Had it been erected in a cemetery or outside the city walls, the square of the base, containing the tomb, must have been completed, and such a lopsided arrangement as is shown in the rock-cut examples would have been impossible. It must in some fashion have resembled the nearly contemporary tomb of Aruns, (query Pompey) at Albano (woodcut above), and so modified the Khasné would become a reasonable beautiful sepulchral building; but without that modification it is unconstructive and unintelligible.

All the artists who have drawn these tombs represent the central circular stele as surmounted by a dome-like termination,

¹ *Journey through Arabia Petrea to Mount Sinai and Petra.* By Léon de Laborde. Translated, and published by Murray, 1836.

because they have no idea of any other mode of roofing a circular building. But it is not so. The photographs prove that the form of the roof was decidedly a petasus, or hollow curve, as is distinctly shown in the last woodcut. There is the slightest possible excuse for this in the Khasné, for owing to the Greek feeling that pervades that tomb, there is a faint ogee curve in its roof. Its upper part, however, is a hollow curve, the middle straight-lined, and just at its base it seems faintly to become perpendicular. In the El Deir it is wholly a hollow curve; and at its base—above the Corinthian entablature—there is a strongly-marked member, that may be a reminiscence of an ‘*orbis aeneus*,’ or something at least that had no synonym in Greek architecture.¹

The most striking peculiarity of the square steles which flank or surround the circular one is the *bent* pediments surmounting two of their faces. As carved in the rock they look like parts of the broken pediments employed in bad Roman or renaissance work, but they are not so; they are not broken but bent, a form which occurs nowhere else that I know of except in these tombs, and must consequently have some peculiar local meaning. What this was seems tolerably evident when we try to restore the rock-cut examples to the form of the structural buildings from which they must have been copied. Unless the tombs had a back and a front of different designs, which is most improbable, the pedimental angle must have been turned inwards toward the circular centre. It could not have been outwards, or the rock sculpture would have shown it, but if inwards the building would present on all sides a series of architectural lines sloping downwards from the centre towards the outer edge of the roof. The architectural forms of the Romans would not admit of any petasus or any thing like it being applied to such a monument. But in the lapse of ages the forms of Porsenna’s tomb may have become so altered, and the primitive meaning so obliterated and forgotten, that nothing would remain of the petasus but such a reminiscence as this.

The tomb of Alyattes was erected between the sixth and

¹ The so-called tomb of Absalom at Jerusalem is surmounted by a strongly marked Petasus, or hollow curved termination, which has hitherto been con-

sidered exceptional and strange, but may now, if the views above stated are correct, take its place among recognized architectural forms.

seventh centuries before Christ, and that of Porsenna at least five centuries before the earliest of these Petra tombs, and as they are placed 1,000 miles apart and belong to different religions, and, it may be, to different races, it can hardly be considered a source of wonder that such differences are found to exist between them. Similar transformations occur in all parts of the world. It requires for instance both study and knowledge to recognise all the parts of the Roman pagan basilica in the mediæval gothic cathedral—but they are all there, and can easily be recognised by any one who will take the trouble to trace them back to their origin. When architecture is a true and living art, its forms change slowly but always gradually, and it is very rarely that you cannot trace reminiscences of the parent style among the productions of even the most remote and apparently dissimilar progeny. In this instance it does not seem to me doubtful that these rock-cut tombs belong to the class of five-stele tombs to which these and those of Alyattes, Porsenna, and Aruns belong, and that though vast gaps exist in the line of argument required to prove this, it will easily be done when once attention is fairly turned to the subject.

EASTERN TOMBS.

Since the disappearance of Etruria from the map of Italy, it is in vain to look for any original or important tombs in any part of Europe. The Etruscans were the only civilized race of Tomb builders that have yet appeared in the West. Their kindred, the Pelasgi, it is true, indulged in the same kind of display to some extent, but we know so little of their tombs—usually called treasures, that little can be predicated of them with certainty. The other tomb-building races of Europe never rose above the level of mound building, or of erecting rude stone monuments of the most primitive kind. It is true, nevertheless, that the Etruscans, by their absorption into that ‘*colluvies gentium*’ composing the Roman people, did so leaven the mass that we find the latter adopting to a considerable extent forms of sepulchral magnificence almost equal to those of their predecessors. The tombs of Augustus and Hadrian are splendid examples of this, and the Appian Way is lined with tombs of the most varied forms, and often of considerable size and

magnificence, but generally of the most varied and capricious forms, and based on no indigenous suggestion from which any systematic development can be traced. Generally they affect a circular form, like those of the Etruscans, but except that of Augustus, none of any size seems to have attempted to imitate the earthen conical form.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire no tomb-building races have occupied or become powerful in any part of Europe. The Teutonic and Slavonic races never affected that class of magnificence; and though the Celts surpass these races in their respect for the dead, and indulge in considerable funereal displays, their reverence never took the form of the erection of permanent tombs. It is therefore only in Asia that we can look for the successors of Porsenna's tomb, if they are now to be found anywhere. That they do exist does not seem to me doubtful, but if the distance of time and locality is taken into account, it is hardly surprising that their successors are not at once to be detected, and even when recognised it is with difficulty that their descent is realised even by those whom long study has rendered exceptionally familiar with the subject.

It does not, for instance, appear to me doubtful that the celebrated Taje Mehal at Agra¹ is a five-steled tomb, the lineal descendant of the tomb at Clusium. The four angle minarets, each 133 feet in height, have become singularly attenuated in comparison with those adopted in Etruria, though by a curious coincidence they are placed nearly exactly the same distance apart (300 feet), and adorn the angles of a platform containing the tomb, but raised only eighteen feet instead of fifty feet. The central stele has become exaggerated to a greater extent than the angular ones are diminished, and is surmounted by a dome instead of a petasus. It still retains, however, in the octagonal form of its plan, a reminiscence of the circular form so usually adopted in European tombs, and does contain in its centre a ceremonial or ritual tomb over the real one which is on the level of the soil. In Akbar's tomb² the distance in height between the real and ritual tombs is eighty-five feet, though how far the practice obtained in any but the most magnificent imperial tombs has not yet been investigated.

¹ *History of Architecture*, by Jas. F.,
vol. iii., page 597, W.C. 337, 9.

² *L. cit.* page 584, W.C.'s 333, 334.

The building represented in the annexed woodcut is a more direct copy of the class of tombs to which that of Porsenna belonged than even the Taje Mehal ; but from the long interval



BUDDHIST LAMA TEMPLE AT PEKIN. (*From a Photograph.*)

of time that elapsed between their erection and the distance of their localities, the differences, in appearances, are such that the resemblance is not at first obvious.

It is generally described as the 'Thibetan monument in the Lama temple at Pekin,' erected probably in the last century by Thibetan Buddhists for the purposes of their worship. It consists of a central circular stele of white marble of considerable height, adorned with architectural forms as capricious and unusual as those of Porsenna's, as is almost certain to be the case where no utilitarian purpose interferes to guide and steady the hand of the architect. In this instance it is not surmounted by a petasus, though the form is very usual in Chinese temples, but the finial really consists of nine petasi or circular discs, and an upper one so adorned with the caprices of Chinese architecture as to be hardly recognisable. The four angular steles are octagonal in form and have no apparent use, except as architectural ornaments or reminiscences of earlier forms.¹

In this instance the central tower probably is only a simulated tomb. Long before its erection the Buddhists had ceased to use the tumulus as a burying-place for the bodies of their illustrious dead, but had appropriated its forms to enshrine the relics of the saints or patriarchs of their church, as also to commemorate spots sanctified by the founder of the religion and his successors. Whether the present dagopa is supposed to contain a relic or is merely a memorial tope no one seems to have had the curiosity to inquire, nor is it important that it should be known, as we know of no architectural form by which their destination can be distinguished externally.

A more regrettable omission is that it is not hung with bells, which are so usual an accompaniment to the petasi of Chinese pagodas, whose tinkling at this day takes us back with almost certainty through 3,000 years, when this same class of music relieved the monotony of the architecture, and charmed the ears of the worshipper 'at Dodona'; thus connecting the East with the West, and the present with the long-forgotten past, with a vividness and reality which can hardly be attained by any other means.

It would necessitate a much larger space than is at all com-

¹ As the photograph is taken exactly on the centre line of the group, and there is no atmospheric perspective in photography, the engraver has understood the central tower as forming part

of the gateway. I have other photographs taken at an angle which show it as placed on an extensive platform in the centre of the four angular towers.

patible with essays of this sort to explain the peculiarities of these eastern tombs, and to attempt to trace their derivation from the mounds and structural edifices of the West. It would also require an amount of illustration to render their forms intelligible to those unfamiliar with the subject, which cannot be afforded in this place. All therefore that is attempted here is to indicate the path that others may follow, who may wish to investigate the subject more fully. It is enough at present to show that the design of the tomb of Porsenna was not so exceptional or strange as it is usually assumed to have been, and that it may turn out—if the materials should exist to prove it—to have belonged to a class of tombs which were usual in the ancient world, and the reminiscence of whose form is not entirely lost even at the present day.

JAMES FERGUSON.

THE ISLANDS OF TELOS AND KARPATHOS.

HAVING visited these two outlying islands of the Sporadic group last winter, and having spent in them over two months, I propose to put together a few notes on the antiquities to be found in each. They are islands which are very difficult of access and rarely visited by foreigners, and are consequently peculiarly retentive of customs and myths which bear the stamp of extreme antiquity. Both these islands appear to have had a much more considerable population in ancient times than they have now, though much behind their neighbours on Rhodes and Kos in the arts and civilisation.

The principal feature of the small island of Telos is a precipitous mountain which rises directly behind the chief of the two modern villages of the island, on the summit of which is a fortress covering a triangular plateau about three quarters of a mile in circumference; the foundation of the walls of this fortress are Hellenic, on which during the Middle Ages more modern walls have been constructed. In the centre of this fortress there stands an Hellenic temple now converted into a church, and almost buried on two sides by the *débris* of Hellenic masonry covered with brushwood. From the gateway which enters the walls on the south side, a broad approach with steps flanked on either side by huge blocks of stone leads straight to the temple; the form of the proauleion is easily distinguished, and the north wall of the temple is almost intact and built of neatly fitting stones without mortar of a coarse bluish marble.

From a stone on the outer edge of the proauleion I took an

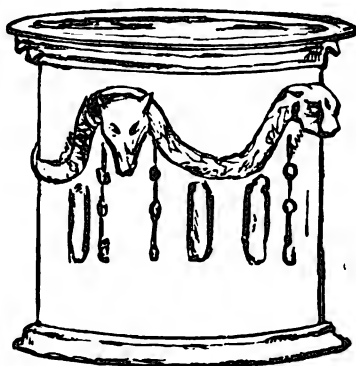
impression of an inscription which I afterwards found to be published in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* iv. p. 43.

Also I took rubbings of some other inscriptions on the walls of the pronaos, doubtless *ψηφίσματα* which were too much obliterated to be of any value. The entrance to the *cella*, which is now used as a modern church, is also preserved, and is thirty-five inches across; the *cella* itself is covered with plaster in most places, which was fortunately sufficiently destroyed to enable me to see that the walls are Hellenic; it is five yards thirteen inches in length, by three yards thirty-four inches wide.

The triangular plateau is covered with the ruins of Byzantine houses, but at the northern apex there still stands an old Hellenic tower of the nature usually found in the islands. From the wall which runs along the northern side of the fortress, another Hellenic wall seems to have started off at right angles, which apparently divided the plateau across the centre, and which seems to have run in the direction of the temple, but is now lost in the *débris* of the houses. On this side the Byzantine fortifications run much below the Hellenic wall, and in what is left of this latter, the existence of a small postern gate is easily distinguishable.

On the fertile plain below the fortress there are many traces of antiquity with marble bases of columns, some of which have as yet escaped the lime-kilns, marking the sites of several small temples; these have been converted into churches during the Byzantine occupation, but have since fallen into ruins. In one of these I found the following altar-shaped tomb inscribed ΚΑΛΑΙΡΟΑ (?) ΧΑΙΡΕ, and this memorial tablet:





The Hellenic graves of Telos are curious and uniform, and constructed doubtless as the nature of the ground suggested. In two cemeteries where I excavated, I found that deep clefts in the rock had been chosen for the graves, and at about ten feet below the soil which filled these clefts, we came upon holes chiselled in the rock in rows along the clefts. Each grave contained pottery of a rude description pointing to a backward state of art, numberless coarse plates were found in each, from which traces of the feast laid out for the dead were not altogether obliterated, fish bones, remnants of eggs and figs being still preserved in some of them.

KARPATHOS.

On this island there are traces still existing of many towns; the first we examined is identified by inscriptions as Poseidonia; old inhabitants still call it by the contraction of this name Posin, but some years ago a name signifying 'drink' appeared objectionable to the sober-minded inhabitants, and they re-christened it, Pegadia or 'wells.' Here there are evidences of pre-historic inhabitants, the graves of whom I was unfortunately unable to open owing to the presence of the Turkish authorities, but I was able to obtain a large stone figure of a female idol, similar to the smaller ones I found at Antiparos, and which were engraved in Vol. V. of this Journal, p. 50. Arkassa on the west of the island is likewise identified by inscriptions, as is also

Brykountios, or as it is now called Bourgounta, on the north, but a fourth town mentioned by Strabo as Nisyros cannot be found; its site, of course, must have been one of the three other spots on Karpathos where ruins exist, but where inscriptions have not as yet come to light.

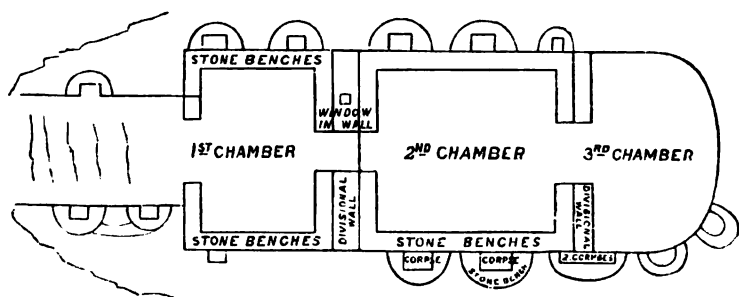
Most of these towns have been roughly dealt with during the Byzantine period, when extensive towns and large churches were built out of the material at hand, Brykountios was apparently the most considerable town during both the earlier and later occupations, and as it was situated at the extreme north of Karpathos, about two hours distant from the Elympos, and several days' journey from the Konak, we were able to pitch our tent there and excavate unmolested.

The town stood on a high tongue of land jutting into the sea; it had a good harbour before the ancient mole, traces of which are easily seen still, was destroyed; the temples and houses have been so mutilated to build the Byzantine town, that it is next to impossible to form any conception of their extent. This town is close to the excellent harbour of Tristoma, and in ancient days must have been a great commercial centre.

The rocks and cliffs around Brykountios are perfectly honey-combed with chiselled tombs of greatly diversified character; on first seeing them I judged of course that they had all been rifled long since by Byzantines and Romans, but on closer examination we found many of them undisturbed, and as to some of them which overhung the sea and were difficult of approach we were the first to roll away the stone from the mouth of the sepulchre. Our finds in these tombs were perhaps not equivalent to our first expectations, the pottery for the most part was but roughly adorned, proving that Karpathos was in its best days, as now, an out of the way spot which had made but little advance in the arts, and the chief interest connected with the pottery I brought back is, that it is the first to come from Karpathos and from these rock-cut tombs. But the tombs themselves were extremely interesting, and the great variety of periods of pottery found in close juxtaposition would suggest that the graves had been used again and again, just as the graves of the Karpathiotes now who only allow their relatives to remain a year in the tomb, after which they exhume the bones, tie them up in an embroidered pillow, and throw them into a charnel house.

On approaching the promontory there stands an isolated round rock about thirty feet in height; this is entered by a chiselled passage with tombs on either side, and tombs above these on another level all of which are now empty, and would appear originally to have been closed by an iron or thin marble slab, for round each of the holes is a groove into which a slab has been introduced: close around this rock are numerous shallow tombs cut in the rock, some of which we found unopened, but they contained nothing but one or two coins which crumbled in our hands when we touched them, doubtless the obolos for Charon.

Proceeding along the cliff we found tombs of every possible description, single chambers, double chambers, tombs one over the other, tombs with steps above them cut in the rock, as if for ornamentation, but the most frequent and those which we found the least disturbed were those constructed like this plan:



You enter by a sloping *dromos* with walls on either side chiselled in the rocks, in which were generally two or three tombs much ruder than those inside, and invariably containing ware of a much more recent period, Cyrenaic ware similar to what we have from Cyprus, and objects of pottery of rough material.

After clearing the circular entrance to the tomb from rubbish you enter a good sized chamber. About ten feet square and six in height with stone benches round, all formed by chiselling the rock; the graves are to the right and left and are after a

uniform pattern consisting of a chamber cut deep into the rock with a terrace or bench left all round, and the corpse and pottery deposited into a sort of well which was sunk slightly below the level of the floor. These tombs were closed with very large stones and covered with a thick cement, in many cases the outer chamber had likewise been entirely covered with cement, and sometimes we saw traces of patterns and writing of a late date in Byzantine characters. Only one very faint inscription appeared to be of a good period, and curiously enough it was to the memory of a man whose name occurs in an inscription built into one of the later churches, the name was *Aidoios* which I cannot find in any glossary of ancient Greek names. In another grave we found a marble memorial tablet in letters of a good period to the memory of one Menekrates, and in this grave we found a larger collection of pottery than anywhere else, no less than twenty plates, ten lamps, several lamp feeders, and endless specimens of smaller articles. In one grave we found a *pithos* full of calcined bones, and in the middle of the bones a prettily executed *mastos* of black pottery.

To return to the plan, the second chamber is entered by a low door, and in the divisional wall three feet thick are two windows, one over and the other beside the door. There has been a door between the two chambers, the hinge holes of which are still visible. This second chamber is considerably larger than the first, but is constructed on the same plan. The third chamber, which does not seem to have had a door or windows, contained tombs of a later date and was finished off in a much ruder fashion being very much lower, and as will be seen from the plan the tombs around it were never completed; there was a curious long tomb between the second and third chambers with two corpses in it, so that when emptied we could crawl through from one chamber to the other. This idea of connecting two tombs seems to have been of later date, for most of those outside were thus connected.

On the spot on which our tent was pitched there was a quadrangle for tombs, two sides of which had been beautifully chiselled out of the rock and furnished with two rows of tombs, all of which, however, had been opened; it was curious on a vacant space to see the chiselled plan of a tomb which had been designed but never executed.

Another class of tomb we accidentally hit upon consisted of natural holes in the cliff in almost inaccessible places overhanging the sea; the entrances had been closed with cement and stones, and some of them contained as many as four corpses; the pottery in these tombs was of the best period, big *pitthoi* with the maker's mark on, and well glazed things, which as a rule had been rare in the chiselled tombs.

On the small island of Saria, which is separated from the north of Karpathos by a narrow strait, we found similar rock-cut tombs, none of which, however, had more than one chamber with a tomb on either side, and a narrow trench between. All these tombs had been rifled, but amongst the *débris* in them we saw more beautiful bits of pottery than any we had found in the unrifled tombs. On Saria there exists an old watch-tower with a curious water conduit chiselled in the rock leading to it; this tower was apparently built to protect the only fertile portion of the island. It was Ross's idea that the Nisyros of Strabo was on Saria, but beyond the slight similarity of name there do not seem to be any other grounds for this conjecture.

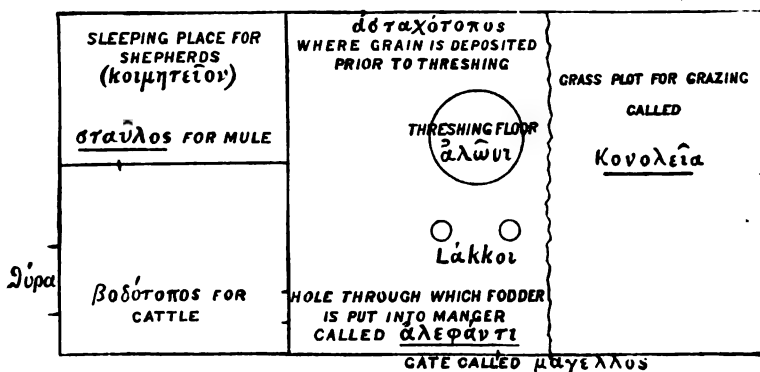
KARPATHIOTE DIALECT.

As a field for the study of modern Greek manners and customs, with a view to comparing them with antiquity, I consider Karpathos almost unique; at their ceremonies connected with religious worship, deaths, marriages, and births, medical cures, exorcisms, incantations, and so forth, we came across things, by entering into the routine of daily life, which can have changed little during many centuries.

Before going to Karpathos last winter a passage in Ludwig Ross's *Inselreisen* (which book contains the only reliable information we have on this remote island) excited my curiosity. It ran as follows: 'The village of Olympos, or Elymbos, has about 250 houses, the dialect of the Elympites must be in the highest degree Hellenic, their ballads and songs so poetical that they often move the listeners to tears. I have heard such wonderful things related of them, that it was with great grief that I was not able to visit this place.'

Added to this, former experience in the Cyclades had taught me that the existence of an almost classical Greek-speaking population in the remote islands was quite possible, so it was with keen interest that we took up our residence for a few weeks there. Glossaries of words in use in out-of-the-way corners of Greece have appeared, but none, as yet, from Elympos, so I will here say a few words about the dialect, hoping thereby to induce others more competent than myself to collect a glossary of these words and expressions, and to confer a boon on philology and Hellenic studies alike.

For the most part the inhabitants of this village are a wild, uncultured race of shepherds, and their customs of great value to the student of folk lore and comparative mythology, and it was in the pastoral life of the place that we found most to interest us; about an hour from Elympos is a hamlet, or rather a collection of small homesteads, where the shepherds from the mountains pass the three winter months with their flocks and their families. Each homestead is constructed on the same principle as on the accompanying plan.



The hamlet is called Stavalonia, from the fact that each house has its σταῦλος and its ἄλωι, and in connection with this homestead there are several curious words. In the first place you enter a θύρα, not a πόρτα, the usual word in Greek *patois* for a door. Then there is the ἄλεφάντι, a hole in the wall through which fodder is introduced into the manger, the Κονολεία, a grass plot where the mule is tethered, and the

Λάκκοι, or holes in the ground where the grain is buried when threshed; this, I fancy, is the same custom which they practised in antiquity when the holes were called *σιροί*.

These shepherds call their mules *κτήματα*, or possessions, and do not understand the use of any such word as *ζῶα* or *μουλάρια*, common elsewhere in Greece; this use of the word *κτήματα* is, I take it, of distinctly classical origin. Their goats they called *χίλια*, or thousands, a word suggestive of patriarchal life and flocks which could not be counted for number; and in their distinctive words for goats they have many curious words, for example *πολιομούρια* is used for goats with grey faces and ears, retaining the classical use of the word *πολιός*, which in the vulgar is always *ψαρός*.

Κόρνοψ is used to express a goat which is black behind and white in front. Is this word the same as the word *Κόρνοψ*, used by Strabo, instead of *πάρνοψ*, to signify a locust? Again, they use words to distinguish goats, which must have crept in through a Latin-Byzantine agency; for example, *μαξιλλάτος*, for a goat with reddish cheeks, the word *μαξιλλάρια* being now only used in the modern language for a pillow. *βουσσόμερος*, too, expresses the same class of goat—the word *ρούσσιος* being unknown in modern Greek, but common amongst Byzantine authors, who adopted the Latin word *russeus* for red.

They use the expression *ἀπ' εἰκασμοῦ ὁμιλῶ*, instead of the usual *μέ συμπερασμὸν*, to express 'I speak from conjecture.' I don't think the form of the word *εἰκασμός* occurs in modern Greek; *εἰκασία* does, but I never heard it used in this idiomatic way which we find in Strabo and later Byzantine writers. For an apron they use the New Testament word *λέντιον*, instead of the vulgar *ποδιά* or *ἔμπροσθελλὰ*, and the narrow alleys of Elympos are called *ρύμαι*. Now this again is a New Testament word, being used in the Acts for the street which is called 'straight,' and suggests a comparison with the celebrated oracle *ἔσται μὲν Ῥώμη ῥύμη καὶ Δῆλος ἄδελος*.

A young man they speak of as *ἄωρος*, 'unripe,' reminding us of Herodotus, *ἄωρος θανεῖν*, and Plutarch, *ἄωρος πρὸς γάμον*.

Κανάχια is a word in use for caresses, kisses, which strikes one as a possible survival of the classical words, *κανάχη*, *κανάσσω*, to make a sharp noise; though this meaning was originally confined to the sound of water, there is no apparent

reason why, after the lapse of ages, it should not be applied to the noise produced by the lips.

There is a place near Elympos where labourers are accustomed to meet together morning and evening, so that they may go to and from their work in company. The spot is situated at the summit of a beetling cliff, and they call it ἀποθόκτρια, which appears as if it was connected with the classical word ἀποθρώσκω, which was used to express the abrupt rising of a cliff. Να μεθάρμεν, 'let us change places,' appears as if connected with the classical word μεθάρμοσις. Words like νικαδὸ for πρωτ, early in the morning, and others of curious, and in many cases inexplicable, origin are to be found at Elympos.

But the most curious thing of all in connection with the Elympitan dialect is the existence of a gamma which is introduced under circumstances which are at once suggestive of the digamma and its existence in real life. This gamma is especially remarkable in a dialect which drops the ordinary gamma on every possible occasion, for they say ἤτρωα for ἔτρωγον, I ate, and ἤλεα for ἔλεγον, I said, ἔω for ἐγὼ, and endless other instances.

Before the word υἱός, a son, they place a hard gamma, which I have not only heard, but seen written in marriage settlements. A mother calls to her son Γυιέμου. Then this gamma is inserted after the diphthong εῦ: for example, they say πιστεύομεν and δουλεύομεν, instead of πιστεύομεν and δουλεύομεν. This gamma, I understand likewise, is found in the Cypriote dialect, though not in quite so pronounced a degree; wherever it occurs this intrusive gamma is always hard and perfectly distinct from the modern use of the gamma, and reminding one of the change which has made the Latin *vastare* become *guastare* in Italian, and *gâter* in French.

THEODORE BENT.

A TERRA-COTTA DIADUMENOS.

[PL. LXI.]

THE position of Polykleitos in the history of Greek sculpture is peculiarly tantalizing. We seem to know a good deal about his work. We know his statue of a Doryphoros from the marble copy of it in Naples, and we know his Diadumenos from two marble copies in the British Museum. Yet with these and other sources of knowledge, it happens that when we desire to get closer to his real style and to define it there occurs a void. So to speak, a bridge is wanting at the end of an otherwise agreeable journey, and we welcome the best help that comes to hand. There is, I think, some such help to be obtained from the terra-cotta statuette recently acquired in Smyrna by Mr. W. R. Paton.

But first it may be of use to recall the reasons why the marble statues just mentioned must fail to convey a perfectly true notion of originals which we are justified in assuming were of bronze. In each of these statues the artist has been compelled by the nature of the material to introduce a massive support in the shape of a tree stem. That is at once a new element in the design, and, as a distinguished French sculptor¹ has rightly observed, this new element called for a modification of the entire figure. This would have been true of a marble copy made even

¹ M. Eugène Guillaume, in Rayet's *Monuments de l'Art Antique*, pt. 3, pl. 1 (Doryphorus). The Vaison Diadumenus is given by Rayet in pt. 4, pl. 1, and the De Janze bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque at Paris, in pt. 4, pl. 2. Cf. Michaelis in the *Annali*

dell' *Inst. Arch.* 1878, p. 5. He gives the de Janze bronze in pl. B, the Farnese Diadumenus in pl. A, the Vaison Diadumenus in the *Monumenti dell' Inst. Arch.* x. pl. 49, and the Doryphorus, *ibid.* pl. 50.

in the time of Polykleitos himself. But none of the marble copies of his works that we possess go nearly so far back. They are separated from him by centuries, during which some striking innovations were made. In particular a new canon of proportions for the human figure had been introduced by Lysippos, and this canon, which affected Polykleitos more than any other



THE VAISON DIADUMENOS.

sculptor, had become the standard for subsequent art. The copyist of later days was thus in danger of incorporating the system of proportions in which he had been trained with the actual proportions of Polykleitos whom he was set to imitate. We see this clearly in the marble statue of a Diadumenos from Vaison, in the British Museum. The proportion of torso to

thigh is there the proportion introduced by Lysippos, while the shape of the head, the great breadth of the shoulders, and perhaps some other features are no less distinctly retained from Polykleitos. In such circumstances no two copyists could be expected to work alike, and accordingly in another marble statue of a Diadumenos, which the British Museum was fortunate in obtaining from the Farnese collection, we find much less of Lysippos. The length of the torso and the thigh is more equalized, and we seem to be getting back nearer to the actual proportions of the original in this respect; since it can hardly be doubted that in the canon of Polykleitos a long and massive torso was as conspicuous a feature as was the long thigh in the canon of Lysippos.

But these two statues, though they retain much from the bronze original, are yet far from adequate to convey an exact notion of its proportions and style. We must still look for a copy executed under more favourable conditions. In some measure we have that in Mr. Paton's terra-cotta. The diminished scale would no doubt lead to error in some parts. But there are, here at least, no exigencies of material to call for modifications. In such details as the hollowing out of the pupils of the eyes, in the gilding of the diadem of which traces only now remain, and in the peculiar form of the nipple on the right breast, the artist has obviously followed a bronze original. It must have been from this motive also, I think, that he has worked over the whole surface with a fine ivory tool, so as to break, by an infinite series of scarcely perceptible touches, the light which falls on the figure, and which otherwise would have a glossy effect on the clay. One of the charms of fine Greek bronzes is the subtle preparation of all surfaces for the effects of light. I need not say that this is also one of the charms of nature. We may conclude then that the sculptor of the terra-cotta was inspired by a work in bronze—not precisely inspired to imitate the actual surface of a bronze, but to produce by means of his own an effect which he had observed in a fine bronze.

A few measurements will show that he was quite independent of Lysippos in the matter of proportions, and for this purpose I have compared the terra-cotta with the Vaison Diadumenos, adding also certain measurements of the Farnese statue to

confirm what has been said as to its being the nearer of the two to the original of Polykleitos :

	TERRA-COTTA.	VAISON.	FARNESE.
Crown of head to below knee-cap }	$11\frac{1}{8}" = \cdot 295 \text{ m.}$	$54" = 1\cdot 373 \text{ m.}$	—
Collar bones to top of pubes	$4\frac{1}{8}" = \cdot 119 \text{ m.}$	$21" = \cdot 530 \text{ m.}$	$16\frac{1}{8}" = \cdot 428 \text{ m.}$
Length of thigh as marked in diagram }	$4\frac{3}{8}" = \cdot 111 \text{ m.}$	$22\frac{3}{8}" = \cdot 568 \text{ m.}$	$16\frac{1}{4}" = \cdot 413 \text{ m.}$
Elbow to elbow	$7\frac{7}{8}" = \cdot 200 \text{ m.}$	$37" = \cdot 940 \text{ m.}$	—

In comparing the measurements of so small a figure as the terra-cotta with a statue rather over life-size, there is so much liability to error, that I would have hesitated but for the marked manner in which the terra-cotta inverts the proportions of Lysippos, and preserves those of Polykleitos. No error that I can have made will alter that fact, which indeed is apparent at the first glance.

In the Vaison statue the massiveness of the shoulders and arms is a noticeable feature; in the terra-cotta it is even striking, so much so that it may be open to doubt whether there is not here some exaggeration. The neck is robust and very finely fashioned, forming a pleasant contrast to the too short neck of the Vaison figure. The head is practically of the same shape as in both the marble statues, and we may take it to represent the original so far. But the terra-cotta has this advantage that the nose is intact. It is the same long and finely formed nose which we see in the head of Hera from Agrigentum,¹ now generally accepted as one of the best, if not the best representation we possess of a female head by Polykleitos. The upper lip is rendered with much the same effect as in the Hera. Throughout the figure the modelling of bones and muscle is carried out with great refinement as well as with force. But the artist is not responsible for a small part under the ribs on the right side. That with some other parts which interfere less with the artistic effect is the work of the restorer.

¹ Published by Helbig in *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* ix. pl. 1.

In conclusion, I feel bound to approach the difficult question of the date of this terra-cotta. It is no doubt possible that it may have been made after the time of Lysippos by an artist who had the original before him, or perhaps rather some good copy, and who rigidly excluded from his view all his own special training, in such matters as proportion at least. But there is a small bronze in the Bibliothèque at Paris, representing this same subject, which again shows how difficult it was for an artist living after the time of Lysippos to get away from his influence. And thus, while unwilling to call such an escape impossible, I would still prefer to think that the terra-cotta has been executed previous to this over-mastering influence. But how far previous? Between Polykleitos and Lysippos more than a century elapsed, during which period we may assume that the statues of athletes by the earlier of these two masters continued to attract the admiration of artists. If we must choose between the beginning and the end of this period, I would choose the end; for this reason, that the terra-cotta seems to me to have a decided mark of the intervening influence of Praxiteles. The manner in which the thighs are modelled recalls nothing so much as the Hermes of Olympia. In Callistratus,¹ we have a description of a statue of a Diadumenos by Praxiteles, and if everything that Callistratus said was intelligible and true, we might suppose that Praxiteles also was among those who made a special study of the type of athlete by Polykleitos. So much at least seems certain, that the maker of the terra-cotta has engrafted on his model Diadumenos some of the manner of Praxiteles. For this among other reasons, we may perhaps be justified in assigning it to the short period between Praxiteles and Lysippos.

To judge from the appearance of the clay, the figure must have been made in Asia Minor, and if in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, where I understand Mr. Paton acquired it, there would be no difficulty then in accounting for an acquaintance with the work of Polykleitos, since Ephesus possessed one of his most famous statues, the Amazon.

¹ Stat. ii.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM COS, &c.

LAST June I received from Mr. Newton a set of squeezes from inscriptions which had been sent him by Mr. Petrides, in order that if unpublished they might appear in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. As to their provenance, Mr. Petrides has kindly supplied me with the following information. They were sent to him from the island of Symi, and as far as he can understand they must have been found either on the island of Cos or on the mainland of Asia Minor, opposite to these islands. From the inscriptions themselves it will appear that this view is in part at least correct; for the inscriptions numbered 6, 8, 9 and 10 are certainly from Cos. 1, 3, and perhaps 4, however, seem to belong to Rhodes: the rest bear no internal indication such as to enable us to assign their origin to any particular place. It is clear then, that the evidence as to provenance is not definite enough to override any internal evidence that may be inconsistent with it; but we are probably justified in assuming that the inscriptions come from the islands in the south-east portion of the Aegæan, or the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor. I am indebted to Mr. Newton for valuable help, especially in conjecturing the purport and locality of the Rhodian inscriptions.

As far as I can tell, the inscriptions seem to be all unpublished, except No. 9; they are not, at any rate, to be found in any of the periodicals published at Athens, though these contain many that are somewhat similar, and obviously come from the same neighbourhood. If they are already known, I can hardly hope, working only from squeezes, to be able to add anything to previous copies; but the risk of superfluity must always in such cases be incurred. It is at any rate less serious than that of the suppression of new and interesting matter.

1. Part of a subscription list of names with numbers in columns; remains of a second column are visible on the left. The order is roughly alphabetical. The large number 12,000, opposite l. 24, which also begins further back, seems to be a total. Several names are new and interesting. Both from its form and Doric dialect this seems to be Rhodian. Cf. Newton, *B. M. Inscr.* II., cccxliii. cccxliv. (13 in. × 11 in.; height of letters, $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

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ΝΥΙΩΝΟΛΥΜΠΟΔΩΡΟΥ

5 ΩΤ. ΔΟΥ ΔΔΔ
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 Κ ΘΕΣΙΑ . ΑΞΟΑΡΣΙΑΛΑ Π

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ΣΔ ΤΟΥ . ΕΝΟΚΛΕΥΣ Δ

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ΜΧΧ ΤΙΜΑΣΙΠΟΛΙΣΙΕΡΟΚΛΕ . Σ Δ

25 ΤΙΜΟΘΕ . . . ΕΡ'Ι'Α . . .
 ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΣΙΕΡ . .
 ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΕΡΟΚΛΕ ΔΔΔ
 ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΕΥΣ Δ

ΦΙΛΩΝΔΑΣΝΙΚΟ . ΟΥ . ΟΥ Δ
 30 ΧΑΡΜΟΚΛΗΣΕΡΑΤΟ . . . Σ ΔΔ
 ρ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΟΣΓΕΡΑΙΣΤΙΟΣ Δ
 ΤΙΜΑΡΧΟΣΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ Δ
 Δ ΤΙΜΑΧΙΔΑΣΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΟΣ Δ
 ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΚΛΕΙΣΙΜΒΡΟΤΟΥ ΔΔ

3. — Τιμάρχου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τῶν νύων Ὀλυμποδώρου
 5. — ωτ[ά]δου ΔΔΔ

- Τιμόθεος Θευφάντου Δ
 Τίμαρχος Ἀστυκρατίδα Δ
 10. Τελέ[σ]αρχος Κλευστράτου [Δ-
 Τιμασίπολις Τιμασιπόλιος
 τοῦ Τιμασιπόλιος Δ
 Τιμαρχίδας Τιμ[ασιπ]όλιος Δ
 Τιμάρετος Ἀναξικράτους Δ
 15. Τηλέμαχος Ἀναξικράτους Δ
 Τιμασίπολις Τιμομάχου Δ
 Τιμό[θ]ε[ο]ς Τιμασιπόλιος
 τοῦ [Μ]ενοκλεῦς Δ
 Τιμάσαρχος Εὐφράνορος Δ
 20. Τιμοτέλης [Εὐφρ]άνορος ΔΔ
 Τιμόκριτος [Εὐφρ]άν[ορ]ος [Δ-
 Τιμασίθεος [— Δ-
 Τιμασίθεος [— Δ-
 Τιμασίπολις Ἱεροκ[λεῦ]ς Δ
 25. Τιμόθε[ο]ς Ἱερ[οφ]ά[ν]ευς Δ
 Τίμαρχος Ἱερ[— Δ-
 Φιλοκράτης Ἱεροκλεῦς ΔΔ] Δ
 Φιλοκράτης Ἱεροφάνους Δ
 Φιλώνδας Νικο[β]ού[λ]ου Δ
 30. Χαρμοκλῆς Ἐρατο[κλεῦ]ς ΔΔ
 Χαίρειος Γεραίστιος Δ
 Τίμαρχος Εὐφράνορος Δ
 Τιμαχίδας Εὐφράνορος Δ
 Τιμόστρατος Κλεισιμβρότου ΔΔ

2. A decree of honour and presents to some prince. (11 in. x 16 in.; height of letters, $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

ΚΑΙΣΤΗΣΑΙΕΝΤΩ
 ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙΔΕΑΥΤ
 ΤΟΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΚΑΙΠΡΟΞΕΝ
 ΤΑΙΑΝΑΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΙΕΙΣΙΝΑΡΟΛ
 5 ΛΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΞΕΝΙΑΜΕΛΙΤΟΣΑ
 ΦΟΡΙΣΚΟΥΣΔΥΟΤΟΔΕΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΟΕΛ
 ΤΑΥΤΑΔΟΝΤΩΝΟΙΤΑΜΙΑΙΕΛΕΣΘΑΙΔΕ
 ΚΑΙΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΑΣΤΡΕΙΣΟΙΤΙΝΕΣΤΟΤΕΨΗ
 ΦΙΣΜΑΑΡΟΔΩΣΟΥΣΙΝΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΟΥ
 10 ΣΙΝΑΥΤΟΝΤΗΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΠΑΡΕΧΕΣΘΑΙ
 ΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΑΓΑΤΡΟΚΛΗΣΑΝΤΙΓ
 ΝΟΥΣΝΕΑΡΧΟΣΚΤΗΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΣΙΣΜΗΝΙΑΣ
 ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ

Καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ [ἱερῷ τῷ..... ?
 ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτ[ὸν ὥσπερ οἱ λοι
 ποὶ πολῖται καὶ πρόξεν[οι καὶ εὐεργέ
 ται ἀναγεγραμμένοι εἰσιν. ἀπο[στεί-

5. λαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ξένια, μέλιτος ἁ[μφ- (?)
 φορίσκους δύο. τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ ἐ[ς
 ταῦτα δόντων οἱ ταμίαι. ἐλέσθαι δὲ
 καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς οὔτινες τὸ τε ψή-
 φισμα ἀποδώσουσιν καὶ παρακαλοῦ-
 10. σιν αὐτὸν τὴν εὐνοίαν παρέχεσθαι
 τῇ πόλει. πρεσβευτα[ι], Πατροκλῆς,
 νους, Νέαρχος Κτησικλέους, Ἴσμηνης
 Μενάνδρου.

The symbolical present of two pots of honey is very interesting, and I have not come across any quite similar form. May it be connected with the sacredness of the bee, as associated with Artemis at Ephesus and elsewhere? Unfortunately there is no clew to the locality.

3. (a) The deities here suggest Cos, but such decrees as this are often Rhodian; it is clearly a law regulating the sale of priest-

hoods and the privileges of the buyers. As there is no means of ascertaining the original length of the lines, it seems useless to try and restore the whole. (10½ in. × 8 in.; height of letters, ½ in.)

- ΔΑΛΙΟΥ
 ἸΝΓΡΟΣΤΑΤΑΙ . . . ἦσα]ν προστάται . . .
 ΙΚΙΑΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΓΑΡ . . Ν]ικία, Ξενοφῶν Παρ- . . .
 ΩΝΟΣΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟ . . . ωνος, Διόφαντος . . .
 5 ΤΟΙΑΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΙΣΥΝ . . τοὶ αἰρημένοι σύν . . .
 ΥΑΣΚΛΑΓΓΙΟΥΚΑΙ το]ῦ Ἀσκληπίου καὶ τὰς Ὑγείας
 ΤΑΣΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΥΝ Θεωδώρου
 ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΡΙΣΤΕ . . Ἀριστεὺς Ἀριστέως . . .
 ΑΙΓΡΑΣΕΙΤΑΣΙΕΡΩ . . . τ]ῇ πράσει τὰς ἱερῶ[σύνας
 10 ΚΑΙΗΓΓΙΟΝΑΙΙΕΡΕΙΑ ἱερεῖα . . ,
 ΤΟΙΔΕΓΓΩΛΗΤΑΙΑ τοὶ δὲ πωλῆται
 ΑΓΓΙΟΥΚΑΙΤΑΣΥΓ . . . Ἀσκλ]απίου καὶ τὰς Ὑγ[είας.
 ΕΡΩΣΥΝΑΝΕΣΤΩ . . . ἰ]ερῶσύναν ἔστω
 ΩΝΔΕΚΑΤΕΨ . . . τ]ῶν δὲ κατεσ

(b) Forms and size of characters same as in (a), but style of cutting somewhat different; not so much so as to make connexion impossible, if otherwise probable. (10½ in. × 7 in.; height of letters, ½ in.)

- ΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΑΙΚΑΤΑΨ . . . διαγραφὰ κατὰ . . .
 ΕΓΓΙΚΟΣΜΗΣΙΟΣΟ . . . ἐπὶ κοσμήσιος . . .
 ΝΟΣΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΩΣΤ . . . -νος Ἀκολουθῶ στ- . . .
 ΟΥΕΓΓΙΦΑΝΕΙΑΙΚΑΙ . . . ου ἐπιφάνειαι καὶ . . .
 5 ΒΕΙΑΙΕΤΙΔΕΚΑΙΤΑΙ . . . πρεσβεῖαι ἔτι δὲ καὶ ταὶ . . .
 ΞΩΝΤΕΚΑΙΤΙΜΩ ξων τε καὶ τιμῶ[ν . . .
 ΚΤΩΝΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΞ . . . ἐκ τῶν ἀπολογίξ- . . .
 ΟΣΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙΔΨ . . . πρ]ος γενέσθαι δ' . . .
 ΜΥΡΙΑΝΟΙΚΕΙΣ . . . μυρίαν οἰκεῖσθαι . . .
 10 ΚΑΘΟΤΙΔΕΗΣΞ . . . καθότι δὲ η . . .
 ΘΑΙΤΩΝΔΕΑΓΓΟ . . . θαι τῶν δὲ ἀπο . . .
 ΚΑΔΟΞΗΤΩΙΔ . . . ὥς] κα δόξῃ τῷ δ[άμφ . . .
 ΩΕΦΑΣΕΓΓΙΨ
 ΞΕΝΕ

Here again the lines may be any length, and it seems impossible to discover either the proportion of this fragment to the whole, or its probable position.

4. Two fragments of a subscription list, which may or may not belong to the same inscription. The lines do not correspond. Probably Rhodian, like 1. ($7\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 10 in.; height of letters, $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Υ Χ	Ν. Π Ε
-ΕΛΙΔΡΟ	ΚΑΙΥΓΤΕΡ
Υ ΗΚ	ΣΙΚΛΗΣΣΙΜΑ/
ΑΜΑΣ	Ν΄ΣΚΟΣΚΑΙΥΓΤΕ
ΟΣ	ΣΙΜΟΥΚΑΙΥΓΤΕΡΤ
Υ ΩΝ	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥΙ
ΤΟΣ	ΣΑΝΘΙΔΑΗΕΥ
Η	ΚΑΙΥΓΤΕΡΤΩΝΓΤΑΙΔ
	ΑΝΔΡΟΥΠΙΜΕ
	CΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΥΓΤΕΙ'
	ΕΙΤΟΣΑΡΕΤΩ

καὶ ὑπὲρ

.. σικλῆς Σίμα .

-νισκος καὶ ὑπὲρ[ρ

5. *-σιμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τ[ῶν παίδων*

Ἀριστοβούλου

.. σανθίδα

καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδ[ων

-άνδρουΠ

10. *ντος καὶ ὑπὲρ*

ειτος Ἀρετω...

The heading suggests at first sight Θεὸς τ[ύχ[η]ν, but the two fragments cannot be read consecutively as they now stand.

5. (5 in. \times 10 in.; height of letters, $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑΣΤΑΣ	Εὐκλείας τᾶς
ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΥΣΓΥ	Νικοκλεὺς γυ-
ΝΑΙΚΟΣΝΙΚΑΝ	ναικὸς Νικάν-
ΘΕΥΣΜΑΤΡΟΣ	θεὺς ματρὶς.

6. Cf. *C.I.G.* 6843. This is identical with another inscription, now at Oxford, but the lines are differently divided. Cf. also 10, where the case is the same. Certainly from Cos; see 10. ($7\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 5 in.; height of letters, $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

ΘΕΟΙΣΠΑΤΡΩ	Θεοῖς πατρώ-
ΟΙΣΥΠΕΡΥ	οις ὑπὲρ ὑ-
ΓΕΙΑΣΜΑΡ	γείας Μάρ[κ
ΟΥΑΙΛΙΟΥ	ου Αἰλίου
ΣΑΒΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ	Σαβεινιανού,
ΥΙΟΥΠΟΛΕ	υιού πόλε-
ΩΣΚΑΙΓΕΡΟΥ	ως καὶ γερου-
ΣΙΑΣΕΥΕΡ	σίας, εὐερ-
ΓΕΤΑΤΑΣ	γέτα τὰς
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ	πατρίδος.

The *θεοὶ πατῶν* of Cos are Asklapios and Hygieia; cf. M. O. Rayet, *Inscriptions de Cos*; in the *Annuaire de l'Association des Études Grecques*, 1875, pp. 272, *sqq.* where parallels will also be found for the titles used in this inscription, and also nos. 8 and 10. For these titles, see also S. Reinach, *Épigraphie Grecque*, p. 511.

7. (3 in. \times 9 in.; height of letters, $\frac{9}{16}$ in.)

ΟΛΥΜ[Α]Σ	Ὀλυμ[πι]ᾶς
ΑΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΥΣ	Ἄ Νικομήδευς
ΚΑΙΚΛΕΥΜΑΧΟΥ	καὶ Κλευμάχου.

8. Cf. 6, 10. From Cos. ($6\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.; height of letters, $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Θ Ε Ο Ι Σ	Θεοῖς
ΙΤΡΩΟΙΣΠΕΡΙ	πα]τρώεις περι
ΑΣΝΙΚΙΑΤΟΥΔ,	τ]ας Νικία τοῦ δ[ά
ΥΟΥΥΙΟΥΦΙΛΟΤΑ	μ]ου υιού φιλοπά-
5 ΤΡΙΔΟΣΗΡΩΟΣ	τριδος ἡρώος
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΔΕ	εὐεργέτα δὲ
ΤΑΣΠΟΛΙΟΣ	τὰς πόλιος
ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ	σωτηρίας.

9. This has been already quoted by M. Rayet, *l.c.* p. 323, as published by M. Foucart, *Assoc. rel. chez les Grecs*, p. 232 no. 54.

10. Cf. *C.I.G.* 6844, which is not, however, quite identical. Here, as in the case of 6, we have another inscription in honour of the same person, similar to that already published in the *Corpus*. (13 in. × 9 in.; height of letters, $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

ΙΩΙΟΙΣ	Θεοῖς πατ]ροῖς
ΙΕΡ . Α . ΓΑΙΟ	ὑπ]έρ [τ]ᾶ[s] Γαί[ο]υ
ΤΕΡ . ΝΙΟΝ	Σ]τερ[τι]νίου,
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΝΝΙΟΝ	Ἡρα]κλείτου νιού,
ΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣΦ	Ξε]νοφώντος, φ[ιλο-
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΦΙΑ	καίσαρος, φιλ[ο-
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝΦΙΛΟ	κλαυδίου, φιλο-
ΔΑΣΤΟΝΔΑΜ	σεβ]άστου, δάμ[ον
ΟΝΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙ	νῆ]ου, φιλοπάτρι[δος,
ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣΕ	εὐσεβοῦς, ε]ύερ
ΕΤΑΤΑΣΠΑΤ	γ]έτα τᾶς πατρί
ΟΣ . . . ΗΡΙΑ	δ]ος, [σωτ]ηρία[s].

Cf. also *Bull. Con. Hell.* V., 1881, pp. 468, *sqq.* M. Dubois there collects the references to this physician of the Emperor Claudius on inscriptions. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 61.

11. A statement of boundaries. (13 in. × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; height of letters, $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

ΕΤΕΡ	· · · · ·
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΔΟ	· · · · ·
ΤΑΣΕΠΙΤΥ	· · · · ·
ΧΑΝΟΝΤΟΣ	τὸ δὲ] ἵτερο-
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙ	ν] Ἀθηναῖδο-
ΔΟΣΑΣΚΥΡΙ	ς] τᾶς ἐπιτυ-
ΟΣΟΥΙΟΣΔΙΟ	γ]χάνοντος (sic)
ΝΥΣΙΟΣΕΥΦ	5 Ἀλεξανδρί-
	δος ᾧς κύρι-
	ος ὁ υἱὸς Διο
	νύσιος Εὐφ-

ΡΟΣΥΝΟΥΚ	ροσύνου K-
ΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟ	10 ολοφώνιο[s.
ΓΛΑΤΟΣΠΟΔ	πλάτος, πόδ-
ΑΣ Ϙ ΤΟ	ας Ϙ, τὸ [δ-
ΕΜΑΚΟΣΜ	ἐ μάκος, μ[ε-
ΧΡΙΤΑΣΧΑ	χρὶ τὰς χα-
ΡΑΔΡΑΣ	15 ρίδρας.

In l. 4 there seems to be simply a false concord; or should we translate 'daughter of the next of kin to Alexandris,' which makes very bad Greek, but avoids the grammatical mistake? For this meaning of *ἐπιτυγχάνειν* cf. *ἐπιβάλλειν* in the well-known Gortyna inscription.

12. Only partly legible; the letters given below are often uncertain. (9 in. x 13 in.; height of letters, $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

ΕΛΝΟ
ΜΕΝΟΝΥΓΤΟΙΩΙ
ΑΤΤΛΗΣΙΩΣΙΟΙΕΤ
ΙΝΘΕΩΝΟΙΚΟΝ . ΕΤΑΒΕΒΗΚΕΝΕΙ
5 ΒΕΒΗΚΕΝΜΕΤΑΜΩΝΧΡΟΝΩΙΧΑΡ
ΥΤΟΥΧΑΛΚΗΝΜΕΝΕΙΚΟΝΑΕΦΙΙ
ΤΟΜ . ΚΑΛΤΕΙ/.ΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΔΙΕΝ
ΤΕΙΔΕΘΥΜΕΛΙΚΟΥΣΑΓΩΝΑΣΑΥΤΩ
ΒΝΙΩΙΓΥΜ ΙΟΙΤΩΝΝΕΩΝΕΝ
10 ΑΣΤΕΟΜΟΡΟΝ ΣΣΩΝΕΤΤΑΥ
ΟΝ . Ω . ΟΝ . . . ΑΙΟΝΚΑΘΙΕΡΩ

...μενον ὑπὸ
παρ]απλησίως ἔοι ἐπὶ
τὸν τῶν θεῶν οἶκον [μ]εταβέβηκεν εἰ...
5. βέβηκεν μετ' ἀμῶν χρόνῳ χαρ...
α]ὐτοῦ χαλκὴν μὲν εἰκόνα ἔφι[ππον
ἄγαλμα
δὲ θυμελικούς ἀγῶνας αὐτῷ
γυμνικούς...τῶν νέων ἐν
10.
καθιερω[σαι.

Apparently a decree of honours to some one, hardly a private individual; to judge from their character they are such as were sometimes given to the successors of Alexander.

13. (12½ in. × 14 in.; height of letters, ½ in.)

ΡΑΣΣΩΝΚΑΙΕ
ΣΤΟΥΔΗΝΠΟΙΕΙΤΑΙ
ΑΙΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΣΘΗ
ΩΝΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΜΕΙΝΑΣΕ
ΟΝΤΙΣΕΝΙΝΑΠΡΟΜΕΤΡΗΘΗΣΙΤΟΣΑ
ΟΝΗΤΑΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΑΥΤΩΙΓΡΑΜΜΑΤ
ΕΜΟΥΑΣΘΕΝΩΣΔΙΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΙΚΟ
ΤΟΥΣΠΕΡΙΕΣΧΗΚΟΤΑΣΑΥΤΟΝΕΝΤΩΙ
ΑΝΤΟΣΓΩΡΙΣΑΙΤΟΕΦΟΔΙΟΝΤΟΝ
ΕΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΤΡΟΣΤΟΝΒΑΣΙ
ΓΡΕΣΒΕΥΟΝΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΝ
ΕΞΑΓΓΟΣΤΕΙΛΑΝΤΕ
ΤΑΣΑΓΓΟΧΡΗΣΑΙ
ΑΝΤΡΟΣΧΡΗΣ
ΕΙΔΕΚΑΙΕΝ
ΔΗΜΟΥΟΤ
ΧΗΕΔΓ

ἐπειδὴ ὁ δεῖνα τὴν πόλιν τῶν —

- . . . εὐ π]ράσσων καὶ ἐ[νέργετῶν διατελεῖ
. . . καὶ] σπούδην ποιεῖται ἀ[εὶ
. . . αὶ τὸν δῆμον συννοικισθ[ῆναι
. . . τ]ῶν πολιτῶν καὶ καταμείνας.
5. . . . ἐφρ]όντισεν ἵνα προμετρήθῃ σίτος . . .
. . . . τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῷ γράμματ[α . . .
. . . . ἐμοῦ ἀσθενῶς διακειμένου καὶ κο . . .
. . . . τοὺς περισχηκότας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ . . .
. . . . αντος πορίσαι τὸ ἐφόδιον τὸ
τοῖς ἀποστ[ελλομένοις πρὸς τὸν βασιλ[έα.
. . . . οἱ ἐ]πρέσβευον πρὸς αὐτὸν.
. ἐξαποστείλαντε[ς
. τας ἀποχρήσαι.

..... *αν πρὸς χρῆσ[ιν].*
 *εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν.*
 *δήμου*

An honorary decree setting forth the services of some individual in superintending the corn supply, providing ambassadors' expenses, &c.

14. Peculiarly confusing and difficult to read. The lines are visible; but owing to curious wear in cross lines, very few consecutive letters can anywhere be made out with certainty. The whole could only be guessed at, so that remains might fit in. Some even of letters given below may be wrong. (10 in. × 12½ in.; height of letters, ⅞ in.)

ΕΚΙ
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ . . Ο . . . ΔΑΟ
 ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΝΕΙΚΟΥΜΟΝΑΡΧΕΣ
 ΤΟΥ . ΕΣΤΟΛ ΤΟΝΝ . . .
 5 ΤΟΝ ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΙ ΝΕΦΝΟ . . .
 ΤΕ ΟΙΝΟΝ ΘΕΣΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ Δ . . .
 ΑΜΕΙΩΣ Ή ΝΗ . . .
 ΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕ . . . ΑΥΤΟ . ΑΥΡ
 ΕΥΦ . . . ΥΝΟΥΙ . *ΧΕ ΉΩΝΑ
 10 ΝΑΗ . Ο . ΗΣΑΚΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΧΡΗΜ
 ΙΑ Υ Η
 ΙΟΣΕ

Ἀλέξανδρον
τὸν περιοδονεῖκον ? . . .

 5. *τὸν τὸ αὐτὸ ἔ[τος].* . . .
τε οἶνον Θ[ά]σ[ι]ον καὶ.

χρή]σαντος τοῦ θε[οῦ] . . *αὐτο.* . .
Εὐφ[ροσ]ύνου
 10. . . . *παράχρημα* . . .

An honorary decree in honour of some athlete, who had gained the whole 'period' of victories.

15. An elegiac epigram. (8 in. × 24 in.; height of letters, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in epigram, 1 in. in names below.)

ΕΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΘΟΑΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗ
 ΥΙΕΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ ΣΤΗΣΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΔΟΣ
 ΗΓΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΞΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΒΛΑΣΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΟΝΑΙΣΙΘΟΑΝΤΟΣ
 ΓΝΗΣΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΑΜΦΕΘΕΤΟΣ ΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ
 ΔΥΜΑΝ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ
 ΘΟΑΣ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣ
 ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΤΕΛΗΣ

*εἰκόνα μητρὸς τήνδε Θόας—ιο[ι θ' ἄμ' ἀδελφοί
 υἱες Ἀριστείδου στήσαν Ἀθηναῖδος.
 ἦ, πατρὸς ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ βλαστοῦσα γοναῖσι Θόαντος
 γνήσιον εὐλογίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.*

Δυμάν	Διοκλῆς
Θόας	Λεωνίδας
Ἀναξαγόρας	Ἀνδροτέλης

With these inscriptions were also sent two sketches of gladiatorial reliefs.¹ Beneath the first is written *Εὐρέθη εἰς τὴν Κῶ Πόλιν τοῦ Ἱποκράτους* (*sic*). It represents two gladiators; one of them stands upon a basis on which is inscribed:

ΑΠΕΛΥΘΗ
 ΕΞΩ
 ΛΟΥΔΟΥ

He is clad in a close-fitting jerkin, and in his left hand holds a trident and rudis (?); his right is raised and apparently holds a round object; between his feet is an object which may be a net, as he seems to be a retiarius. To the right of his head, which has long hair, is the name ΚΡΙΤΟΣ.² The other man,

¹ I assume that they are reliefs, mosaics.

but what they are is not expressly stated; they may very likely be ² Second half of some name like [Δημό]κριτος.

armed with sword, shield, and helmet, charges up a slope towards the first, from the right. Over his head is inscribed ΜΑΡΙΣΚΕΣ.

The second relief, recorded to have been found in the same place as the first, represents one man, armed with sword, shield, and helmet. The name ΔΡΟΣΙΝΟΣ is written half on each side of his head.

E. A. GARDNER.

JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES.

AMONG the books of the Apocrypha two portions stand out in strong relief as bearing the marks of genius. One is the Book of Wisdom, with its sustained moral fervour and luxuriant yet devout fancy; the other, the noble tragedy of the Book of Judith. The latter work has the further interest of presenting a curious literary problem. Is 'Judith' in any sense history, or even based on history, or is it mere romance? Certainly the writer takes great liberties with facts. Time and place have to yield to the requirements of the narrative. Famous names are mingled together in extraordinary combinations. Nebuchadnezzar reigns over the Assyrians at Nineveh; and he reigns soon after the Jewish return from Captivity. An Arphaxad rules at Ecbatane as king of the Medes. An unknown high priest Joachim is supreme at Jerusalem. The book opens moreover with a catalogue of nations brought under this Nebuchadnezzar's sway; and the list teems with contradictions of history and even of probability.

I.

Learned opinion since the time of Grotius¹ has been almost unanimous in pronouncing the book to be an historical romance, of the time of the Maccabees or later, wherein the writer sets forth in parable the hopes and fears of his nation, and stirs up his countrymen to heroic resistance to the oppressor. Opinion has been more divided concerning the precise date of its composition. Dr. Westcott would assign it to the reign of Antiochus

¹ *Prolegomena in lib. Judith*; similarly Mr. Churton, in his recent *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*.

Epiphanes.¹ Volkmar saw in it an allusion to Trajan's Parthian wars.² Ewald's masterly acquaintance with later Jewish history led him to fix upon one particular crisis as suggesting the composition of the book.³ That moment came when Demetrius II. surnamed Nicator (king B.C. 146-138, and 128-125), after first invading and conquering Parthia, had then himself been taken prisoner, and finally after ten years' captivity, had re-established himself upon the Syrian throne. In vain did the Parthian king endeavour to crush him. His hopes grew with his successes. He meditated the invasion of Egypt. He was bent upon recovering for Syria all that he and his predecessors had lost. To the medley of cities and populations which made up the Syrian Empire this reappearance of Demetrius must have brought the extremes of hope and fear. It unsettled everything for years to come. What if his wild schemes of conquest should be successful, and carry change and revolution far and wide? To the Jews and their Elders under John the high priest, it must have been a time of great alarm.⁴ They had almost forgotten the horrors of the reign of Epiphanes; they had recovered from their resistance to Demetrius Soter. The fierce heroism which had preserved them in those awful days had left a reaction behind it. Their energies had become relaxed; and years of unbroken peace left them unprepared for the danger that seemed now to threaten. The book of Judith (so Ewald suggests) concentrates the fears and dangers of this crisis into the form of an historical romance. The narrative is prophetic, symbolical; an allegory of the Jewish people, and of the possibilities of Jewish patriotism, if in the hour of uttermost calamity it were true to the national faith, true to the Mosaic covenant. To Israel, if penitent and believing, God's promise still was steadfast, that 'one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.'⁵

The names employed in the story do but slightly veil the personality of the principal figures. Nebuchadnezzar, the proud and mighty tyrant, whose throne (in defiance of all historical facts) is placed at Nineveh after the Jewish Return,—who plans

¹ *Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. Judith.

² See Winer's *Realwörterbuch*, s.v.

³ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv. p. 618, foll.

⁴ Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. p. 451. Deuteronomy xxxii. 30.

ambitious schemes of conquest, and is enraged when the vassal peoples refuse the help he demands for his war against 'Arphaxad, king of the Medes,'—who determines therefore not only to destroy Arphaxad, but to reduce to submission all the countries round about,—he is Demetrius Nicator, as he appeared to the excited imagination of a Hebrew patriot. By the Biblical term 'Medes' the writer signified the Parthians; while the similar sounding name Arphaxad is borrowed from Genesis¹ to indicate the dynasty of the Arsacidæ. The name of Joachim with his friends at Jerusalem scarcely veils the person of John Maccabeus and the national council. Slight as the writer's regard may be for historical facts, the whole book is true to the spirit of the time. The entire career of Demetrius, his early victories over Parthia, his long exile, his final recovery of the throne, are all gathered up into one point, and he figures as an ambitious, overbearing tyrant. The danger of the Jewish people in the presence of his power, and the need of primitive piety and even more than primitive courage to ward it off, are thrown into dramatic form in the expedition of Holofernes, the invasion of Palestine, the heroic design and victorious deliverance of Judith. And Judith herself is, what her name implies, 'the daughter of Judah,' the people of Israel, the spouse of Jehovah. A widow she is, but beautiful to look upon, and as pious as she is fair; like Jerusalem, bereaved of her ancient glories, yet still not lost to hope. Another Deborah, she will arise 'a mother in Israel,' to encourage the people of God; like Jael, she will slay the enemy of God in the tent; another Miriam, she breaks forth into singing at the discomfiture of the hosts of the aliens.

Such, in brief, is the combination suggested by Ewald. Perhaps the great German scholar goes too far in attempting so minutely to fix the date of the book. It may be urged that Demetrius II. was not so terrible to the Jews as this view of the case implies. His restored reign lasted four years at most; and all the time he was harassed by conspiracies and rebellions. We do not hear of his taking any action against the Jews. We might think the sending out of Holofernes bears more resemblance to the expedition of Nicanor under Demetrius Soter,² which was so gloriously defeated by Judas Maccabeus. The

¹ xi. 12.² 1 Maccabees vii.

recollection of that victory must, one would think, have been fresh in the memory of the writer of Judith. One name at all events there is in the book which is not Jewish, and was unlikely to be known to Jewish ears; but which connects the authorship with the recollections of the reign of Demetrius I.,—this is the name of the second figure of the tragedy, Holofernes. The name is found nowhere outside the dynasty of Cappadocia. And the most famous prince of the name was a well-known friend of Demetrius I., the features of whose character, so far as we know them, agree with the portraiture of Holofernes.

This coincidence has not escaped the attention of Ewald;¹ the first readers of the book of Judith (he argues) would inevitably be struck by the name Holofernes, and would think of the friend of Demetrius Soter, and thereby would have a clue to the symbolical meaning of the whole story.

Before I had come across Ewald's remarks, or indeed had read any criticism of the book of Judith, I had been led to a similar conviction concerning its origin; but I reached the same goal with Ewald by a very different route. It is to my own starting point that I ask leave now to transport the reader.

II.

Upon a certain spring morning, about Easter 1765, three travellers might have been seen toiling along the slopes of Mount Mycalè in Asia Minor, under the guidance of a Greek peasant at whose house they had slept the night before in the Turkish village of Kelebesch. After an hour's climb they reach the citadel of the ancient Ionian city of Prienè. One of the party is Richard Chandler, a young Oxford scholar in his twenty-seventh year, who has been sent into Greece by the Society of Dilettanti on a mission of archæological discovery. His companions are Revett, the architect—well-known afterwards as the collaborateur of 'Athenian' Stuart in editing the *Antiquities of Athens*,—and M. Pars, a young artist. Chandler's book of travels gives a charming narrative of his tour, and from it we may take his account of this morning's trip.²

¹ *Ibid.* p. 621, note.

and Greece, edited by N. Revett, Esq.,

² Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor* vol. i. pp. 199, foll.

'Our guide led us first through the village up to the acropolis or citadel; the ascent lasting an hour, the track bad, by breaks in the mountain and small cascades. We then arrived on a summit of Mycalè, large, distinct, and rough, with stunted trees and deserted cottages, encircled, except toward the plain, by an ancient wall. This had been repaired, and made tenable in a later age by additional outworks. A steep, high, naked rock rises behind; and the area terminates before in a most abrupt and formidable precipice, from which we looked down with wonder on the diminutive objects beneath us. The massive heap of a temple below appeared to the naked eye but as chippings of marble.' That heap was the ruined temple of Athenè Polias at Prienè.

This building is one of the few Greek temples of which the precise date is fixed by written testimony. One of the marble blocks which formed the entrance is inscribed with the following words in large, handsome characters: 'Alexander dedicated this temple to Athenè Polias.'¹ We are left in no doubt as to who is meant by 'Alexander.' Apart from other indications which are decisive, there is a story quoted by Strabo from an earlier historian, that when Alexander the Great visited Ephesus after his first victory over the Persians at the river Granicus, he found the Ephesians rebuilding their famous temple, which the insane ambition of Herostratus had burned down on the night of Alexander's birth. It was now nearly complete when Alexander offered to defray the entire cost of it upon condition that he might inscribe his name upon it as the dedicator. The Ephesians adroitly veiled their refusal under the flattering plea that 'it was not proper for a god to dedicate temples to the gods.'² The Prienians, more obsequious or perhaps less wealthy, must have accepted a similar offer from the conqueror, whose dedication was the first inscription engraved upon the newly erected walls. This interesting marble may be seen any day in the Mausoleum Room in the British Museum.

¹ Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, No. 2904: Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀθηναίῃ Πολιάδι. Compare Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i. 1, p. 202.

² Strabo, xiv. p. 640: Ἀλέξανδρον δὴ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ὑποσχέσθαι τὰ γεγυρότα

καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἀναλώματα, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐβελῆσαι . . . ἐπαυεῖ τε (ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος) τὸν εἰπόντα τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς οὐ πρόποι θεῶν ἀναθήματα παρασκευάζειν.

Chandler proceeds to describe his descent by a winding path down the precipice to the city: 'The steps cut in the rock were narrow, the path frequently not wider than the body, and so steep as scarcely to allow a footing. The sun shone full upon us, and was reverberated by the rugged side of the mountain to which we leaned, avoiding as much as possible the frightful view of the abyss beneath us, and shrinking from the brink. The long-continued descent made the whole frame quiver.' It would seem that Chandler was an indifferent mountaineer; and indeed his biographer bluntly describes him as 'round, and considerably below the standard' in height.¹ But he was a splendid scholar, whose services to Greek learning have not yet been sufficiently recognised.² Arrived at the temple-site below, the three travellers proceeded to examine the ruins; these lay around in picturesque confusion, bare of any covering of earth, just as they had fallen centuries before, perhaps shaken down by an earthquake. Chandler made memoranda, and copied inscriptions; Revett measured and took notes of the architectural remains; Pars, the artist, made sketches of the scene. The results of their labour may be found in Part i. of the *Antiquities of Ionia*, published in 1769, giving views of the locality, descriptions and plates of the architecture, and copies of several inscriptions. When we remember that these ruins contained the tolerably complete remains of a temple which, though small, was one of the finest specimens of Ionic architecture in existence, it is almost incredible that over a century was allowed to pass before any attempt was made to explore the ruins, and to recover and preserve from among them the most important relics of art which there lay hid.

In the winter of 1868 the same Society, which had sent out Chandler and Revett, at length commissioned Mr. Pullan to go out and explore the ruins. Excavation there needed none. The moving of the huge blocks of marble, the packing and transporting of fragments of statuary, architecture and inscriptions, this was all that was required; and it was done with due

¹ Biography by Archdeacon Churton, prefixed to the *Travels*.

² It has often fallen to my task to verify the readings of Greek inscrip-

tions previously edited by Chandler, and I have seldom found his copy to require any alteration, whether in the way of addition or correction.

skill and care. The marbles were shipped to England, and now form part of the treasures of the British Museum. The chief results of Mr. Pullan's researches are given in Part iv. of the *Antiquities of Ionia*.

I have been assured by Mr. C. T. Newton, who visited Prienè in 1869 and 1870, as a member of the Society of Dilettanti, that when the site had been cleared by Mr. Pullan, the ruin was still very beautiful. The more interesting indeed of the sculptured marbles had been removed, and nearly all the inscribed blocks. But their removal had relieved the site of much that merely encumbered it. The platform was now clear; and the marble pavement of the temple, in good preservation, was free of rubbish. The lower portions of the walls and of many columns were standing in their original position, and made it easy for the beholder to reconstruct in fancy the ancient proportions of the building. On the floor of the pavement there still remained the lower courses of the pedestal, upon which had stood the image of Athena herself, a statue of which the traveller Pausanias (in the second century A.D.) records his admiration:¹ 'You would be charmed with the temple of Athenè at Prienè in particular, on account of her statue.' In front of the pedestal a semicircular groove in the pavement on either side marked the position of the barrier, or screen, with its metallic gates, which forbad the approach of intruding steps. All this, and more, was still there, as Mr. Pullan's photographs and plans testify to those who had not the good fortune to see the ruin in 1870.²

It is sad to think that the intelligent interest shown in a ruin by Western archaeologists has usually the effect of hastening its utter destruction. No sooner had the English explorers bidden farewell to Prienè, than the stonemasons of the nearest Greek village established themselves among the ruins, and began to work up into doorsteps, or tombstones, those beautiful marble blocks which had been shaped and dressed by the Greek workmen of Alexander's age. The temple ruins became now a convenient quarry. In particular

¹ Pausanias, vii. 5, § 3: ἡσθεῖναι δ' ἂν καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς Ἡρακλεῖα καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ ἐν Πριήνῃ ναῶ, τοῦτο μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἕνεκα, Ἡρακλεῖα δὲ κ.τ.λ.

² See the interesting account of Prienè and the beautiful views given by Rayet et Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, Paris, 1877-1880.

the large blocks which composed the ancient pedestal of the goddess were one by one dislodged from their place; and within a few months only four of them remained in their ancient position in the centre of the pedestal.¹

On a Saturday in April 1870, Mr. A. O. Clarke, an Englishman residing in the neighbourhood, paid a visit to the ruins. They were not new to him, as twelve months before he had been there and had carefully examined the work then progressing under the guidance of Mr. Newton and Mr. Pullan. At this second visit he was accompanied by his wife and niece; and upon entering within the temple ruins, he noticed at once the work of destruction which had begun upon the pedestal. While he stood amid its upturned blocks, his eye was caught by a coin lying at his feet. He at once picked it up, and cleansed it; and found it to be of silver, and inscribed with the name of Orophernes. The idea then struck him that the coin had been turned up from under the marbles of the pedestal; and he conceived the wish to remove and examine the four blocks which still remained *in situ*. Two masons at work among the ruins were soon employed at the task; their crowbars soon removed the first stone of the four, and under it was found a silver coin similar to the one already picked up. A second stone was dislodged, with a similar result. The removal of the other two blocks brought no more coins to light; but under them were found portions of a golden chaplet of olive leaves, and other objects of value. A search among the rubbish for more coins was attended with no further success, although two or three Greeks from Kelebes, who had come to Priènè to see Mr. Clarke, joined in the task; while some Yuruks from the hill side, attracted by the good luck of the Franks whom they saw examining the ruins, all joined in the general search. At length Mr. Clarke and his party went away, with the three coins and other objects.²

¹ M. Rayet says (*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 2) that as late as 1871 he proposed to the authorities of the Louvre to secure for the French nation various architectural fragments of great beauty even then remaining amid the ruins. His suggestion received no attention, and most of the marbles he spoke of

are now destroyed.

² These details we learn from the letter of Mr. Clarke himself to Gen. Fox, published by Mr. C. T. Newton in his paper 'On an unedited Tetradrachm of Orophernes II.,' in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, xi. p. 19.

This happened on the Saturday. The next day being Sunday, all the inhabitants of Kelebish, men, women, and children, sallied forth to Prienè, bent on the discovery of treasure. So sure were they that it was to be found, that two Jews followed them, armed with a free supply of ready cash to purchase any bargains that might be turned up. The ruined temple was thus handed over to a rapacious mob. Pickaxe, lever, crowbar were brought to work, to upturn, to dislodge, to thrust aside whatever might be thought to conceal treasures. The search, so insanely attempted, had no other result than to spoil the beauty of the ruins; nothing whatever was found. On the Monday following, however, the Greek masons who had assisted Mr. Clarke, in looking over the rubbish near the pedestal, found a further fragment of a gold chaplet, and two more coins like the others, making five in all. A sixth was subsequently purchased by Mr. Newton at Prienè, but was unfortunately lost.

One of these coins, which were in excellent preservation, is now in the British Museum, and is photographed in Mr. Head's *Coins of the Ancients*, Plate 51, No. 23. It is a silver tetradrachm (the equivalent of a four-franc piece), and is described in numismatic terms as follows:—

Obverse.—Male head to right, beardless, and bound with a fillet.

Reverse.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (King Orophernes the victorious). The legend surrounds a figure of Victory moving to left, and clad in a tunic that reaches her feet; she holds in her right hand a wreath, in her left a palm branch. In front of her is an owl standing on an altar, perhaps in allusion to the goddess Athenè.

Who is this Orophernes?

It is beyond question that the prince who struck these coins is Orophernes II., King of Cappadocia. He was brought into singular relations with the city of Prienè, and his adventures made a deep impression upon the political world of his day. The historian Polybius appears to have related them with much detail. He was a contemporary of Orophernes, and was living at Rome when the disputes about the Cappadocian succession were being discussed in the senate, and he was fully acquainted with the intrigues that were going on respecting it among the

leading Roman politicians. Unhappily a great part of his narrative is extant only in extracts and fragments. But I think it evident that all the statements about Orophernes in Diodorus Siculus and others, came straight from Polybius, and may therefore be fully believed.

We are told that Antiochis, the wife of Ariarathes IV., King of Cappadocia, disappointed at having no heir, imposed upon her husband two pretended sons, of whom this Orophernes was one. Some years later, however, she gave birth to a legitimate heir, who afterwards succeeded his father as Ariarathes V. Upon the birth of her child, Antiochis confessed to her husband the true facts of the case, and arranged to exclude the two other princes from the succession. One of them upon a convenient pretext was despatched to Rome, and seems never to have been heard of afterwards. The other, Orophernes, was sent into Ionia, where he was brought up amid surroundings of ease and luxury, which seemed likely to stifle any aspirations to the Cappadocian throne.¹ Ariarathes V. accordingly succeeded his father B.C. 162. But at once Orophernes came forth from retirement as a pretender to the throne; his claim being supported by the Syrian monarch Demetrius Soter, who had a personal grudge against Ariarathes for refusing his sister in marriage.² It is also said that Demetrius accepted large gifts and larger promises from his *protégé*. The result was that Ariarathes was driven from his kingdom, and Orophernes enthroned in his place, B.C. 158.³ Ariarathes, who is described as an excellent and cultivated prince, hastened to Rome to lay his grievances before the senate; and he was followed thither by envoys from Demetrius Soter, and also from Orophernes. The latter sent valuable presents to Rome, and endeavoured to secure interest in every possible way. Polybius was at Rome at the time, and the account he gives of these transactions is not creditable to Roman diplomacy.⁴ The case of Ariarathes was a good one; but he stood alone, and perhaps had not, when coming to Rome, 'put money in his purse.' The envoys of Demetrius lied without scruple. Orophernes made interest by his gifts. The result was such as might be expected—an

¹ Athen. x. 440, expressly citing Polybius as his authority; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 28.

² Justin, xxxv. 1; Appian, *Syr.* 47.

³ Diod. Sic. xxxi. 43.

⁴ Polyb. xxxii. 20.

unworkable compromise. Ariarathes was restored,¹ but not to an undivided rule. Orophernes was to have a share in the kingdom, the territory of Cappadocia being perhaps divided between them.² This happened B.C. 157. The unnatural scheme did not last long. From the first there began to be disputes between the two kings, ending in the final expulsion of Orophernes amid the execration of his subjects, whom he had alienated by avaricious extortion to gratify his own indulgence, and to reward his patrons.³

Certainly Polybius, who knew the facts, described the character of Orophernes in no pleasing terms. Brought up in Ionia, an exile and a pretender, he early developed the vices of an adventurer. In public life he was unscrupulous; as a ruler, selfish and extortionate; in private, a hard drinker. His portrait on the coins is finely modelled, and does not conflict with this view of his character. It is the portrait of a handsome, clever, and capable man, young in years, but not in experience of the world. His chin is unbearded, but his forehead is lined with care. The fine profile bespeaks a resolute will and energetic purpose. The nostril is delicately moulded, and, like the mouth, suggests a nature sensitive to pleasure though refined in taste; but the lower lip has a sensual expression, and there is a certain restlessness and impatience marked upon the whole face, which suits well with his chequered career.⁴

I reserve to the last the curious episode in the life of Orophernes, which connects him with Prienè. Upon gaining the crown in 158 B.C., in the true spirit of a pretender, he deposited 400 talents (about £100,000) with the Prienians, as something to fall back upon if fortune forsook him.⁵ This sum they deposited doubtless in their temple of Athenè; for the temples of antiquity were often so employed, as the safest banks of deposit. His selection of Prienè for this purpose may have had something to do with his Ionian experiences. Prienè was quite a small and unimportant place;⁶ but it had

¹ Livy, *Epit.* 47; Polyb. iii. 5.

⁴ Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, plate

² Appian, *Syr.* 47; Polyb. xxxiii.

51, fig. 23.

12: *μετέλαβε τῆς ἀρχῆς*.

⁵ Polyb. xxxiii. 12; Diod. Sic.

³ Polyb. xxxiii. 12 a; Athen. x.

xxxi. 4.

440 b; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 41; Diod.

⁶ Aeschines, *De Falsa Leg.* p. 286.

Sic. xxxi. 43.

contrived to maintain a creditable position for independence among all the vicissitudes of these troubled times.¹ Perhaps it was considered at this period to be attached to the Syrian monarchy; possibly Orophernes had lived there in his exile. At all events, by becoming guardians of this treasure, the Prienians drew upon themselves the attention of all Greece. For Ariarathes V. no sooner regained possession of his kingdom than he demanded the money for himself. Orophernes, he contended, had placed it there in his capacity as king; and therefore the money should be restored to the royal exchequer. The contemporary world argued the question *pro* and *con*, as a point of casuistry. The Prienians declined to restore the deposit to any one, except to Orophernes, while he lived. Polybius frankly says, they did quite right. Upon their refusal, Ariarathes invaded the Prienian territory, with the assistance of the King of Pergamon, pillaging and slaying all they could find, up to the very walls of Prienè. Despairing of deliverance, yet firm in their refusal, the Prienians appealed to Rhodes, and then to the Roman senate.² Of the subsequent details of the controversy we are not fully informed. We should know more, if an inscription now in the British Museum,³ which was engraved upon the walls of the Prienian temple, were still complete. In its fragmentary state we can but decipher the names of 'Orophernes,' 'King Attalus and King Ariarathes;' we read of certain treasures deposited 'by Orophernes in the temple of Athenè,' of 'the siege of the city,' 'the carrying off of cattle and slaves,' and of an appeal to 'the senate.' Polybius merely affirms that the Prienians held fast to their deposit, and finally surrendered it to Orophernes himself.

We need not pursue further his adventures. We are told that when it suited him he afterwards joined in the coalition which crushed Demetrius, thus 'biting the hand that had fed him.' His end is unrecorded. It is clear that the coins found by Mr. Clarke must have been struck by Orophernes when first he became King of Cappadocia, B.C. 158. It is observed that

¹ Reference may be made to an article on this subject in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. p. 237.

² Polyb. xxxiii. 12; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 43.

³ It will appear as No. ccccxiv. of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, of which Part 3 is now in the press.

they bear no resemblance to the other coinage of the Cappadocian dynasty, but correspond to the style and the standard of the Ionian coinage of the period.¹ It is suggested that, having been educated in Ionia, he preferred the more refined style of Ionian art, and may have employed the mint of Prienè to strike these very coins: this would account for the owl on the reverse. The shortness of his reign partly accounts for the circumstance that no other of his coins have ever yet been found. What few pieces he did circulate, would of course be suppressed by Ariarathes, upon his recovering the sole authority. It is not necessary to suppose that the six coins discovered under the stones of the pedestal, were part of the deposit of 400 talents. It is a far more probable conjecture that Orophernes, after receiving back his deposit, dedicated the pedestal and the statue upon it to Athenè Polias, by way of recompense to the Prienians for the losses they had sustained in guarding the treasure. Accordingly, in erecting the pedestal, he had certain of his coins placed between the marble courses.²

In editing the inscriptions brought by Mr. Pullan from Prienè, it fell to my task to study closely the history of Orophernes; and it was impossible not to ask myself, 'Has this adventurous prince anything to do with the Holofernes of Judith?' The closer I scanned the situation of contemporary politics, and realised the attitude of the Jews towards the movements going on in Syria, the clearer it seemed that the Cappadocian prince whom Demetrius Soter had made his tool, might easily have been known by name to the Jews as the friend of their great enemy; and the conviction thus became irresistible that the author of Judith could hardly have learned the alien name Holofernes through any other channel than this, and therefore that the date of the book cannot be earlier, and is probably not much later, than B.C. 150.

Thus we arrive at much the same result as Ewald, though by a very different path. The latest results of Greek archaeology curiously illustrate, and so far confirm, the views of the great literary critic. There may be many who will be glad to be

¹ See the remarks of Mr. Newton, in the Memoir above cited.

² Fragments of the colossal statue are now preserved in the British

Museum; see Mr. Newton's remarks in the *Numismatic Chronicle* just cited; also in Part iv. of *Antiquities of Ionia*, p. 25.

introduced to the historical personality, and even to the actual features of the contemporary prince, whose name and fame lent themselves to the service of the author of the book of Judith.¹

¹ The name is properly Orophernes ('Οροφέρρης), being so written on the coins and in the inscription from Prienè, as well as in Polybius, Aelian, and Athenaeus. Diodorus Siculus appears to fluctuate between 'Οροφέρρης and

'Ολοφέρρης. Probably the Aramaic original of Judith spelt the name with *l* for *r*. The aspirate may be regarded as a mere corruption, arising from a recollection of compounds in *δλε-*.

E. L. HICKS.

SOME ARCHAIC GORGONS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLS. LIX. AND D.]

AMONGST the numerous Gorgon heads, dispersed through the different rooms of the British Museum, and unknown to me when I wrote my essay on the history of this type,¹ there are several which deserve to be published and thus made known more generally to archaeologists than they could be by exhibition even in a Museum so justly celebrated and so well arranged. It is not the object, however, of this paper to give a supplement to the cumbrous catalogue I have published, as the interest in many an instance would be but small, and to most readers of this *Journal* none whatever; but I will try to give so much of the results of my researches as may exhibit the value of those monuments to which I wish to draw attention as these in some cases fill up a gap, and in others raise points of interest and even sometimes seem to confirm some of my suggestions.

Generally speaking the evidence drawn from the classic authors as to the types of Gorgon they were in the habit of seeing is confirmed by the monuments, but on the whole these are more fitted to explain the authors than the authors to explain them. For instance, the scheme of the Gorgon head on a small ægis woven in the swaddling clothes of the infant Ion, as described by Euripides,² would hardly be as clear to us

¹ J. Six, *Specimen literarium inaugurale de Gorgone*. Amstelodami, 1835.

² *Ion*, v. 1421:—
Γοργῶν μὲν ἐν μέσσοισιν ἡττοῖς πέπλων·
v. 1423:—
κέκρασπέδωται τ' ὄφρα σιν αἰγίδος τρόπον.

as it is, but that we find the device coming into use about the same time on a small gold coin of Syracuse,¹ and perhaps on the shield of the Parthenos herself, where it seems to have taken in 399-8, B.C. the place of the golden gorgoneion stolen some years before.²

Of course we must be careful to explain Pindar and Aeschylus from the monuments which date from their age, and not, as Levezow, *e.g.*, in his otherwise valuable paper on this subject³ has done, compare with a passage such as that of Pindar in the Xth Pythian ode, v. 16, a type which only arose at least a hundred years later. Nevertheless, we may sometimes gain valuable knowledge from a comparison between author and monuments. It has been shown for instance by Prof. Loeschcke that the pseudo-Hesiodic description of the shield of Heracles corresponds to the art of the end of the seventh century; and if in regard to the myth of Perseus and the Gorgon the *cylix* published in this *Journal*⁴ by Mr. Cecil Smith is in some respects the best illustration of the pseudo-Hesiodic text, though it can hardly be assigned to so early a date, this may be owing to our lack of material rather than to any other cause, as we have sufficient points of comparison in other respects in a work of earlier date.⁵

But the most interesting statements for the history of our subject may be derived from pseudo-Hesiod and Homer, who both seem to point to Cyprus as the place whence the Greeks learned the Gorgon. I cannot here repeat the argument at length, but it will perhaps suffice to observe that the first mention Homer makes of this monster is in describing the shield of Agamemnon,⁶ evidently a piece of Cyprian workmanship, and that in the lengthy description of the Shield of Heracles,⁷ as in later mythographies, the bag destined to hold the head of Medusa is called by a foreign word, *cibisis*, which, as Hesychius informs us, was Cyprian. Nor is this supposition in contradiction with Hesiod, whose genealogy points to the south of Asia Minor, and whose mention of the birth of

¹ *Num. Chron.* N.S. xiv. pl. iii. 10.

² *De Gorgone*, p. 62, iv. 3 b.

³ Levezow, *Ueber die Entwicklung der Gorgonen-Ideals. Abhand. d. Berliner Acad.* 1832.

⁴ 1884, pl. xliii.

⁵ A black-figured *lebes* in the Louvre. *Catalogue Campana*, ii. 25; *de Gorgone*, ii. 1 c.

⁶ *Il.* xi. v. 36.

⁷ v. 216-236.

Pegasus and Chrysaor¹ finds its oldest illustration on a Cyprian sarcophagus.²

The monuments at least do not gainsay these statements, as the earlier fictile works of Greece, the Mycenæan pottery and the Dipylon vases, and even the geometrical vases bear no Gorgon, and the oldest representations which have come to my knowledge, though not found in Cyprus—whence I know none older than the middle of the sixth century—came from the islands on the way from Cyprus to the Peloponnesus and from the Peloponnesus itself, from Rhodes (?),³ Melos⁴ and Sparta.⁵

And this might have been expected, since the Cyprians, being, as we know from their dialect, Arcadians, the intercourse with the Peloponnesus must have been in early times more frequent than with other regions; nor can we wonder at finding that among Greek towns an Arcadian town alone, Tegea, preserved a myth connected with the story of Perseus and Medusa, though independent of the regular and rather sober myth.

That in Cyprus also a version differing from the received one was known is shown by the sarcophagus already mentioned—though we cannot ascertain its details. We may safely assume that wherever the flood of material is most copious we are nearest to the source, and it is for this reason that I am happy to introduce to archaeologists, in plate LIX. another specimen of high antiquity found in Rhodes which presents an entirely new form of the myth, though the head of the Gorgon does not differ widely from known types. My attention was kindly directed to it by Prof. Loeschcke. As the present paper owes its origin to the wish of having this interesting type published, we shall have to consider it somewhat more closely than others, and if we do not, as I fear, succeed entirely in explaining its meaning, we can at least ascertain its place in the series of earliest types.

We will not therefore treat of the Melian and Spartan Gorgons already mentioned as they both represent, as a glance at engravings of them will show better than words, different

¹ *Theog.* v. 281.

² *Revue Archéologique*, 1875, pl. ii.
Ceanola-Stern, *Cyperm.* pl. xviii.

³ *De Gorgone*, iii. 1 a, p. 8.

⁴ Conze, *Melische Thongefässe* pl. iit.

⁵ Milchhoefer, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1881,
pl. xvii. 1.

types which though very interesting in themselves, are not so widely spread as the one we have to deal with. The standard example of this class is a large bronze, which I saw two years ago in the store-house of the Louvre. It is the foot, it appears, of a tripod in the shape of a Gorgon kneeling on both knees and supporting on the crown which decks her head a lion's paw. She wears a long and close-fitting garment which helps not a little to impart an air of high antiquity to the figure. She has no wings. The head is as broad as it is high owing to the large jaws which inclose the widely opened mouth, armed with many teeth, which do not however as yet protrude. The tongue, which is hardly ever wanting, seems to be worn away. The nose is short and the top divided in three nearly equal circular parts. The large and widely opened eyes were set with precious stones or filled with paint. The forehead is surrounded by short curls, but the rest of the hair falls down in long tresses. On those curls rests the crown. This large bronze was found in the Archipelago, or perhaps in Rhodes.

On our plate we find most in accordance with this description the shape of the head, the inorganic ornamental shape of the nose and the crown which decks the head, here however underneath the hair, which does not fall down in tresses but in loose locks, as on the coins of Populonia, and already surrounds the head as a sort of beard or mane. The tongue is thrust out but small. To a row of small teeth are added at each side a single boar's tusk. The chin is ornamented in the same way as the nose. The ears are very large. This Gorgon belongs to the small class which wear a long chiton, and moreover has four curved wings, a combination somewhat better known to later times but always rare. Her garment, open at the left side, leaves bare the left leg, which, by the by, has a right foot, and falling down in front over a broad girdle, seems to be nothing else but a Doric chiton. The Gorgon holds with each hand by the neck a swan, the feet of which rest on her leg or dress. This scheme fills up the whole of the plate, leaving only here and there room for small ornaments which even cover the bare arms and leg of the Gorgon and the wings of the swans. These, and still more the design of the border, are the last remnants of the wickerwork patterns which had so large a share in the ornamentation of the older Rhodian plates and dishes, and

suggested those rays issuing from the centre and filling up half the circular field, which give so peculiar a character to Rhodian ware. There is another indication, as Mr. Cecil Smith observed to me, confirming the view that this plate is one of the latest of its type, namely, the use of engraved lines and outlines in the figures of the swans and in the folds of the chiton and the ornaments of the girdle, which though very rude seem to be the first attempts towards those beautiful engravings which we admire in the black figured vases of the best Attic style. The painting is of a bright reddish colour and the material the usual yellow earthenware formed by the potter's wheel, as may be detected on examining the plate. In the ridge running around the bottom of the plate are, as usual, two holes which appear to have been made before baking. I should not however like to conclude thence that these plates were made solely to adorn a tomb, as the ancient Rhodians may as well have used their plates and dishes for the adornment of their abodes as other peoples in more recent times, and as we know the Greeks to have done with their drinking cups.

But coming back to our theme we still have to find out the meaning of this Gorgonic figure holding in each hand a swan, and as there is no myth of the Gorgon which mentions anything of the kind, we have either to seek another name for this goddess, or to accept a not altogether impossible interpretation. I have in a similar case, the Gorgonic figure holding two lions by the throat on a fragment of a bronze chariot found at Perugia, tried the first method, venturing, not however without many doubts, to explain it as *Kήρ*,¹ but though I still hold that other daemons besides the Gorgon must have had the same aspect, and that some barbaric peoples may have venerated more deities of the kind than the Greeks adopted from them, I do not see that this could help us much in explaining the present type.

On the contrary all the ancient poets and mythographers tell us that the Gorgons dwelt near the ocean, whether on a mythical island or on the shore, either on this side, or across in the land of utter darkness. And just as I think it is now generally assumed that the deer and the beasts of prey in the hands of the so-called Persian Artemis have hardly any other

¹ *De Gorgone*, p. 82.

meaning save to symbolize her dwelling in the mountains, so it seems this Gorgon is localised by the swans as living on the banks of the ocean. It would hardly be worth while to cite any authority for so well-known a fact, as that these banks were thought of as frequented by swans, were it not that the following lines from the *Shield of Heracles* (v. 314)

ἀμφὶ δ' ἵτυν ῥέεν Ὀκεανὸς πλήθοντι εἰκώς·
 πάν δὲ συνείχε σάκος πολυδαίδαλον· οἱ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν
 κύκνοι ἀερσιπύται μεγάλ' ἤπνουν, οἳ ρά τε πολλοὶ
 νῆχον ἐπ' ἄκρον ὕδωρ, παρ δ' ἰχθύες ἐκλονέοντο.

explained at the same time as emblematic of the ocean those long rows of swans or other aquatic birds on many ancient vases and thus taught us how this combination of ideas might be familiar to the artist's mind.

It is curious that this Gorgon in so uncommon a scheme finds its nearest analogy as to her type of head in the not less rare male Gorgonic figure found at Orvieto,¹ which still remains unexplained, but has a pronounced Asiatic character.

Another example of this same type of head is presented by a small aryballos in the first vase-room (case 58) of the British Museum, made in the shape of a Gorgon's head and neck: this type, though not of so great antiquity as I had supposed before seeing it, is nevertheless interesting from its close similarity to another example now at Vienna.² The Viennese specimen was found at Kilo near Budrun, that of the British Museum at Vulci in Italy; facts worthy of note considering the rarity and early date of these vases.

On the whole this type of Gorgon has been most widely spread on archaic vases, Corinthian, Cyrenaic (?) and Attic, with black figures, which as a rule present the same type with slight variation, which gradually deteriorates till it hardly bears any resemblance whatever to a human head.

I will not repeat here the history of this whole class, but I must point out a few Corinthian specimens new to me. In my previous work when pointing out the foreign origin of the Gorgon and its absence from earlier Greek art, I added to the

¹ *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1877, taf. ix. 1.

² *De Gorgone*, t. i. iii, 1 b.



ALABASTOS FROM CAMIROS : HALF SCALE.

above-mentioned vases the Corinthian pottery of so-called Asiatic type. Now, however, the British Museum yields some interesting examples of this class. The first vase-room (case *B*) contains two large dishes, Nos. 15 and 16, bearing in the middle a large Gorgoneion of the usual Corinthian type¹ surrounded by wild beasts and sphinxes, or sirens, intermixed with flowers. The ornamentation of the outside is the same in both, but in No. 16 already mixed up with human figures. The same room has in case 57 an alabastos found at Camiros of the same style, decorated on a field of flowers with a swan and in front of it a flying Gorgon, who, though the peculiar shape of her head may be due to the shape of the vase, and all attempts to bring it to a certain class may therefore be useless, still remains of real interest owing to its look of high antiquity resulting from the very antique mode of painting and decorating. It is figured on the preceding page.

It is not perhaps unnecessary to be very cautious in our judgments, as we may see from another example. A small vase in the shape of a foot (second vase-room, case 2), has on a square handle a Gorgon head nearly identical with that of a large crater² in the Louvre which looks ancient enough. Yet this foot, though I cannot fix exactly its date, is of too good workmanship and finish to be as early as the Corinthian vases are generally thought to be. But might not some Corinthian vases of careless workmanship, just as the last Attic vases with black figures,³ come down a long way into the fifth century? There really seems to be some ground for supposing that the progress in art of the workmen in other regions of Greece did not move abreast with that at Athens.

Before dismissing the vases we ought to mention the *Oenochoe* of Amasis,⁴ in the second vase-room, case 22, with representation of the death of Medusa. As Prof. Loeschke⁵ has assigned it its place in the history of Perseus-types, we have here only to treat of the Gorgon, who constitutes a link between the older type with a short chiton only, in its latest example girded by two large snakes, and the subsequent type clothed

¹ *De Gorgone*, iii. 3 b.

² *De Gorgone*, p. 9, t. i. iii. 2 b; *Cat. Campana*, iv. 84.

³ I am not speaking now of the Panathenaic Amphorae.

⁴ Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, 4.

⁵ *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1881, p. 31.

with an animal's hide, and whose type of head is midway between that usual on the vases and that other type not less widely spread on Asiatic and Cyprian coins and Sicilian terracottas, which is best represented by the Medusa of the Selinus metope. That we should find just here a closer resemblance to that most widely spread family in a representation of the same subject, Perseus killing Medusa, might be fortuitous, as another Gorgoneion from the hand of Amasis, lately published,¹ shows exactly the same type, and at least one of those we have from Exekias² seems to be very like, but it remains nevertheless curious that, as Prof. Loeschcke has observed, both monuments seem to point to a common origin of their subject by the beardlessness of Perseus, by no means common in those early times. Amasis has adorned both Gorgon heads with large snakes, known already from a large *lebes*³ with black figures in the Louvre, the François vase⁴ and others, and which from very early times, though never exclusively, surround this head in the art of Greece proper and the Asiatic colonies, but are nearly unknown in Sicily. It is difficult to settle this point in respect to the Etruscan Gorgon as long as the Greek or Italian origin remains doubtful in the case of so many objects found in Italy.

It is this same consideration which induces me to linger for a few moments over a pair of bronze greaves found at Ruvo, bequeathed together with a cuirass and triple-crested helmet to the British Museum by Sir William Temple (second bronze-room, case 2). These greaves are decorated at the knee with an embossed running Gorgon, holding with both hands a snake, clad in a short chiton and winged shoes indicated by engraved lines. The head and hair, excepting the crown, and the beard are of the same type as those on a piece of bronze horse armour⁵ and a pair of greaves⁶ brought also from Southern Italy by Maler, and with his collection acquired by the Karlsruhe Museum. The likeness is enhanced by the use of ivory for the tongue and teeth, the fact that in both the eyes were originally

¹ *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1884, taf. li. B.

² *Mon. dell' Inst.* ii. 1853, t. xxii.

³ *De Gorgone*, p. 8, t. i. iii. 1 c; *Cat. Campana*, ii. 25.

⁴ *Mon. dell' Inst.* iv. t. 54—58.

⁵ *Die Grossherz. Badische Alterthümer Sammlung zu Karlsruhe*, iii. taf. 18; *de Gorgone*, p. 21, t. ii. iii. 6 d.

⁶ *De Gorgone*, p. 21, t. ii. iii. 6 e.

set with gems or filled in with paint, by the same combination of embossed work with engraved lines, and the erect entwined snakes along the sides of the greaves. As many of these peculiarities together with a general likeness are found also on some armour from the Crimea,¹ with a Gorgoneion at the elbow, no doubt remains but that the source whence these arms originate was situated somewhere in Greece proper; and as the Gorgoneia, specially the larger ones, show a great likeness to the coins of the latter half of the sixth century attributed either to Athens or to Eretria, it seems probable that this armour dates from the same time and the same region, where if we seek for a renowned factory of armour we shall find Chalcis in the highest repute, and Euboea in the most favourable condition to spread its wares to east and west. Whether the greave copied by Weiss² from Rochstuhl, *Musée de rares et anciennes armes*, is of the same fabric I am not able to decide. It looks somewhat later. The greaves worn by Menelaus on a vase of Hieron, painted by Macron,³ seem to be of the same type though later.

It would be hardly less interesting to know whence comes the handle of a large flat and circular or oval object from the Payne-Knight collection. (Pl. D.) If it is, as I suppose, Etruscan, we must of course despair of explaining its meaning. Yet it seems worth describing. The real handle, on each side of which is a Triton, bears in relief two Gorgons bending forward in consequence of the shape of the handle, and sustaining each other by the elbow with outstretched hand. The knees are slightly bent, and the wings folded, which gives a very peculiar look to this strange composition. The heads are, of course, seen *de face*, but not upright. They belong to the same type as those already mentioned, but are much later. The figures are clad in a short folded garment, and wear shoes with large wings. The space between the heads is decorated by a rosette. I dare not even guess what the meaning of all this may be, and should not like to follow those who find a family connection between Iris and Medusa, and might perhaps explain this as a symbolic picture of the rainbow resting on the waters. It will be best to accept it for the moment as merely decorative.

Etruria, I suppose, afforded another curious object, a carne-

¹ *Antiquités du Bospore Cimmérien*,
pl. xxviii. 7.

² *Kostümkunde*, ii. fig. 280.

³ *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, t. 7, 8.

lian, cut more or less in the shape of a scarab, completely covered by four outstretched wings, on which is a Gorgon head and neck of good work (No. 1),¹ which finds its nearest analogues in real Etruscan examples, and may be best dated by comparison of a terra-cotta acroterion from Mont' Alcinò, now at Leyden,² which is evidently older, and a golden fragment of a four-winged head,³ or an engraving on a mirror⁴ both of later Etruscan art. But the shape of the mouth comes nearest to that on a small silver coin from Asia Minor, which on one side has a Gorgon head surrounded by four wings also, though not disposed in the same way, and on the reverse a four-winged Harpy to right in an incuse square,⁵ which coin may, I think, be attributed to Cilicia, perhaps to Mallus.⁶



1.



2.

ETRUSCAN GEMS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The stone therefore would seem to point to a closer connection than I dared accept before, between the four-winged Asiatic Gorgon and the later Etruscan head with beautiful features;⁷ on it the wings are disposed much in the same way as those of the Seraphim of Christian art. The second gem engraved, also from the British Museum, occupies a place in the same line of descent.

It is a real pity that we know no older representations of the Seraph than those of Christian times, as there would be many points of comparison between Gorgon and Seraph in

¹ The woodcut is not altogether successful, and represents the general scheme of the gem better than details, such as chin and mouth.

² Janssen, *Terracotten te Leyden*, ii. 7; *de Gorgone*, tab. ii. iii. 8 a.

³ Micali, *Storia d. ant. Pop.* tav.

li. 5.

⁴ Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, cxxi.

⁵ Von Prokesch-Osten, *Inedita*, 1854, t. iv. 7.

⁶ *De Gorgone*, p. 31, adn. 1.

⁷ Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, ccccxvii.

name, in symbols and in apotropaic use, even perhaps in origin ; but however interesting this question might be, the time seems not yet come to treat it with competence and with sufficient detail.

I need hardly repeat that I do not pretend to exhaust here the material supplied by the British Museum, but I must remind the reader that, as the title of this paper shows, I abstain purposely from mentioning any of the later Gorgoneia on terra-cotta, vases, or gems, in which classes of remains the Museum has still many an object well worthy of being published.

J. SIX.

September, 1885.



SARAPIS STANDING
ON A XANTHIAN MARBLE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLS. LVIII. AND E.]

AMONG the Xanthian monuments brought over from Lycia under the direction of Sir Charles Fellows, in 1844, there is a square block of white marble, the only printed notice of which to my knowledge is to be found in the old 'Synopsis of the contents of the British Museum,' Lycian Saloon, no. 173: 'Monument found in a Roman bath; on one side are Plutus and Tyche standing, full face; on the other is a Persian shooting arrows in a cave, in which are an ox, a stork, a dog, a boar, a lizard, grasshopper, and fox.' (Comp. Vaux, *Handbook*, p. 162.) As to the locality, my friend George Scharf, Fellows' companion in that journey, informs me from his diary that the monument was disinterred on the Roman acropolis, in January 1844. The building, situated at the foot of a polygonal wall, the chief ornament of which was a mosaic pavement including a standing figure of Leda with the swan beside her, was 'a house, palace, or bath.' I am of opinion that the contents of the reliefs are not particularly favourable to the supposition of a bath.

The marble which is now placed in the new Lycian Room, no. 103, merits a greater interest than it seems to have met with hitherto. Plate LVIII. shows the two faces; the back view is on a slightly smaller scale than the front. Broken at the foot, the remainder has a height of 0·74 m. at the front, and of 0·81 at the back; width of each face 0·79. The sides as well as the top being but roughly cut, it is evident that the block was originally let into a wall or some other architectural construction. The style of the relief on the front has some similarity

with that of numerous sepulchral monuments originating from the islands of the Archipelago and the neighbouring shores of Asia Minor. Notwithstanding the very flat pediment, the monument is scarcely anterior to the Roman epoch. No remains are left of that peculiar Lycian style which we know from the reliefs of Giölbascchi, the Nereid monument, the tombs of Merehi and Paiava, &c. As in the Greek language the dialects gradually had given way to the *κοινή*, thus also in sculpture at the beginning of the Roman epoch a kind of *κοινή* was established, and the former differences between the provinces of the Hellenized world abolished.

FRONT OF THE MARBLE.

The front exhibits two divinities, full face, enshrined. The low bases on which the figures rest (of the base of the male figure only a small part near the left foot is preserved) prove that they are copies of statues; in the female figure are even retained the clumsy marble supports which, in the original statue, joined both hands with the body. Hence we may infer that the artist intended to render exactly his originals. These must have been some statues which enjoyed peculiar veneration; probably they stood in Xanthos or somewhere in the vicinity.

The explanation of the male figure as Plutos cannot be right. The god of wealth is represented by Greek art either as a child, mostly on the arm of a nurse (Eirene by Kephisodotos, Tyche by Xenophon), or as a youth¹, always characterized by the cornucopiae; his appearance as a bearded man in full drapery, with a modius on the head, would be completely unheard of. There can be little doubt as to Sarapis being meant, although there is but little evidence of the worship of the Egyptian divinities in Lycia²; a similar incongruity however between artistic and written evidence is not rare. Besides, we are more accustomed to statues of Sarapis enthroned, though representations of the god standing are not infrequent, particularly on

¹ See Gerhard, *akadem. Abhandl.* ii. p. 224. Strube, *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Elcuisis*, p. 53.

² *C. I. Gr.* 4262 (Sidyma). A man

named Isidoros occurs in an inscription, also from Sidyma, in Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*, p. 73, no. 51,

32.

coins. It will be worth while to examine more closely these representations, after having cast a glance on the images of Sarapis in general¹.

Original statue of the deus Alexandrinus.—It is beyond my competence to decide the old controversy, whether Sarapis was worshipped in Egypt as early as in pre-Ptolemaic times, or whether he was introduced from abroad, perhaps from Babylon², under the dominion of the first Lagidae. According to the epicritical disquisition of Lumbroso³, Sarapis seems only to be the Greek name which came into use in early Ptolemaic times of the old Egyptian god Apis, the representative of infernal Osiris, whose identification with the Hades or Pluto of the Greeks⁴ was to bring into harmony, according to the political tendencies of the Ptolemies, the religious beliefs of the ancient and the new inhabitants of Egypt. It is unnecessary to dwell on the extent to which this Egyptian-Hellenic *deus Alexandrinus*, united instead of Osiris with Isis, conquered nearly the whole Greek world, and afterwards a large part of the Roman empire. The only question we have to deal with, is the artistic representation of Sarapis as identified with Pluto. On this point there seem to exist two accounts totally different. The Stoic Athenodoros from Tarsos, one of the teachers of Octavianus⁵, traced back the image of Sarapis to Sesostris, or Rhamses the Great, who had it made by an artist named Bryaxis out of a sevenfold mixture of various metals and of precious stones; the whole was painted over with dark colour. Kroker⁶ appears to me to be right in observing that these details refer to a statue

¹ Comp. Overbeck, *griech. Kunst-mythologie*, ii. p. 305. Lafaye, *hist. du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte*, p. 16; 248; 265.—I beg to express my gratitude for several hints and communications, particularly on numismatic points, to my friends, Professor Gardner and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer of Winterthur. To Prof. Gardner I am particularly indebted for the composition of pl. E.

² Zoega, *nummi Aegyptii*, p. 398. Plew, *de Sarapide*, Koenigsberg, 1868. The testimony of Ptolemaeus Soter himself in Arrian, vii. 26, 2, proves only that Sarapis, or a divinity identi-

fied with him by Ptolemaeus, was worshipped in Babylon.

³ *Ricerche alessandrine*, in the *Memorie della R. Accad. di Torino*, 2. ser., vol. xxvii. p. 189.

⁴ The oldest witness for this identification is Herakleides Pontikos (Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 27), a contemporary of Alexander the Great and Ptolemaeus Soter.

⁵ Clemens Alexandr. *protr.* 4, 48 p. 43 ed. Potter. Comp. the passage in Rufinus, *hist. eccl.* ii. 23, relative to the same statue.

⁶ *Griechische gleichnamige Künstler*, Leipz. 1833, p. 20.

not of Greek but of Egyptian art; and indeed the story maintains that Sesostris meant to have his forefather Osiris represented. I am therefore inclined to believe that the assertion of Athenodōros, far from deserving to be rejected as absolutely fabulous, deals with the old Egyptian statue of Osiris as lord of the infernal region, which had its proper place in the ancient sanctuary of Apis in the Rhakotis. Only the name of the artist, Bryaxis, betrays Greek authorship; Athenodoros, however, was prudent enough to point out expressly that this Bryaxis was not the Athenian artist but a mere name-sake of him (οὐχ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄλλος δέ τις ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ τῷ Βρυάξειδι).

Completely different is another report which concerns the origin of the Greek image of Sarapis in the Rhakotis. This was said by nearly unanimous tradition to have come from Sinope¹, the difference of opinion referring only to two details. Some authors claim the honour of having introduced the foreign statue for Ptolemæus Soter², others for his successor Philadelphos³. Of greater importance is the difference that Plutarch and Clemens regard the statue as representing originally Pluto, whereas Tacitus assigns to it even in its former home at Sinope the name and character of Sarapis⁴. Certainly the former opinion is more trustworthy. The whole account of the bringing over of the statue from Sinope labours, to be sure, under certain difficulties; especially the dearth said to have happened at Sinope is rather remarkable in a chief city of the Pontos so fertile in grain⁵. Hence Lumbroso's opinion that the Sinope of the tradition is nothing but a Greek misinterpretation, either intentional or by mistake, of *sen-hapi* 'seat of Apis'⁶, is very alluring; the argument loses however much of its force when we consider that the question is not as to the origin of the god himself and his worship, but only about that of his Greek image.

¹ The expression *Σινωπίνης Ζεὺς* in Dionys. perieg. 255, is due to the later identification of Sarapis with Zeus.

² Plut. *de Is.* 28. Tacitus, *hist.* iv. 63; 64.

³ Clem. Alex. *protr.* p. 42. According to Isidoros the statue came from Seleukeia, apparently in the reign of Ptolemaeus III. Euergetes, see Clemens and Tacitus, *l.l.*

⁴ This discrepancy has been justly

laid stress upon by Lumbroso.

⁵ Comp. Kroker, *l.l.*

⁶ Brugsch, *geograph. Inschr.* i. p. 240, has interpreted in this way the *Σινωπιὸς ὅρος* near Memphis mentioned by Eustathios, *ad Dionys.* 255. Plew seems to be hypercritical in taking (p. 20) that name to be a mere fiction of Eustathios, intended to connect the Sinopian tradition with that of Memphis.

This may, of course, have been made in Alexandria by some Greek artist, but I see no decisive reason why it should not have been introduced from abroad. But at any rate it appears to me inconsistent with sound historical method to mix up the completely different traditions of Athenodoros with that relative to Sinope so as to attribute the Greek statue to Bryaxis who is named only in the former tradition, and to identify this artist, notwithstanding the express warning of Athenodoros, with the Athenian companion of Skopas¹. There is also another reason to doubt this supposition. The earliest certain representation of Sarapis is on coins of the times of Ptolemæus VI. Philometor, about B.C. 170²; the next instances are on rude copper coins of Sicily belonging to the Roman epoch³; otherwise Sarapis scarcely occurs on coins anterior to the beginning of the Christian æra. On these coins the god bears no modius, but at the top of his laurel wreath appears the small head-ornament of Osiris; hair and beard are rich and curly; the forehead projects strongly above the eyes. The head has throughout the character of those heads of Zeus which nowadays generally are attributed to the school or artistic influence of Lysippos. Now, the same character strongly marks the many heads of Sarapis to be met on statues, busts, coins, engraved stones. We may therefore conjecture with probability that this head goes back to a famous image in the main place of the worship of Sarapis, and that this was precisely the great statue brought according to the legend to Alexandria by Ptolemy. If this conclusion be right, the artistic character of the image would not well suit the companion of Skopas, but point to a somewhat later epoch. For this reason I should not object to the view of those authorities who assign the introduction of the

¹ Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, i. p. 384, followed by Overbeck, Murray, Mrs. Mitchell, Lafaye, and many others, contradicted by Klein, *archæol.-epigr. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, 1881, p. 96, note 30, and Kroker, *l.l.* p. 20.

² *Brit. Mus. Catal.*, Ptolemies, p. 79, pl. 18, 8. Feuardent, *Coll. Giov. Demetrio, Num.*, *Eg. anc.* i. pl. 5, 257. *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* iii. pl. 9, 15. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf ant. Münzen hellen. Völker*, pl. 8, 12.—*Brit.*

Mus. Cat., *Seleucid Kings*, p. 38, pl. 12, 11. Feuardent, pl. 11, 274.

³ Head, *Coinage of Syracuse*, p. 75, pl. 14, 5. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, *Sicily*, p. 227, 701, &c. Combe, *Mus. Hunter.*, pl. 16, 2; 3; 6. *Comp. Brit. Mus.*, *Sicily*, p. 51, 59; 62; p. 54, 87-90 (Catana); p. 98, 8 (Menaenum). For more instances see Wieseler, *über einige geschn. Steine*, ii. 1 (*Abh. der Göttinger Ges.* vol. xxxi.), p. 27.

celebrated statue not to Ptolemæus Soter but to one of his successors.

Attributes of Sarapis; Kerberos.—Tacitus mentions but generally the attributes (*insignia*) of the statue, from which one might infer the identity of Sarapis and the infernal king (*Dis pater*). Plutarch more especially names Kerberos and the serpent. A still more detailed account is given by Macrobius¹; he speaks of the *calathus* on the god's head², and distinguishes the three heads of Kerberos entwined by a serpent and sitting to the right of the god. The head in the middle was that of a great lion, that to the right was the head of a tame fawning dog, to the left that of a rapacious wolf. (The symbolical interpretation referring them to present future and past may be set aside.) We are told nowhere distinctly whether the statue represented the god sitting or standing. However, even apart from a coin of Hadrian supposed by Zoega to represent the introduction on ship-board of the Sinopian statue³, there can be scarcely a doubt that the chief statue represented the god enthroned. On the numerous coins exhibiting Sarapis standing, Kerberos is rather rare⁴; on the contrary those with Sarapis enthroned exhibit Kerberos, if not without exception, still usually associated with the god, and moreover the many marble statues still extant of Sarapis sitting as a rule place the infernal dog at his right.

We may even go farther. Notwithstanding the contrary assertion of Overbeck⁵, the difference of the three heads as related by Macrobius is still traceable as a peculiarity of the figure of Kerberos. The Rev. S. S. Lewis in Cambridge possesses a statuette of Sarapis, of white marble, formerly in the Demetrio

¹ *Saturn.* i. 20, 13; 14.

² We should not be justified if from the want of this attribute in the above-named coins we inferred that it had no place also in the Alexandrian statue. The Ptolemies had sufficient reasons to adorn on their coins the head of the successor of Osiris with the well-known attribute of that national god, instead of covering it with the foreign-looking head ornament of his Greek substitute.

³ *Nummi Aeg.* p. 133, no. 309, note.

⁴ Sarapis, holding in l. staff, extends r. over Cerberus: Zoega, p. 106, 63; 146, 380; 381. Pl. 8, 6 (Hadrian); similarly p. 269, 51 (Severus Alex.). Similar type, except that Sarapis holds in r. a patera: *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 46, 34 (Nicopolis, Caracalla); Mionnet, *Suppl.* iv. p. 287, 86 (Pheneos, Plautilla). Comp. the gems in Berlin, Tölken, *Verzeichniss*, no. 69; 70.

⁵ *Kunstmythologie*, ii. p. 306.

collection, the description of which by the owner himself I have the greater pleasure in here communicating as I had omitted the monument in my *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*. 'At the right hand of the god, Cerberus, wolf, lion, and dog; the wolf-head looks sorrowfully downwards, the lion-head looks straight forward under the control of the master's hand, pressing his head; the dog-head at his knee looks up lovingly for orders.' It is worth mentioning that this statuette comes from Alexandria. But generally in statues and statuettes the middle head is of a broader, not seldom of a lion-like type—especially



CERBERUS IN BRONZE: BRIT. MUS.

so in the statue at Castle Howard¹,—whereas the two other heads are almost always more pointed, more like a greyhound's head. Besides, the head nearest to the god is usually uplifted, or at least directed towards the master²; much rarer is the direction downwards of the outmost head³. A similar difference of direction is visible on coins of Alexandria⁴, on terra-cotta lamps⁵, in some small bronze statuettes of Kerberos which, although separated from the god, still by themselves give sufficient proof that they belong to the same type⁶. In one of them

¹ Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Br.* p. 327, no. 12. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1885, p. 35. Also in the Lansdowne statue (*Anc. M.* p. 470, no. 97. Clarac, iv. 758, 1851 A) the middle head, the snout of which is modern, is much broader.

² See the instances given in Clarac, iv. pl. 757. Cavalieri *Ant. stat. l. III.*

et IV. pl. 28 (*in aedibus Vallarum*).

³ Lansdowne House, no. 97. Clarac, iv. 758, 1851 A.—Brit. Museum, *Gr.-Rom. Sculpl.* no. 127. *Anc. Marbles*, x. 43, 2. Clarac, iii. 396 D, 669 A.

⁴ Zoega, pl. 8, 6; 7. 16, 9.

⁵ S. Bartoli (Beger), *antiche lucerne*, ii. pl. 6; 8.

⁶ I owe to Dr. Puchstein of Berlin

(a) the lion's head looking forward stretches out its tongue; the dog's head projecting from the right shoulder is looking down, the ears erected; the wolf's head, distinguished by a row of villous hair beneath the neck, with ears laid back, looks up. A second specimen (b), very similar, wreathed with snakes in complete harmony with Macrobius, is figured in the text in its actual size. Two other copies (c d) show the right head looking outwards horizontally (dog's head, ears erected), the left one looking up a little (wolf-like, ears reclining).

Notwithstanding these varieties of detail, it is clear that the original of all these statuettes exhibited differences in the three heads similar to those described by Macrobius, and that it is due only to the carelessness with which most of the marble statuettes of Sarapis are executed, that in these the said differences have been either totally or partially lost. This is the more probable as in the very rare statue of Hades in the Borghese Villa ¹, the middle head is lion-like, and the outer head which is alone visible (the head to the left being hidden in the drapery) is that of a greyhound looking up with ears laid back. This statue, the only large one of Hades we possess, is of high importance on account of the relation indicated in the literary tradition of the type of Hades or Pluto with that of Sarapis enthroned. The general composition is identical, only the heads are different, that of Hades showing morose features and a realistic conception similar to that of the Chiaramonti bust of Poseidon ² and characteristic of the Hellenistic epoch, whereas the head of Sarapis, in accordance with the high position of the god in the belief of later generations, bears rather the character of a gloomy Zeus, a character however sometimes found in Hades himself in his more ideal representations.

and Prof. Gardner detailed notices as to the following examples:—

(a) Berlin, Antiquarium. H. 0.042 m. Friederichs, *Berl. ant. Bildw.* ii. no. 2304. S. Bartoli, *ant. luc.* ii. pl. 7 (reversed and too distinct in the forms). Rubbed.

(b) British Museum, Bronze Room. See woodcut, p. 293, original size.

(c) Berlin, Antiquarium. H. 0.054 m. Friederichs, ii. No. 2303. Of better work.

(d) British Museum, Bronze Room. I have little doubt that similar figures exist in many cabinets.

¹ Nibby, *Mon. scelti di Villa Borgh.* pl. 39. Braun, *Vorschule der Kunst-mythologie*, pl. 22. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, ii. 67, 853.

² *Mus. Chiaramonti*, i. pl. 24. Pistolesi, *Vaticano*, iv. pl. 57. Braun, *Vorschule*, pl. 16. Müller-Wieseler, ii. 6, 67. Overbeck, *Atlas zur Kunst-myth.* pl. 11, 11; 12.

Sarapis standing, first type: sceptre and altar.—The representation of Sarapis enthroned on Alexandrian coins first appears in the thirteenth year of Nero (A.D. 67–68)¹; it is a question whether any of the extant sculptural copies, the fine bronze statuette from Paramythia in the British Museum excepted², be more ancient. Not much later occur the first types of a standing Sarapis. I have no detailed knowledge of a coin of Vespasian or Titus (A.D. 76 ?)³, but its type seems similar to that which first arises under Domitian, comes into vogue under Trajan, and has not yet quite disappeared under Hadrian. Sarapis stands in a temple, extending his right hand over an altar, and holding a long staff or sceptre in the left (Pl. E. 1)⁴. The temple or *ædicula* seems to indicate a certain statue copied on the coin⁵. It is but a slight variation if, instead of the altar, the infernal dog has his place under the hand of his master (Pl. E. 2)⁶; on the other hand, it is a development of the general idea if the god in his extended right holds a patera⁷. This last representation is not limited to Alexandria, but returns a little later on coins of several cities⁸, as well as, slightly modified, on engraved stones⁹. After all, this type is very similar to that of Sarapis enthroned, but that the god has risen from his seat. The altar occasionally occurs also near the throne, and so does the patera in the hand, of the sitting god. We may therefore regard this type as derived from the sitting type, and compare the relation

¹ Zoega, p. 27, 61.

² *Spec. of ant. sculpt.* i. pl. 63. Clarac, iii. 398, 670.

³ Zoega, p. 49, 25.

⁴ Zoega, p. 51, 12; 62, 76; 73, 90; 78, 133; 83, 144; 107, 78. Comp. p. 134, 335; 336. The same type on coins of Perinthos under Caracalla, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 152, 38.

⁵ Zoega, p. 78, supposes the Sarapeion to be meant, which no doubt contained more statues of the god than the one chief statue. Comp. Ammianus Marc. xxii. 12 *Serapeum...spirantibus signorum figmentis...exornatum*.

⁶ Zoega, p. 106, 63; 146, 380; 381, pl. 8, 6. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* ii. Münzt. 4, 29 (Hadrian).

⁷ Zoega, p. 189, 226 (Anton. Pius);

the '*hircus ante pedes*' is no doubt the Kerberos. On a coin of Hadrian (Zoega, p. 113, 154) the attributes of the patera and a fawn (instead of the sceptre) are combined.

⁸ With Kerberos in Pheneos (Plautilla, Mionnet, *suppl.* iv. p. 287, 86), in Nikopolis (Caracalla and Geta, *Br. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 46, 34); without him in Hermokapelia in Mysia (Mionnet, *descr.* iv. p. 44, 232). Without the patera in Marcianopolis (Macrinus, *Br. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 32, 31).

⁹ Tölken, *Vorz. geschm. Steine in Berlin*, p. 20, no. 67, with the addition of attributes of Zeus, eagle and thunderbolt; no. 70 in Roman warrior's dress, with Kerberos near him.

between representations of Zeus or Asklepios enthroned with those of the same gods standing.

Sarapis standing, second type: right hand raised and sceptre.—

A second type, a very favourite one, particularly in later times, leaves the sceptre or long staff in the left, but shows the right arm raised so as to signify either benediction or *allocutio*. The first instance of "Ἡλῖος Σάραπης thus represented occurs on an Alexandrian coin of the thirteenth year of Domitian (A.D. 93-94)¹, in which however the god is clad in the mantle only, a dress rarer but noways unheard of². In the usual full dress the same god appears on coins of Hadrian, either alone (Pl. E. 4)³, or within a temple, opposite the Emperor who extends his right hand over an altar inscribed ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ (Pl. E. 3)⁴. In the last mentioned coin, which belongs to the seventeenth year of the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 132-133), the action of Sarapis finds its easiest explanation as a gesture of blessing; one might suppose the coin to be connected with the revolt in Judæa⁵. In Alexandria itself this type of Sarapis, after having ceased for some time, reappears only under Severus Alexander and some later emperors⁶, but during the third century it is spread over large parts of the empire, especially under Caracalla (in the years A.D. 212-216)⁷, and under Gordianus⁸, finally under the last

¹ Zoega, p. 58, 117. Eckhel, *D.N.* iv. p. 81, thinks the raised right to be characteristic for the combination of "Ἡλῖος Σάραπης.

² Zoega, p. 45, 55 (Vespasian); p. 232, 27, pl. 14, 7. Overbeck, *Kunst-myth.* ii. *Münzt.* 4, 30 (Verus). One may compare the terra-cotta lamp, *Catal. Durand*, no. 1777. In the British Museum there is, according to a notice by Prof. Gardner, a small Zeus-like bronze figure, possibly of Sarapis, standing, clad in a himation only, which passes over his left shoulder and leaves most of the body bare; on his head is a circular modius bound with laurel; in the right hand which hangs down he holds a short staff (part of thunderbolt?).

³ Zoega, p. 125, 236; 135, 337.

⁴ Zoega, p. 134, 335; 336. pl. 7, 14.

⁵ Dürr, *Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*,

Vienna 1881, p. 65; 72, makes the emperor leave Alexandria in the autumn of 131, and the revolt begin at the end of that, or the beginning of the next year. The type of the coin would have a more pregnant signification if we could refer it to a visit to Alexandria of the emperor in 132-3.

⁶ Zoega, p. 269, 51 (Severus Alexander *Λ πέρου*; the same type with the date *Λ εβδμου* is in the Imhoof collection); p. 296, 5 (Trebonianus); 325, 2 (Domitius Domitianus).

⁷ Cohen, *Méd. impér.* iii². p. 165; 166; 169; 175; 180. *Br. M. Cat., Thrace*, p. 172, 11; 12 (Serdike); p. 120, 27 (Hadrianopolis).

⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 52; 63; 120; 133. Mionnet, *suppl.* ii. p. 324. The same type returns under Macrinus, Elagabalus, Maximinus, Traianus Decius and Hostilianus, Postumus:

zealous restorer of the worship of Sarapis, Julianus¹. The type is especially a favourite in Thrace—as an instance we figure a coin of Hadrianopolis struck under Gordian III. (Pl. E. 5),—but it extends also over Asia Minor (Tieion in Bithynia, Mytilene, Perga, Olba), as far as Damaskos and the Samarian Kaisareia.



BRONZE STATUETTE: FLORENCE.

It is also traceable on engraved gems². The finest instance, however, is afforded by a good Roman bronze statuette, 0·29 m. high, of the Florentine Museum³, which at the same time proves that this type was not invented for the coins but goes back to a sculptural original. The statuette is of excellent preservation⁴;

¹ Cohen, vi. p. 374, 121.

² *Impronte dell' Istituto*, v. 65 (*Bullett.* 1839, p. 105), with the inscription εἰς Ζεὺς Σάραπισ. Berlin, no.

68 (Tölken).

³ *R. Gal. di Firenze*, serie iv. vol. i. pl. 20. Clarac, iii. 399, 673.

⁴ Director Milani of Florence has

both arms were broken but are certainly antique, and the movement of the right hand with opened palm and outstretched fingers serves again to confirm the signification of the action as that of blessing. The fingers of the left hand are so disposed as to be able to grasp a sceptre. Although there is no great invention in the figure—more especially the arrangement of the well-disposed himation is rather common—not unlike that of the youthful Asklepios from Kyrene at Edinburgh¹,—still the walking movement gives a lively effect, which is strengthened by the slight turn of the head in the direction of the raised right arm. A modius ornamented with olive branches towers on the crown, from which the full hair hangs down, framing the countenance; the expression of the features is dignified but gloomy. Very similar in movement, dress, and expression is the appearance of the god in a votive relief of marble in the Museum of Turin², unfortunately unpublished; his position on a peculiar base, within an *ædicula*, proves that we may here too assume a sculptural model. The only variation is that the left hand, hanging down, does not hold the sceptre, as in the coins, but a small box. We may compare the ‘basket suspended by a cord’ which Sarapis bears in his right hand on a coin of Perinthos, struck under Caracalla³, as also the pail held by the god on a Pompeian painting⁴. No doubt, these vessels must have had their fixed signification in the worship of Sarapis; the *situla* in the hand of the priestesses of Isis is well-known⁵.

Sarapis standing, third type: left arm raised, right hanging down.—This type, which is not to be found on coins, recurs in

had the kindness to examine the bronze closely. The arms are not modern, as Overbeck says (*Kunstmyth.* ii. p. 314), but only broken and replaced, the style as well as the quality of the bronze and its patina proving its antique origin. The left foot too is broken a little above the sandal. Two joints of the ring-finger of the right hand are broken and missing. The eyes are of silver, the pupils excavated.

¹ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884, p. 157, no. 1. *Archæologia Scot.* iv. pl. 18.

² Dütschke, *ant. Bildwerke in Ober-*

italien, iv. p. 66, no. 102. Height 0·79 m.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 153, 39.

⁴ Helbig, *Wandgemælde*, no. 80. See below, p. 306.

⁵ Rare varieties show Sarapis holding in his hand either ears of corn (Cohen, *méd. impér.* IV², p. 183, 381-383 [Caracalla]), or a fillet (bronze statuette at Stanmore Hill, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Brit.* p. 660, no. 4), or a wreath (gems in Paris [Chabouillet, *cab. des méd.* no. 2026] and Vienna [Sacken and Kenner, *Samml. des Münz- u. Ant.-Cab.* p. 434, 285]).



BRONZE STATUETTE : DRESDEN.

some bronze statuettes¹, far the best of which is the larger one in Dresden (*a*). Sarapis, in his usual dress, and with the modius on the head, raises the left arm so as to leave no doubt about its having originally grasped a sceptre; in *e* a small vestige of it has even been preserved. The arrangement of the himation corresponds with that movement of the arm. The right arm hangs down but, at least in *a b*, does not cling to the body, and, the beautiful head being turned the same way, seems to have held some attribute. In the better preserved though very poor copies *c d e*, however, the right arm hangs close to the body, without any attribute in the hand. In *c* the god is placed on a globe, a position by which he is characterised as the supreme lord of the world.

Sarapis standing, fourth type: sceptre in right hand, left hanging down.—A short mention suffices for a group of late coins of Alexandria in which Sarapis holds the sceptre in the right instead of the left hand, the left arm being enveloped in the cloak (Pl. E. 6 of Tranquillina)².

Sarapis standing, with cornucopiae.—A fifth type of Sarapis standing, much rarer but also much more characteristic, is that with a cornucopiae. On the coins of Alexandria, clear instances of a cornucopiae in connection with Sarapis are found

¹ I am indebted to Director Treu of Dresden for the following details on the Dresden statuettes and for the photograph reproduced on p. 299:—

(*a*) Dresden. Hettner, *Bildw. der kgl. Antikens.*, 4 ed., p. 50, no. 127. Good bronze, purporting to come from Alexandria; bought in Rome, 1877, from Martinetti. Eyes, lips, sandals of silver; further remains of silver may be hidden under the thick oxidation. H. 0.39 without the base, 0.465 including it. The base is old. The figure was broken at the feet, and so was the modius (ornamented with upright branches); both have been replaced. (See cut.)

(*b*) Dresden. Smaller bronze, h. 0.063. Bought 1885 from Dr. Dressel. The greater part of the arms and the feet is missing. The proportions are much more slender than in the larger

statuette.

(*c*) Berlin, Antiquarium. Friederichs, *Berlins ant. Bildw.* ii. no. 1868. H. 0.07.

(*d*) Berlin, Antiquarium. Friederichs, no. 1869; apparently from the same mould. H. 0.63.

(*e*) Arolsen. Gaedechens, *Antiken zu Arolsen*, p. 38, no. 29. Friederichs-Wolters, *Bausteine*, p. 694, no. 1769. H. 0.065.

² The latter circumstance is expressly mentioned in the description of the coins, Zoega, p. 264, 6 (Annia); 269, 50 (Sev. Alex.); 278, 15 (Maximinus); 287, 8, pl. 17, 13 (Tranquillina). Nothing is said of this detail in the coins of Gordianus III. no. 50; 59, Philippus, no. 15; 25*a*, Otacilia, no. 3*b*; 9*b*, Traianus Decius, no. 1, Volusianus, no. 4, Valerianus, no. 11, and in a gem at Paris (Chabouillet, no. 2026).

only on those coins where the head of the god is surrounded by the cornucopiae at the same time as with other attributes. Thus Sarapis appears, in almost identical representation, on coins of Hadrian¹, of Antoninus Pius (Pl. E. 8)², and of Philippus Arabs³, a true *Serapis Pantheus*, as he is styled in a Spanish inscription⁴. On a coin of M. Aurelius the figure of the deity is accompanied by a serpent-entwined staff (Pl. E. 7). Modius, ram's horns, and rays indicate the combination of "Ἥλιος Σάραπισ and Ζεὺς Ἀμμων; the trident entwined by a dolphin points to Poseidon; the cornucopiae in this group of attributes is referred by Zoega⁵ to the Nile. This conjecture, not unreasonable in itself, is less likely, inasmuch as the cornucopiae occurs not only on such pantheistic representations of Sarapis⁶. It is at least highly probable that the '*vir barbatus stans cum modio in capite, s. cornucopiae*,' who offers his hand to a female, wearing modius and holding cornucopiae, with an altar between them, on an Alexandrian coin of Trajan⁷, is none but Sarapis, in a group not unlike that of the Xanthian marble. In this instance, an identification of Sarapis with Nile would be much more unlikely; while it is entirely out of the question in the representations of the god with the cornucopiae on imperial coins of the neighbouring Thracian cities of Odessos and Dionysopolis. The series of the former town begins with Septimius Severus⁸, and goes on under Caracalla (Pl. E. 9)⁹, Elagabalus (Pl. E. 10), Severus Alexander, and Gordianus III.¹⁰; the same type occurs on the coins of Dionysopolis under Severus Alexander (Pl. E. 11)¹¹. In all these coins the bearded god, clad in chiton and himation, with the modius on his head, stands, his weight resting on the left leg, the right gently bent; he turns half round to a lighted altar into the flames of which

¹ Imhoof, *Monnaies Grecques*, pl. J, p. 161, no. 4, pl. 8, 8.
15, p. 458, 13.

² Zoega, p. 169, 56; 173, 97, pl. 10,
17. The coin, p. 197, 291, varies a little.

³ Zoega, p. 289, 36 (without the Ammon's horns).

⁴ *C. I. Lat.* ii. 46.

⁵ P. 174, note.

⁶ A similar coin is that of Ptolemais of the time of Septimius Severus, in de Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre-Sainte*,

⁷ Zoega, p. 83, 143 (Museo Tiepoli).

⁸ Mionnet, *suppl.* ii. p. 353, 903; 904.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 138, 13; 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 139, 15-18. Mionnet, *descr.* i. p. 396, 228. *Suppl.* ii. p. 357, 924; 925 (in the Imhoof collection).

¹¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Thrace*, p. 24, 1.

he is pouring from a patera, whereas in the left arm he holds a large cornucopiae filled with fruits.

In the Catalogue of the British Museum the interpretation of this god of Odessos as Sarapis is qualified as doubtful. The reason is to be found no doubt in the ancient autonomous tetradrachms of Odessos (Pl. E. 12), which show in a beautiful type a very similar god, but without the modius and the altar; in the field ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΚΥΡΣΑ¹. Hardouin's interpretation of the last word as κύριος Σά(παρις), which might be supported by the occasional qualification of Sarapis as κύριος and as θεὸς μέγας or *deus magnus*, and which even gained the applause of Eckhel², has lost every probability since L. Müller pointed out the same word as the beginning of a magistrate's name on coins of the very town of Odessos, with the types of Alexander the Great³. Nevertheless, Sarapis may be here meant; nor would the wanting modius be an insuperable obstacle, as precisely in the earliest, and eventually in some later representations, that god wears no modius⁴. Chronological reasons too are not contrary to the interpretation. According to Dr. Imhoof's judgment, the coin is not earlier than the end of the third century, perhaps rather later; Prof. Gardner would even assign it to the second quarter of the second century. There is no reason to doubt that at that epoch the worship of Sarapis might have found its way to the Thracian shores; and if so, the coin would be highly interesting as one of the oldest extant representations of that god in full length, standing, but without modius and sceptre, and, instead of the latter, bearing the cornucopiae. However, I cannot help thinking that this interpretation, though not impossible, is by no means certain. I shall not lay great stress on the style of the figure copied on the coin, which reminds me of statues like the Vatican 'Sardanapallos' and similar creations of the fourth

¹ Mionnet, *descr.* i. p. 395, 221. *Planches*, 69, 5. *Museum Pembrok.* ii. pl. 34.

² *Doctr. numm.* ii. p. 37. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* ii. p. 103.

³ *Numism. d'Alexandre le Grand*, p. 172; 174 (indicated to me by Prof. Gardner). One may compare the name of the Bithynian town of Κυρσαία

(Anon. *Peripl. Ponti Eux.* 12).

⁴ See p. 291, notes 2 and 3, and comp. Wieseler, *über geschn. Steine*, ii. 1 (*Abh. d. Göt. Ges.* vol. xxxi.), p. 27, &c. The head on the obverse of this coin (Mionnet, pl. 69, 5. Overbeck, *Kunstmyth.* ii. *Münz.* 1, 19) has no attribute which would point to Sarapis.



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century, that is to say of an epoch in which a Greek Sarapis was not yet in existence. Of greater importance is the fact that on other autonomous coins of Odessos¹ apparently the same god with a cornucopiae is riding on horseback, a thing utterly unheard of in the case of Sarapis. This seems to point rather to some θεὸς ἐπιχώριος in Hellenized form, whose qualification of θεὸς μέγας may remind us of the title of the 'great gods' of Samothrake.

However this question may be settled, and even if the older coins of Odessos represent a local divinity, still the name of Sarapis seems noways excluded in the case of the imperial coins of Odessos, which are later by three or four centuries. The widely spread worship of the Alexandrine god precisely in the cities on the coast of Moesia and Thrace during the later imperial epoch, is abundantly shewn by the evidence of coins. Surely it is much less likely that beside this mighty conqueror of the world an old local god of similar features should have been preserved, than that the elder θεὸς μέγας should have given way to the new θεὸς μέγας or μέγιστος, and be absorbed as it were by the stronger nature of his successor. Now, has the Sarapis of the later coins inherited his cornucopiae from his predecessor? This would scarcely be the right interpretation; it is quite possible to prove that Sarapis is fully entitled by himself to bear that symbol.

Among the treasures of the Payne-Knight collection in the British Museum there is a silver statuette of Sarapis standing, 0.04 m. high, the only original mention of which is to be found in the letterpress to plate 63 of the *Specimens of Antient Sculpture*, vol. i. This mention is so short and indistinct that the statuette was universally thought to represent the god sitting, as does the bronze statuette engraved in that plate. It is the merit of Prof. Gardner to have drawn attention to this little jewel, and to have discovered from Payne-Knight's Catalogue that it also belongs to that famous find which took place

¹ Eckhel, *D. N.* ii. p. 37. Mionnet, *suppl.* ii. p. 350, 889; 890. The cornucopiae occurs also alone on autonomous coins of Odessos (Mionnet, no. 895); it is less significant to find the same symbol held by a river-god (Panyosos? Mionnet, no. 893; 894), the

cornucopiae being a common attribute of this class of divinities. Prof. Gardner however is inclined to find a material connection between this reclining figure and the standing god of the other coins.

at Paramythia about the year 1792¹. It seems to be the only object of silver among a large number of bronzes; traces of gilding are still observable. We see Sarapis standing in a dignified position of repose. Long hair and long beard enhance this effect. A long and ample chiton with short sleeves falls down to the feet, and a large himation fastened on the left shoulder and going slantwise across the breast envelops the body in a double layer. The modius covers the head, the extended right hand holds a patera, in the left arm rests a large cornucopiae richly filled with fruits. No doubt this charming little statuette is no Roman work but, like all the rest



SILVER STATUETTE: BRIT. MUS.

of that celebrated find, belongs to the Hellenistic period, and is valuable also in this respect,—that it seems to be one of the oldest certain representations extant of Sarapis, older than any of the statues of the sitting god preserved to us, with the only exception of the bronze statuette found together with it. Already Payne-Knight in his manuscript notes drew attention to another monument which indeed offers the greatest resemblance to the statuette, a sardonix of the Orleans Collection, now at St. Petersburg, of which several replicas are known². Formerly it was referred to Juppiter Exsuper-

¹ Comp. Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Brit.* p. 118; 119; 120, and the references given in note 313.

² Sardonix: Petersburg, A 4, 6, 19. Causeus de la Chaussée, *Gemme ant.* pl. 126. Inghirami, *Mon. ctr.* vi. pl. K, 1.

—Niccolo: Millin, *Pierres grav.* pl. 3. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* 2 ed., ii. 2, 28 (not in the third edition).—Vetro: Cades, *Impronte gemm.* cl. i. A. 73.—Comp. Wieseler, *l.l.* Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1873, p. 150; 1877, p. 100.

antissimus, more recently it has been considered as Dionysos, Dionysos-Hades, or some pantheistic divinity. The long and full drapery, including the slanting arrangement of the himation, as well as the attributes are so completely in accordance with the statuette from Paramythia, that the signification of the figure as a Sarapis, which I had conjectured before knowing the statuette, now may pass as firmly established. The style has a smack of archaism, of which something appears also in the statuette, for instance in the style of hair-dressing at the neck. The chief novelty of the gem consists in the butterfly hovering over the patera. Taking the insect as the image of



MARBLE STATUE: FROM MAFFEI.

the soul, the representation is as easily explained with regard to Sarapis as in any of the former interpretations, *ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν ἔτι οὗτος ἀρχῶν ἀνθρώποις*

x 2

μένει...σωτήρ αὐτὸς καὶ ψυχοπομπός, ἄγων εἰς φῶς καὶ πάλιν δεχόμενος, πανταχῇ πάντας περιέχων¹.

Another instance of Sarapis with the cornucopiae is afforded by a marble statue, now lost sight of, which is known only by an engraving in Maffei's *Museum Veronense*². The movement is similar to that in the Florentine bronze and in the later coins of Odessos. The god stands on the left leg, the right gently bent; the head, covered with the modius, turns a little to its right, in harmony with the right arm stretched forward: no doubt the lost hand once held a patera. The left arm is bent at a right angle; the engraving shews distinctly the remains of the cornucopiae. The drapery is nearly the same as in the Florence bronze; also the shortness of the chiton corresponds with it, in opposition to the more dignified χιτῶν ποδήρης of the coins, the silver statuette, &c.

Sarapis seems also to be distinguishable on two wall-paintings of Pompei³. The one (no. 80, *casa delle Ammazoni*), now destroyed, represented Harpokrates placed between Isis and 'a bearded male figure, with gold-coloured lotos above the forehead, with a pail in his right and a cornucopiae in the left hand.' Nothing is said about the dress. The 'lotos', instead of the modius, is known from the old Ptolemaic coins (see p. 291); the pail reminds us of the box and the basket held by the god in some later coins (see p. 298): these objects consequently are at least not inconsistent with the supposition of Sarapis. On the other picture (no. 79, house of Julia Felix), now in the museum at Naples, Isis enthroned is surrounded by Anubis and 'a much-injured figure, the sex of which cannot be distinctly made out, clad in long light-coloured tunica and dark upper-garment, resting the left hand on a staff, and holding in the right a cornucopiae from which projects a long branch'. Also one of the lateral walls of this little sanctuary contained 'a male figure, clad in a mantle, with a cornucopiae in both hands'. Probably these figures were meant to represent the same divinity which, in such a company, could scarcely be any one but Sarapis.

¹ Aristides, *or. in Sar.* p. 54 ed. Jebb.

² Pag. 76, 5. The letterpress contains not a word about the statue.

³ Helbig, *Wandgemaelde*, p. 26, no. 79; 80, both from private houses; comp. Lafaye, p. 326, no. 216; 217.

Finally we return to the god on the Xanthian relief with which we began. The long chiton has, an exceptional detail, no sleeves; the arrangement of the himation is simpler and poorer than on the other monuments; the rather stiff position wants that lively movement which is observable in the statues and on the coins. As, however, the left leg evidently was a little bent, the impression of stiffness may to a certain degree be due to the awkwardness of the Lycian copier. A very small modius of unusual shape rests on the god's head, the hair hangs deeply down on to the nape of the neck. The extended right hand retains a battered fragment of the patera it once held. In the left arm rests the huge cornucopiae, the upper half of which is striated like the cornucopiae on the coins of certain Ptolemies, particularly of Arsinoë Philadelphos¹. Here, too, a bunch of grapes hangs down, and other fruits fill up the horn; but quite singular is the addition of two bull's horns. Evidently they contain an allusion to Apis, whose essence and name had been incorporated by Sar-apis. I do not find any other monumental analogy, except the doubtful one of a coin struck in the Hypselite nome in the eleventh year of Hadrian (Pl. E. 13), on which a deity, with a lotos on his head (Sarapis? Osiris?), holding a staff in the left, bears an Apis on his right hand². The more interesting is our marble, especially as what has been said at the beginning leaves no doubt that we have not to deal with the arbitrary device of a Lycian statuary mason, but that our relief is the exact copy of a statue.

Origin of Sarapis' cornucopiae.—The horns of Apis in the cornucopiae, and the butterfly of the Petersburg sardonix point to the region in which we have to search the explanation of the cornucopiae as a symbol of Sarapis. Among the gods of the Greek religion, two are nearest to him in external appearance, the Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων and Pluto, the genuine Attic euphemistic substitute for sullen Hades, a friendly god to whose images ἔπεστιν οὐδὲν φοβερὸν³. They are so similar to one another that in many instances it is difficult to make out which of the two is meant. An *Agathos Daimon*, with his name appended, occurs on an Athenian votive relief⁴, with long hair, bearded,

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Ptolemies*, pl. 8.

² Zoega, p. 124, 225 Ἰψηλί(τῶν).

A similar Osiris occurs on the contem-

porary coins of Diospolis, *ib.* p. 125, 231.

³ Paus. i. 28, 6.

⁴ Schoene, *griech. Reliefs*, pl. 26,

clad in a long chiton and a himation, holding in both hands a large cornucopiae. He appears again with cornucopiae and patera on a votive relief from Megara, now at Berlin¹. On the other hand, Pluto is represented on Attic vases as bearing a cornucopiae², occasionally also a sceptre³; other Attic or neo-Attic works give him the same attributes but limit his drapery to the himation alone⁴. Doubtful is the decision as to some other monuments, a vase from Nola which shows the god white-haired and fully draped, with sceptre and cornucopiae, in company with the Eleusinian divinities⁵, an Attic relief in the British Museum⁶, and a statue apparently very similar in Cataio⁷; in both of them the god, fully draped, bears in the left arm a large cornucopiae, the right, which hangs down, being broken. The similar appearance of the two gods is not due to chance, as Agathodaemon, the *Bonus Eventus* of the Romans, masters the riches of the earth and its abundant produce in nearly the same way as the Attic *Πλούτων, φερέσβιος, πλουτοδότης, Εὐβουλεύς*, the companion of Demeter, and partaker of the Eleusinian worship⁸. Now, asking from which of the two the standing Sarapis may have borrowed his external characteristics, and especially his cornucopiae, it appears more natural to suppose that, as Sarapis enthroned is but a variation of Hades, so Sarapis standing stands in similar relation to Pluto, with whom he is also substantially connected. This supposition is supported by those Alexandrian coins of *Sarapis pantheus* of which we spoke on p. 301. By the side of the symbols of Zeus and Poseidon, the cornucopiae no doubt represents the third son of Kronos. In a similar way on an archaistic relief⁹, the

109. A youthful representation of the same god appears on a Cyrenæan relief at Edinburgh (*Anc. Marbles*, p. 208, no. 3. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884, p. 157).

¹ Berlin, no. 679. Wieseler, *Abb. der Gött. Ges.* vol. xx. Furtwängler, *Samml. Sabouroff*, pl. 27.

² *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.* vi. 58.

³ Naples, no. 3091 (Heydemann). Förster, *Raub der Persephone*, pl. 2. Overbeck, *Atlas z. Kunstmyth.* pl. 18, 11.

⁴ Vase in the Brit. Museum, no. 811. *Mon. Ined. dell' Inst.* v. 49: cornucopiae. Reliefs in Pal. Albani (Matz-

Duhn, no. 3494. Zoega, *Bassir.* i. 1. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. 7, 76), and in the Lateran Museum (no. 460. Benndorf and Schoene, pl. 14, comp. Matz-Duhn, iii. p. 16): sceptre and cornucopiae.

⁵ *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.* i. 4. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. 9, 110, with Wieseler's remarks.

⁶ *Anc. Marbles Brit. Mus.* xi. 47, 'Plutus and Fortune.'

⁷ Dütschke, *ant. Bildw. in Oberitalien*, v. no. 102.

⁸ Foucart, *Bull. Hellén.* 1883, p. 387.

⁹ *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861, p. 86.

triple Zeus is endowed with thunderbolt trident and cornucopiae. The latter symbol has the same meaning with Sarapis as with the Attic Pluto, and is just as characteristic for the donor of blessing represented in these standing figures, as Kerberos is for the enthroned master of the shadows.

To sum up: the Hellenistic epoch produced two artistic types of the Graeco-Egyptian Sarapis. The enthroned god, derived from the Greek Hades, and accompanied by the hell-hound, was the truer representative of the old Egyptian Osiris-Apis; and by his dignified appearance was best fit to become the standard image of the new master of the world. Beside him, the Attic substitute for Hades, Pluto, became the prototype of Sarapis standing, a milder god whose cornucopiae promised all kinds of bliss and happiness to his adorers. The seated Sarapis, fixed in his external features by the statue of the chief Alexandrian temple, has remained almost unaltered through all antiquity. The standing god in his first artistic incarnation did not meet with the same favour but had in later times to undergo various changes. One of these, our first type, was little else but an attempt to transform the sitting god into a standing position. Another variation, our second type, replaced the cornucopiae of the original standing type by the action of blessing. The third type, finally, gave more prominence to the sceptre as to the most characteristic symbol of power and dominion and, occasionally, strengthened this idea by placing the god on a globe. On the whole, Sarapis standing has shown a greater vitality and faculty of development than the enthroned god, and the various forms under which he appears are a proof that in Roman times this more agile and versatile type better answered the need of his believers to represent their god as at once a benevolent and an omnipotent lord of the universe.

Tyche.—Sarapis is accompanied on our relief by a goddess of similar appearance, in which it is easy to recognise Tyche by the mural crown, the large cornucopiae, and the rudder. To be sure, one would rather expect to find Sarapis united with Isis, but all those peculiarities in dress and attributes which are characteristic for that goddess are here wanting. It is well known, however, that Isis and Tyche stand in close relation to one another, and that Isis-Tyche is one of the frequent figures of the late theocracy. Quite recently excavations on the Esquiline

have brought to light a *lararium*, the main figure of which is a statue of Fortune with the head-ornament of Isis; among the other sculptural decorations of the small sanctuary are a marble statuette of Sarapis enthroned, and a bust, life-size, of the same god¹. Precisely that close relation between the two goddesses may explain the fact that Tyche has taken the place of Isis. Indeed Sarapis and Tyche are occasionally found combined on imperial coins of Alexandria. Such a coin of Trajan has already been dealt with on p. 301. Coins of Antoninus Pius show Sarapis sitting on a ship, between the standing figures of Demeter and Tyche (Pl. E. 14)². The same two goddesses (Tyche, at least, is distinctly characterised by the rudder and the cornucopiae) surround the enthroned god on coins of M. Aurelius, Faustina, his wife, and Aelius Verus³, the standing god on coins of Commodus⁴. It is less certain whether the female characterised only by a cornucopiae who is about to crown Sarapis, on coins of Verus⁵, means Tyche, as that symbol is associated with too many goddesses to allow a positive decision. At any rate, the union of the Graeco-Egyptian Sarapis and the common-Greek Tyche is highly characteristic for a later epoch in which precisely these two divinities occupied an exceptionally high place in the religious belief of departing paganism.

The most striking feature of the Tyche of our relief is the very simple drapery. The Attic chiton without sleeves falls down to the feet ungirdled, covered in its upper portion by a short upper garment equally ungirdled (*ἀπὸ πτυγμᾶ*)⁶. Usually Tyche appears in full dress, in girt chiton and mantle, more matron-like in her whole character. The dress as above described is rather that of Artemis and other virgins. However some similar instances can be adduced. I do not quote a bronze statuette of Naples in a similar attire, as the want of all attributes and the original presence of wings suggest rather Nike than Tyche⁷. A certain Tyche is afforded by a marble statue at

¹ *Bull. comun. di Roma*, 1885, pl. 2, 3; for more instances see C. L. Visconti, *ibid.* p. 29.

² Zoega, p. 163, 3; 4.

³ Zoega, p. 218, 67; 236, 4; 230, 15.

⁴ Zoega, p. 244, 86.

⁵ Zoega, p. 232, 27, pl. 14, 7.

⁶ Bochlau, *quaestiones de re vestitaria Graecorum*, Weimar 1884, p. 17; 55.

⁷ *Antich. di Ercol.* vi. 24. *Museo Borbon.* iii. 26. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. 73, 926, with Wieseler's letterpress.

Madrid¹, with rudder and cornucopiae, in chiton ungirded but for a belt going slantwise over the breast crossing the upper-garment. This arrangement is especially customary in statues of Artemis; nay, some scholars incline to refer all similar statues to this goddess and consider other attributions as a result of false restorations². Wrongly; a statue of this kind in the British Museum³ clearly proves, by a head wreathed with ivy, and the panther at her feet, that the figure belongs to the Bacchic cycle, and in the Madrid statue there remains enough of the original attributes to establish the signification as Tyche. One might consequently raise the question whether some of the other replicas⁴ would be more correctly restored as Tyche, but it would lead us too far out of our way to follow this line. I shall rather direct attention to an Athenian tetradrachm with the names of the magistrates Eumelos and Kalliphon (Pl. E. 15)⁵, on which a goddess in similar attire (except the crossing belt) appears with a cornucopiae in her left, and a patera in her right hand. Evidently the coin reproduces a well-known statue. The excellence of the above mentioned statuary type made Brunn think of Praxitelean art⁶. Perhaps the coin may represent the *Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη* of that artist⁷. Still closer is the relation to the coin and to our relief in two statues at Stockholm⁸ and at Dresden⁹. Both shew the same simple dress, both have the arms hanging down so as to be able to receive the same attributes, both exhibit the same vertical row of folds hanging down between the legs, a favourite arrangement in works of the later Hellenistic and of Roman art, for instance on many

¹ Huebner, *ant. Bildw. in Madrid*, no. 33. Clarac, iii. 410 H, 837 H.

² See Lützow, *Münchener Antiken*, p. 15.

³ Graeco-Roman Sculpt. no. 198. *Anc. Marbles*, x. 23. Clarac, iv. 696 B, 1621 A. Ellis, Townley Gallery, i. p. 215. Vaux, *Handbook*, p. 210.

⁴ Clarac, iii. 452, 826 (Torlonia); 468, 883 (Chiaramonti); 471, 899 (Vescovali). The signification as an Artemis seems fully established by a hole destined for the quiver in the excellent Braschi statue at Munich, no. 113. Lützow, *Münchn. Ant.* pl. 7. Clarac, iv. 449, 790.

⁵ Beulé, *monn. d'Athènes*, p. 295. To be sure, the specimen of the British Museum, reproduced on our plate, shews the chiton girt, deviating in this detail from Beulé's engraving.

⁶ *Glyptothek*, no. 113.

⁷ Plin. xxxvi. 23. On the relief in Schoene, *griech. Reliefs*, pl. 26, 109, Agathe Tyche is a veiled female of matronly appearance.

⁸ Clarac, iii. 420 B, 719 B. Heydemann, *arch. Zeit.* 1865, p. 162*, no. 13. Wieseler, *Philologus*, xxvii. p. 221.

⁹ No. 221 (Hettner). Clarac, iii. 438 C, 757 A.

sepulchral reliefs from Rheneia, and on Archelaos' so-called Apotheosis of Homer. At any rate the Tyche of our relief is interesting as affording a certain instance of this goddess in youthful form at a time when the powerful governess of human fate was usually represented in matronly dignity.

BACK OF THE MARBLE.

Description.—In strict contrast to the architectural shrine surrounding the two divinities, the back of the marble, of rather rough execution, is entirely occupied by rocks which extend to the very margin of the block. Unfortunately the lower part is disfigured by a considerable gap. The whole relief offers the image of a cave, so as to remind one at the first glance of the well-known Mithraic reliefs. From the left there approaches through a kind of entrance a bearded archer in oriental costume, raising his arrow. Immediately before him we observe the remains of a great dog rapidly descending. Above the bowman appears on the edge of the projecting rock a jackal rather than a fox; above the cave there is a locust and a great lizard; at the right upper angle an indistinct object which I once took to be a snail without a shell, but which, as Prof. Gardner maintains, is rather a cicada, like those which appear on coins of Athens. On the right side the rocky edge of the cave occupies the whole margin. To the left of it, within the cave, again appear animals, at the top in a special recess a bear (not a boar) rushing forth, one half of him being visible; beneath a stork, on a rock, under which a fragment of a bird apparently aquatic is preserved; at the bottom the hind quarters of a bull rushing forward with the tail twisted and raised.

No word is required to prove that there cannot here be question of a common chase. Few of these animals would be a suitable mark for the archer's arrows. On the contrary the attention of the man and the animals is equally directed towards the centre, and there can scarcely exist any doubt that their combined attack is aimed at a huge high object in the midst of the relief, the upper end of which, close to the ceiling of the cave, is still recognizable, whereas the lower portion is lost in the great gap. The direction of the

dog, and still more the attack of the bull, prove that that object once reached down to the bottom of the cave. We may conjecture that beneath the archer, opposite the bull, another adversary originally had a place. It is decidedly remarkable that, in opposition to the good preservation of the figures around, the attacked object itself is entirely destroyed. Except a small part at the top where the relief is preserved, we can only trace the outline; the main part of the object, which was probably represented in as high a relief as the depth of the cave allowed, has totally disappeared. The examination of the original marble serves to strengthen the impression caused by the photograph that the object has been destroyed intentionally. This fact cannot be without importance in exploring its meaning.

Prophylactic destination.—Every reader, I suppose, will at once remember a class of reliefs, as the most prominent example of which I may cite a small marble slab at Woburn Abbey, rightly explained by J. Millingen, and afterwards made the starting point of a suggestive inquiry on the superstition of the evil eye by Otto Jahn¹. The centre of that relief is occupied by a large eye; the brow forms as it were a rocky hill, and a stony ground is indicated also elsewhere. From all directions the evil eye is attacked, at the bottom by a lion, a serpent, a scorpion, a crane or stork, a raven; on the brow a sitting man, with Phrygian cap, by an unmistakeable gesture expresses his contempt for the evil eye, which a gladiator is attacking from the right with a trident. The upper left angle is wanting, but it may be supplied by the aid of a small, round lamina of gold found at Mayence in 1862, and acquired by Count M. de Robiano in Brussels². The menagerie here consists of a caterpillar, a swan, a tortoise, a crane or stork, a cicada (?), a dog or similar animal, a lizard, a snake; the man at the top sits with extended arms, and wears no Phrygian cap;

¹ Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, p. 731, no. 99. *Woburn Abbey Marbles*, pl. 14. Millingen in *Archæologia*, xix. p. 70. O. Jahn in *Berichte d. Sächs. Ges.* 1855, p. 28-110.

² The owner, passing from Mayence to Brussels, showed it to Jahn in Bonn, where I had an opportunity of examin-

ing and slightly sketching it; comp. *arch. Zeitung*, 1874, p. 69. The very thin lamina has a diameter of 0.03 m., and is provided with a short chain, evidently on account of its serving as an *apotropaion*. The representation is encircled with a row of beads.

opposite the *retiarius* with his trident a second gladiator (*secutor*¹) is at work, armed with a large square shield and a sword. Other instances of the evil eye surrounded and attacked by various animals, with which sometimes is joined a phallus, may be found on Jahn's third plate². The meaning of these compositions is clear. The hostile power of the *malocchio* is to be broken by the united attack of the animals, or of the men and the animals, to which a prophylactic force is assigned. The same idea is but slightly varied when such animals (scorpion, snail, frog), together with a phallus encircle the opening of a terracotta lamp³, in order to protect it from any evil influence and to assure harmless burning to the flame.

In this direction we must search for the meaning of our relief too. The archer in oriental dress, on our marble of Asiatic origin, may appropriately be compared with the man with the Phrygian cap, and particularly with the gladiators, of the Italian monuments. Among the animals, the dog⁴, the cicada⁵, the lizard⁶, the locust⁷, the stork or crane⁸, the other bird⁹, are sufficiently known by other representations as creatures to which a prophylactic power was ascribed. As to the jackal, the bear, the bull, I have no adequate examples to cite; the bull's head however is frequently used as *apotropaion*¹⁰. On the whole, the accordance is great enough to permit us to take the prophylactic meaning of the secondary figures of our relief for granted.

Fascinum.—Who, then, is the enemy at whom the attack is aimed? Certainly not the evil eye. Unless I am quite mistaken the outlines and the preserved top lead us to recognise nothing else but a phallus or *fascinum* as represented. First of all, this would best explain the thoroughness with which the scandalous object, and this alone, has been destroyed. We may call to mind the similar *scalpellata* with which the filthy demon Tychon

¹ P. J. Meier, *de gladiatura Romana*, Bonn 1881, p. 19.

² Comp. p. 96.

³ Jahn, pl. 4, 1 (Berlin). A nearly identical lamp is in the British Museum.

⁴ Jahn, p. 98.

⁵ Jahn, p. 36. Stephani, *C.R.* 1865, p. 84; 1869, p. 130; 1880, p. 98.

⁶ Jahn, p. 99; 106. Dilthey *Archaeol.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterrsch.*, 1878, p. 53.

⁷ Jahn, p. 36.

⁸ Woburn Abbey relief. Stephani, *C.R.* 1865, p. 107. See below.

⁹ Many birds on similar monuments, comp. Jahn, p. 96.

¹⁰ Jahn, p. 58.

on a relief of Aquileia has been taught decency by its pious owner¹. Moreover, *fascina* of similar dimensions occur even in the round. They commonly sit on lion's or hare's legs, and are provided with an animal's tail, the whole figure giving the impression of an animal sitting upright. The most famous instance is the marble phallus of the Florentine Museum which measures not less than 1.36 m., and is decorated with a collar of various prophylactical symbols or *περιάμματα*². A similar one of marble, but of more modest dimensions (0.36 m.), embellished by a bearded human head of dignified expression, is preserved in the Museum at Tarragona³. A third example of simpler appearance is among the Dal Pozzo drawings in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle⁴. The proportions of the extant remains on the Xanthian relief are such as to allow a restoration according to these models; the feet and the lower portions of the sitting monster would have been at the bottom of the cave, on the level of the bull and its lost counterpart.

The phallus, as is well known, was considered by the ancients as one of the most effective expedients against every influence of envy, the evil eye and similar magical spells. Therefore it was so much used to protect walls and buildings of every description; our relief too seems to have belonged to some edifice. The peculiar feature of our instance consists in the circumstance that here the *fascinum* is attacked by such animals as share with it prophylactic qualities, whereas otherwise they are used to attack noxious objects like the evil eye. This objection however is not sufficient to disprove the supposition that a *fascinum* is really in question. There are a few instances which can appropriately be compared. Among the phallic reliefs of the amphitheatre at Nîmes there is one on which a strangely shaped phallus is pecked at by birds⁵; and a bronze of the *Cabinet des*

¹ Müller-Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. 73, 936; comp. Bertoli, *antich. di Aquileia*, p. 33.—I must not omit to state that some London friends, examining the marble, entertained some doubts about the justice of my supposition. The reader may judge himself from the photograph, and from what I have to observe on the matter.

² *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1843, p. 58.

³ Not in the catalogue of Huebner, who sent a drawing to O. Jahn.

⁴ Comp. Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles in Gr. Brit.* p. 719, vol. xiii. (*Disegni di varie antichità, Nettuno*), fol. 142, no. 608. For more instances see Jahn, p. 74, note 181; p. 78.

⁵ Maucombe, *hist. abr. de la ville de Nîmes* (or *Guide des voy. à Nîmes*), ii. pl. 7, 20.

Antiques at Paris shews a stork biting vigorously at a phallus¹, a representation which may be compared with the stork on our marble attacking the adversary with his beak widely opened. The action of attacking being expressed in the archer as well as in the animals with too great preciseness for us to take them barely as strengthening the prophylactic power of the main symbol, nothing is left to us but to suppose that in these combinations the *fascinum* itself was considered as being a dangerous evil-menacing adversary. For the phallus attacked and, as it were, brought into check by its prophylactic adversaries cannot be essentially different from the evil eye surrounded and menaced by foes of the same kind. The reason of this double employment of the phallic symbol is obvious. No prophylactic symbol can exercise its power of averting evil without defeating, or at least paralysing, every evil-menacing adversary. Thus the Medusa's head, as is well known, possesses the power of petrifying whatever it looks at; precisely on this account there is scarcely a more effective and more favourite means of protecting objects from envy and all other noxious influences than by affixing to them the *Γοργεῖν κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου*. Likewise the *malocchio* not only brings harm, but the image of the eye has also the power of paralysing the pernicious effects of the *βάσκανοι* or *jettatori*. The same will be the case with the phallus. This, too, cannot be prophylactic without itself bringing evil to its adversaries, and therefore it is that it can become the object of the combined attack of other prophylactic animals. Indeed, the word *fascinum* mostly signifies, like *βασκάνιον, προβασκάνιον*, the means of preventing any kind of spell and enchantment, but *βασκαίνειν, fascinare*, signifies to bewitch, and *fascinum* itself means also spell and bewitchment. There may have been a double range of ideas in the mind of those who employed such symbols: to whomsoever is envious or malevolent towards me, I shall oppose the evil eye or the phallus, and against whomsoever is menacing me with those symbols, I shall direct a host of demoniac powers, in order to paralyse his hostile attack. Among the monuments preserved to us there are many which illustrate the double employment of the evil eye; phallic symbols are usually employed in the former sense. It is not the least interesting

¹ Bachofen, *Mutterrecht*, pl. 9, 3.

feature of our relief to afford a new document of the other rather rare method of employing that symbol.—

Connection between front and back.—Finally the combination of this superstitious representation with the divinities figured on the front requires an explanation. On a travertine slab let into the wall over a baker's oven at Pompeii, a phallus is painted in the midst of the inscription *hic habitat Felicitas*¹. Thus in our relief, to the powerful masters of the world and of human fortune, who procure for mankind with their cornucopiae plenty of bliss and riches, a representation is added which is intended to protect this good luck from pernicious influences. *Nullo fascino felicitas publica mordeatur*, says Symmachus in a letter to Ausonius². The same idea which is here as it were divided into two parts appears undivided in a strange figure on a rare silver coin of Tarentum³, a small, paunchy, phallic, Pan-like daemon, crouching and holding in his hands patera and cornucopiae. But there is also another point of view from which the relation between front and back may be looked at. Superstitious imaginations followed a natural tendency towards various kinds of foreign worship, and among these alien θεοὶ ἀλεξίκακοι not the last place is due to Sarapis⁴. This god directed the sick people to Vespasian, when in Alexandria, that he might render sight to the blind, and restore the use of his legs to the lame⁵. Sarapis appears, now in full length, now as a bust, on those feet of marble or bronze which refer to happy return from wandering⁶; Sarapis recurs on those votive hands of bronze, the figurative ornaments of which are so closely connected with the superstitious ideas above discussed⁷. Νικᾶ ὁ Σάραπισ τὸν φθόνον is the inscription

¹ *C. I. Lat.* iv. 1454. Gell and Gandy, *Pompeiana*, pl. 38. *Cab. secret de Naples*, pl. 9, 2. Arditì, *il fascino*, Naples 1825.

² *Epist.* i. 13.

³ Berlin, see Jahn, pl. 4, 13; p. 90.

⁴ Jahn, p. 46; 101.—I omit intentionally to mention the phallophories frequent as well in ancient Egyptian reliefs, as in the gorgeous processions at the court of the Ptolemies (Athen. v. 33, p. 201 E). As far as I can understand, in all these instances, the

phallus is not used in a prophylactic sense, but as a symbol of generation and fertility.

⁵ Tac. *hist.* iv. 83. Suet. *Vespas.* 7.

⁶ Jahn, p. 103. The costume seems to have originated in Egypt; comp. the Alexandrian coin of Commodus, Zoega, pl. 14, 17.

⁷ Jahn, p. 101. Berlin: Montfaucon, *Ant. expl.* ii. pl. 137, 1. Jahn, pl. 4, 2.—Rome, *Mus. Kircher.*: Bonanni, *Mus. Kircher.* cl i. 25, p. 83. Montfaucon, ii. pl. 137, 3.—On the foreign,

of an engraved onyx, the obverse of which shews the image of that god¹. What could be more natural than to combine on the same marble Sarapis and the *βασκάνιον* of the phallus surrounded by its enemies? The whole idea of the composition might be summed up in the words of an inscription²:

εἰς Ζεὺς Σέραπης· βάσκανος λακησέτω.

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSBURG.

perhaps Egyptian, origin of these
votive hands comp. Dilthey *archaeol.-*
epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich, 1878,
p. 59.

¹ Gori, *inscr. Etr.* i. p. lxiv.

² Fabretti, *inscr. ant.* p. 468, no.
104. *C. I. Gr.* 8515.

THE HOMERIC LAND SYSTEM.

THE object of the following pages, the substance of which was read before the Cambridge Branch of the Hellenic Society in 1883, is to examine into the true nature of the land-system of the Greeks of the Homeric age by means of the evidence contained in the poems themselves.

On *à priori* grounds we might have expected, or at least should not be surprised, to find in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* some traces of that primitive system known as the 'Open-Field' or 'Common-Field' system of agriculture, which the researches of recent years have proved to have once prevailed over a great part of the earth, and of which many survivals still exist.

Such an assumption with regard to the Greeks derives further support from the words of Aristotle (*Pol.* i. 1), where he describes the evolution of the πόλις from the οἰκία through the medium of the κώμη, and by the terms ὁμοσίπνοι and ὁμόκαποι (= ὁμόκηποι) quoted from Charondas and Epimenides respectively, seems to indicate the existence in Hellas at some time or other of what are now known as House Communities. From another passage (*Pol.* ii. 4, 1263a, 4), it is almost certain that nowhere amongst the Hellenes of his own day did he find any such forms of community: for when he makes mention of such customs of cultivation in common, he ascribes them to ἔνια τῶν ἐθνῶν and τινὲς τῶν βαρβάρων. If such village or house communities were known to Charondas and Epimenides, there is an *à fortiori* probability of the prevalence of such in still earlier times.

Let us now proceed with the positive evidence of the poems.

That such things as common fields existed, seems proved by a noteworthy passage in the *Iliad*—

ἀλλ' ὥστ' ἀμφ' οὔροισι δὺ' ἀνέρε δηριάασθον
μέτρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, ἐπιξύνῳ ἐν ἀρούρῃ,
ὥτ' ὀλίγῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐρίζητον περὶ ἴσης,
ὡς ἄρα τοὺς διέεργον ἐπάλξιες, κ.τ.λ. (xii. 421–24.)

The words ἐπιξύνῳ ἐν ἀρούρῃ would of themselves offer some proof of the institution of common fields, even if no further evidence could be adduced. Before proceeding any further, the word οὔροισι opens up a question of considerable importance. On turning to Ebeling's Lexicon, under the word οὔρον we find references to three well-known passages :

(1) *Il.* x. 351, *seqq.*—

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἀπέην ὅσσον τ' ἐπὶ οὔρα πέλονται
ἡμιόνων—αἱ γάρ τε βοῶν προφερέστεραί εἰσιν
ἐλκόμεναι νειοῖο βαθείης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον—
τῷ μὲν ἐπεδραμέτην, κ.τ.λ.

(2) *Od.* viii. 124–25—

ὅσσον τ' ἐν νειῷ οὔρον πέλει ἡμιονοῖν,
τόσσον ὑπεκπροθέων λαοὺς ἕκεθ', οἱ δ' ἐλίποντο.

(3) *Il.* xxiii. 431–33—

ὅσσα δὲ δίσκου οὔρα κατωμαδίῳοι πέλονται,
ὅντ' αἰζήδης ἀφῆκεν ἀνὴρ, πειρώμενος ἥβης,
τόσσον ἐπεδραμέτην.

(With the last passage quoted we may compare *Iliad* xxiii. 523—

ἀτὰρ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἐς δίσκουρα λέλειπτο.)

Now in *Iliad* xxi. 403, *seqq.* we read how Athene in her combat with Ares—

ἀναχασσαμένη λίθον εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ
κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ μέλανα, τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε
τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὔρον ἀρούρης.

The Lexicographers take this οὔρον ἀρούρης, and linking it with οὔροισι in the passage from which we started, thrust them under the head of οὔρος = Ionic form of ὄρος, a boundary, of which, however, no other instances are given from Homer.

Yet why need we sever these two words from the neuter *οὔρον* and place them in a separate category? Why may not the neuter form *οὔρον* have been used in the poems, corresponding to the masculine *οὔρος* found in Herodotus, *ὄρος* in Attic, and *ὄρος* (with *ἄντορος*, *μέσσορος*) found in the Heracleian inscriptions? Similar parallel forms are to be seen in the case of *στάδια* and *στάδιοι*, the latter of which implies a singular masculine, *στάδιος*, which are used indifferently by Herodotus. It is also worth noticing that Apollonius Rhodius (ii. 795) uses *οὔρα* simply in the general sense of *boundaries*—*ὄφρ' ἐβάλοντο—οὔρα βαθυρρείοντος ὑφ' εἰαμεναῖς Ἑπίοιο*—just as in later Greek *ὄροι* is used in an extended sense, as well as in the special sense of *landmarks*.

This much, at all events, is certain, that *οὔρα ἡμιόνων*, *οὔρον ἀρούρης*, and the *οὔροισι ἐπιξύνφ ἐν ἀρούρῃ*, all relate to arable land. Here, then, comes the question, What are the *οὔρα ἡμιόνων*, which from *Il. x. 351*, evidently are greater than the *οὔρα* of oxen? In reference to this passage, Liddell and Scott say, 'whence the common explanation (derived from Aristarchus), viz. that the distance meant is that by which mules would distance oxen in ploughing a given space in the same time.' This explanation is got from the *Scholia ad locum*, which run as follows—

Ἀρίσταρχος οὕτως ἐξηγήσατο. ὅσον, φησίν, ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ ὁμοῦ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀφεθέντος καὶ ἀπολυθέντος ζεύγους ἡμιόνων καὶ ζεύγους ἄλλου βοῶν φθάσῃ καὶ προλάβῃ τὰς βοῦς αἱ ἡμίονοι (ταχύτεραι γάρ εἰσι τῶν βοῶν), τοσοῦτον, φησίν, ἐάσαντες διάστημα παρελθεῖν τὸν Δόλωνα μεταστραφέντες ἐδίωξαν.

That this, when properly understood, contains the true meaning, I hope to prove. We can hardly allow that *οὔρα* can refer to a portion of a single *furrow*, although Scholl. AV *ad locum* say: *ἡλίκον ὄρμημα γίνεταί τῶν ἡμιόνων τεμνόντων αὐλακα. οὔρα τὰ ὄρια καὶ πέρατα τῆς αὐλακος, ἣν τὸ ὀρικὸν ζεύγος τέμνει. ὅσον ἀροτριῶσα ἡμίονος ὑπὸ μίαν ὄρμην ὑπογράφειν δύναται, ὃ ἔστι πλέθρον.*

Next it is manifest from *Od. viii. 124*, that the *οὔρον ἡμιονοῦν* is an absolute, and not a relative measure, inasmuch as there is no mention of oxen in that passage. In reference to this point we ought to remark that the *Scholia* last cited tend in the same

direction, since in their several attempts at explanation no reference is made to oxen. Now can the *οὔρα* be the *πέρατα αὔλακος*, the *headlands*? Hardly so. For we have a distinctive term, *τέλσον ἀρούρης* (*Il.* xviii. 544), for those limits of the field at which lie the extremities of the furrows. Now as we have seen that *οὔρον ἀρούρης* (*Il.* cc.) must refer to certain boundaries, and as these boundaries cannot be the headlands or *ends* of the field, they must of necessity be the *sides*.

A simple explanation of *οὔρα* will now suggest itself. We have here an ancient unit of land measure, a day's ploughing of a yoke of oxen or a yoke of mules. We must bear in mind that the length of the furrow, that is, the length of the field, was fixed by local custom in primitive communities. A good example is our own word *furlong*, which varies in length in England and Ireland (Seeböhm, *The English Village Community*, p. 4).

The length of the furrow or *furrow-long* probably depended on the distance which cattle could drag, and a man could steer, the plough without an 'easy,' and this in turn of course would depend on the nature of the soil. Mules, therefore, albeit more swift than oxen, would not plough a patch of land of greater *length* in one day than oxen; but inasmuch as the furrow-length was a standard fixed for oxen, as being the animals most commonly used for the plough, they would plough a patch of greater *breadth*. In other words, starting in the morning from one side (*οὔρον Α*) of the patch, the mules against they ploughed their last furrow (*οὔρον Β*) before unyoking in the evening (*βουλυτός*, with which cf. *τοῦ ζεύγους ἀπολυθέντος* of Aristarchus *supra*), would be further removed by many furrow-breadths from the side from which they had started, than a pair of oxen would be in case they had started from the same boundary at the same time, the swiftness of the mules having enabled them to cover more ground than the plodding oxen. The distance between the first and last furrows of a day's ploughing was termed *οὔρα*, just as the same word, as we have seen above, was applied to the distance traversed by the *δίσκος* from the hand of the thrower to the spot where it alighted. The *οὔρα*, then, in the Homeric fields, formed of stones, as we learn from *Il.* xxi. 405, served the same purpose as the *balks* of green turf in our English common fields (an example of which may still

be seen at Hildersham, near Cambridge). Such landmarks of stones are still used in Palestine, just as in ancient days, when the precept was given: 'Remove not the old landmark; and enter not into the fields of the fatherless' (Prov. xxiii. 10). No doubt boundary stones could be moved little by little without immediately exciting notice, in this respect being inferior to the continuous ridge of turf left permanently unploughed. The only way to detect fraud being to remeasure the patches, doubtless it is such a dispute as this, and such a resort to the measuring rod, which is pictured for us in the simile—

ὄσθ' ἀμφ' οὖροισι δὺ' ἀνέρε δηριάασθον
μέτρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, ἐπιξύνῃ ἐν ἀρούρῃ,
ὥτ' ὀλίγῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐρίζητον περὶ ἴσης,
ὥς ἄρα τοὺς διέεργον ἐπάλξεις· οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτέων
δῆλουν ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι βοείας, κ.τ.λ.

The ἐπάλξεις, across which the warriors fight, are likened unto the οὖρα, on each side of which the wrangling neighbours stand. This passage likewise puts beyond doubt the fact that the term οὖρα (or οὖροι) was applied not simply to the boundaries of one large field, but to the marks which separated the several patches, probably all of equal size [cf. ἐρίζητον περὶ ἴσης] into which the ἐπίξυνος ἄρουρα was divided. Such an explanation of οὖρον enables us to see clearly the meaning of the famous lines uttered by Andromache in her lament over her fatherless boy—

αἰεὶ τοι τούτῳ γε πόνος καὶ κήδε' ὀπίσσω
ἔσσοντ'· ἄλλοι γάρ οἱ ἀπουρίσσουσιν¹ ἀρούρας.

Il. xxii. 488–89.

Next comes the question, Do we find any definite surface measure in the poems? The answer to this is found by examining the two compound adjectives, πεντηκοντόγυος and τετράγυος, the former found in *Iliad* ix. 579 (τέμενος πεντηκοντόγυον), the latter in *Odyssey* vii. 113 (ὄρχατος τετράγυος) and (as a noun, τετράγυον) in *Odyssey* xviii. 374.

All scholars are familiar with Elmsley's remark that γύαι in

¹ There is also the var. lect. ἀπουρή-
σουσιν. I follow the explanation of

Eustathius (1282, 15), Sch. B., who
connect it with ὄρος and ἀφορίζω.

the Attic writers is always masculine, and therefore must come from a form γύης. Under γύης the Lexicons give two distinct words: (1) γύης = plough-stock, and (2) γύης = a measure of land. That the primitive Greek plough consisted of the γύης and nothing more, we learn from Hesiod's description (*Works*, 433) of the ἄροτρον αὐτόγυον, in which the ἔλυμα and ἰστοβοεὺς are all of one piece with the γύης, standing thus in contrast to the πηκτὸν ἄροτρον, formed of three separate pieces of wood. Such an implement (the most primitive of all forms, being simply a forked bough), according to Sir Charles Fellowes (*Travels*, etc., p. 52, where he gives an engraving of one), is still used in Asia Minor.¹

With respect to the τέμενος πεντηκοντόγυον, we learn from *Schol.* AD, E.M., 342, 23, that it was πεντήκοντα πλέθρων, οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα ζευγῶν. Another *Scholium* says, γύης μέτρον γῆς μικρῇ τῶν δέκα ὀργυιῶν ἔλασσον. ἡ ζυγόν, ἡ πλέθρον, ἡ ἑκατον ποδῶν. παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ ἐξήκοντα πηχῶν. Hesychius explains πεντηκοντόγυον by πεντηκοντοπέλεθρον. Is it overbold to assume that γύης μέτρον γῆς is identical with γύης = a plough? In that case we have a primitive land measure of a common type, viz., as much ground as one plough can till in one day (cf. Caruca and Carucata). The term ζυγόν, Lat. iugum, iugerum, is only another way of expressing the same measure, i.e. as much ground as a pair of oxen can plough in one day. It was only natural that as γύης ceased gradually to represent the whole plough, and finally denoted only a limited portion of the improved implement, other terms should be employed for denoting the land unit. If this view is correct, the reason why γύαι is always masculine is obvious. According to the *Scholia* the γύης is variously set down as a little less than 10 fathoms (= 60 feet), or as a πλέθρον (= 100 feet), or as 60 cubits (= 90 feet). This diversity need not surprise us, when we recollect how greatly the Hide and Virgate varied in extent even in the same counties in England. So likewise the Roman

¹ Mr. Bent, in his most interesting book, *The Cyclades*, p. 97, gives the following account of a plough which he saw in the island of Anaphi: "A plough in these parts is an exceedingly primitive article, somewhat similar to those which Homer would have seen if he had not

been blind. The chief ingredient in a plough is a tree with a trunk and two branches: one branch serves as a tail, and the other has a bit of iron fixed to it, and penetrates the ground; the trunk is the pole."

actus varied. The nature of the soil rendered such a variation inevitable, and likewise the kind of animals employed for draught. The mule-γύης would be greater in area than the ox-γύης.

How in the next place are we to explain the measurements of 100, 90, and 60 feet given by the Scholiasts? It is scarcely possible that they refer to square measure. Square measures are not found in primitive communities. Our own acre and rood afford an excellent illustration of the methods by which people who as yet have not made great advances in knowledge apportion out their land. The rood (= rod) was a portion of ground of a furrow's length, and in breadth a rod. Four such furrow-long strips made an acre, but by no means a *square* acre. The *length* of the field being a fixed measure, they simply spoke of so many *rods* or breadths of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet (cf. Seebohm, *op. cit.* p. 385). Furthermore, a patch of ground in area 60 feet x 60 feet would surely be too small a portion to represent a day's work even among the most lazy of peoples. Again, in spite of the dogmatic statements of the Lexicons, it is most improbable that the πέλεθρον of Homer was a square measure, not merely for the reason which I have just stated, but also from the fact that it is not until Plato that we find it used as a square measure (= 10,000 feet). Readers of Herodotus and Xenophon remember how they invariably find the πλέθρον as a measure of the *breadth* of rivers, etc.

It undoubtedly required the development of some skill in arithmetic to bring square measures into vogue. Finally the evidence of the poems is against our taking πέλεθρον as a square measure.

We find the word in two well-known passages: (1) in *Il.* xxi. 407, Ares, when overthrown by Athene, ἐπταῖ ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα πεσών; and (2) in *Od.* xi. 577, we read that Tityos ἐπ' ἐννέα κέϊτο πέλεθρα. In neither case does πέλεθρον refer to agriculture. This fact, taken together with the undoubted use of γύης as the agricultural unit, makes it evident that πέλεθρον is not used for an area or surface measure in Homer. Likewise, from its being used to describe the prostrate position of fallen giants, we should naturally regard it as a measure of *length* and not of area. In *Il.* xi. 353-54, we have a passage which has a very important bearing on this question. Diomedes has

hurled his spear at Hector, and has smitten him on the helm ; the spear glances off—

“Εκτωρ δ’ ὦκ’ ἀπέλεθρον ἀνέδραμε, μίκτο δ’ ὀμίλῳ.

At the best, it is not very Homeric to say ‘he quickly started back an immeasurable distance,’ or to say ‘immeasurably swiftly.’ Accordingly I conjectured ὦκα πέλεθρον, ‘he sprang back the distance of πέλεθρον.’ Afterwards I found that there is MS. authority (L) for such a division of the words. If this reading could be established, it would prove beyond doubt my view that Homer uses πέλεθρον as a measure of *length* only. How then did the πλέθρον come to be identified with the γῆς and ζυγόν? Was it because, given a furrow of fixed length, the average day’s ploughing would be a *breadth* (πλέ-θρον, cf. πλατύς, etc.) of 100 feet? The πλέθρον would thus be the distance from οὐρον to οὐρον, just as the English *acre* was measured from balk to balk. Similarly then, the length of the field being a fixed unit, the οὐρα of mules and the οὐρα of oxen came to be recognised as measures of area (cf. the terms Bovata and Ofgang). As further examples of a day’s work being taken as a unit of land measure, Mr. Seebohm (*op. cit.* 124) gives the Gallic *journal*, Low Latin *diurnalis* or *jurnalis*, and German *Morgen*, all employed to denote the patches in the common fields.

Let us now proceed by the negative method, and see what evidence can be obtained from that source.

Naturally one of the first questions to suggest itself in this connection is the law of succession to property. Let us see what light, if any, it throws on this matter. In *Il.* v. 153, *seqq.* we are told of one Phainops who

τείρετο γήραι λυγρῷ,
υἷόν δ’ οὐ τέκετ’ ἄλλον ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι λιπέσθαι.
ἐνθ’ ὄγε τοὺς ἐνάριζε, φίλον δ’ ἐξαίνυτο θυμὸν
ἀμφοτέρω, πατέρι δὲ γόνον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ
λείπ’, ἐπεὶ οὐ ζῶοντε μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντε
δέξατο· χηρωσταὶ δὲ διὰ κτήσιν दाτέοντο.

The κτεάτεσσι of l. 154 is represented in l. 158 by the collective noun κτήσις. As a preliminary we must examine the usage of κτήσις, κτήματα, κτέρας, and their cognates in the poems. If

the result of this examination is to show that by these terms *chattel* property, and that only, is meant, and that property in *land* is never included under them, it will have added a strong point to the argument. For if in the case of Phainops it is only chattel property which the *χωρῶσται* divide, and there is no mention whatever made of *land* either explicitly or implicitly, we are justified in drawing the inference that Phainops, rich though he was, had no severalty in land.

The meaning of *κτῆματα* cannot be mistaken in *Il.* iii. 70, 72; vii. 350, 363; xiii. 626. In all these cases they are the valuables carried off along with Helen by Paris. Neither can we have any doubt of its sense in *Il.* ix. 382 (*ὅθι πλείστα δόμοις ἐν κτῆματα κεῖται*), nor in *Od.* iv. 127, where the same formula appears, referring in each case to Egyptian Thebes. We get a clear view of *κτῆσις* from *Il.* xiv. 489–91;—

ὁ δ' οὔτασεν Ἴλιονῆα,
υἷὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα
Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ κτῆσιν ὅπασσεν.

Here the epithet *πολύμηλος* elucidates it for us.

κτῆμα plainly refers to a chattel in the only place where it is found in the singular, *Od.* xv. 19—

μή νύ τι, σέυ ἀέκητι, δόμων ἐκ κτῆμα φέρηται.

The cognate *κτέρας*, in the only two places where it occurs (*Il.* x. 216; xxiv. 235), refers in the one case to an *ῥῆς*, in the other to a *δέπας*. Again the verb *κτάομαι* is never used of the acquisition of *land*, either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, though used of slaves, *Od.* xiv. 3, 460; of a wife, *Od.* xxiv. 193; of an *οἶκος*, *Od.* xx. 265. The same may be said of *κτεατίζω*, with the exception of one passage (*Od.* xxiv. 207), to which I must return hereafter.

To complete the list we may add the compounds *πολυκτῆμων* (*Il.* v. 613) and *ἀκτῆμων* (*Il.* ix. 121, 268). The result of an examination must be to show that the heirs of Phainops divided personal or chattel property merely, but came in for no inheritance in land, and furthermore that the idea of property in *land* is foreign certainly to the *Iliad*, if not to the *Odyssey*.

Having now dealt with the evidence drawn from succession to property, let us next consider in what did the wealth of an

Homeric Greek consist. An obvious method of gaining a correct view on this point is to enumerate all the epithets employed to denote a man as wealthy. We find the word *πολυκτῆμων* already disposed of, *πολύμηλος*, *Il.* xvi. 417, xx. 220; *πολύρρην*, *Il.* ix. 154; *πολύαρνι* (metaplastic dative), *Il.* ii. 106; *πολυπάμων*, *Il.* iv. 433, where the kind of property meant is made clear by the context—

Τρῶες δ', ὥστ' ὀϊες πολυπάμονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ
 μυρίαί ἐστήκασιν ἀμελγόμεναι γάλα λευκὸν,
 ἀζηχὲς μεμακυῖαι, ἀκούουσαι ὅπα ἀρνῶν.

Such words as *πολυχρύσος*, *πολύχαλκος* (*Il.* x. 315) speak for themselves. *ἀφνειὸς* is explained for us by such phrases as *ἀφνειὸς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐσθῆτος*, *Od.* i. 165.

There still remain two important epithets, *πολυλήϊος* and *πολύκληρος*, both of which call for some more extended remarks.

Turning first to *πολυλήϊος*, we shall quickly find that the meaning of this word and its twin, *ἀλήϊος*, in the Homeric poems has been strangely overlooked. The ordinary authorities take *πολυλήϊος* (*Il.* v. 613, *ναῖε πολυκτῆμων πολυλήϊος*) to mean 'rich in cornfields,' thus deriving it from *λήϊον*, although the latter is never used in Homer in the sense of *field*, but always means the *corn growing on the field, the corn on shank* (cf. *Il.* xi. 560), and the self-same distinction between *ἄρουρα* and *λήϊον* is made in the new Ionic of Herodotus (v. 92), in the well-known story of Thrasybulus. It would seem, then, that if *πολυλήϊος* is connected with *λήϊον*, it must mean not rich in *land*, but *rich in standing corn*. As this term could only be applied to a man for the brief period preceding the harvest, it would be singular to find it employed as an *epitheton constans*.

Let us now turn to *ἀλήϊος*. In *Il.* ix. 264 *seqq.*, Odysseus, when, on behalf of Agamemnon, he offers requital-gifts to Achilles, says—

ἐπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα
 αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας εἴκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους
 πηγυὸς ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄρουντο.
 οὐ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ᾧ τόσσα γένοιτο,
 οὐδέ κεν ἀκτῆμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο.

What force has ἀλήϊος in this passage if we connect it with λήϊον, whether in the sense of *lackland* or *lackcrop*? That, however, the writer of the poem did not employ ἀλήϊος in either of these senses, but rather connected it with ληϊς, λεία, is set forth clearly in the reply of Achilles, ll. 406 *seqq.*—

ληϊστοὶ μὲν γάρ τε βόες καὶ ἴφια μῆλα,
κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα·
ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχὴ πάλιν ἔλθειν οὔτε λείσστη, κ.τ.λ.

Who can doubt that the ληϊστοὶ and κητοὶ of the refusal correspond respectively to the ἀλήϊος and ἀκτήμων of the offer? More light is thrown on the matter by line 280, where the envoys add that Achilles is to have the choicest score of Trojan women, ὅτε κεν δατεώμεθα ληϊδ' Ἀχαιοί.

Again φιλοληϊός (*h. Hermes*, 335) is universally taken as derived from λεία, since it is used in direct reference to the word ληϊς five lines above, and both words refer to the oxen of Apollo.

To crown all, one Scholiast at least derives ἀλήϊος ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν λείαν. From the Hesiodic poems we may add two noteworthy passages: (1) *Theogony*, 444—

ἑσθλὴ (*sc.* Hekate) δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ἑρμῇ ληϊδ' ἀέξειν
βουκολίας τ' ἀγέλας τε καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν
ποιμένας τ' εἰροπόκων δίων, θυμῷ γ' ἐθέλουσα,
ἐξ ὀλίγων βριάει, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μείονα θῆκεν,

Here the meaning of ληϊς is made plain by the enumeration which follows. (2) *Works and Days*, 702—

οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληΐζετ' ἄμεινον
τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὐτὲ κακῆς οὐ ρίγιον ἄλλο.

There is no notion of unlawful seizure expressed by ληΐζετας here, as I think no one is likely to claim this isolated expression as an example of the 'Form of Capture' as set forth in Mr. McLennan's famous work.

From the passages to which I have referred, and from others which might be quoted, it becomes fairly obvious that ληϊς (λεία is not found in Homer) denoted all kinds of live chattels, such as slaves and cattle, thus standing in contrast to κτήματα, inanimate articles of property.

As a result of this examination, it is now evident that there is not one of the epithets from the *Iliad* which denotes wealth in *land*. On turning to the *Odyssey*, however, we are confronted with two adjectives, *πολύκληρος* and *ἄκληρος*. We are now obliged to consider the history of the word *κλήρος*, which plays so important a part in the terminology of property in Attic law. It primarily means the lot itself, *e.g.* the symbols (probably pieces of stone) cast into the helmet of Agamemnon by the Achæan chieftains, *Il.* vii. 175.

Secondly, it came to denote the object assigned by the lot, especially a portion of land. Finally, in Attic law it came to mean the whole of an inheritance comprising both the *οὐσία ἀφανής* and *οὐσία φανερά*, as is evidenced by the terms *κληρονομεῖν*, *κληρονόμος*, and *ἐπὶ κλήρος*. We are certainly justified in assuming that lands were in early times allocated by lot, whatever the tenure under which they were held may have been. For the oft-quoted passage where the settlement of the Phaiakians in Scherie, under their chieftain Nausithoos, is described (*Od.* vi. 9, 10—

*ἀμφὶ δὲ τείχος ἔλασσε πόλει, καὶ ἑδείματο οἴκους,
καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας),*

does not at all imply that the chief allocated the lands. He directs all the important details of the founding of the settlement, and amongst these not the least would have been the selecting of those portions of the newly acquired territory suitable for tillage, and marking it out into equal portions, which in all probability were distributed by lot amongst the settlers, whether they were to be held absolutely or in common. For as regards the actual nature of the tenure, we are left in ignorance by this passage. We have, however, in historical times, a fair example of the allocation of newly acquired lands in the case of the Athenian *κληροῦχοι*. The lands were divided in equal portions, probably each *κλήρος*, consisting partly of arable land and partly of wood land, as we learn from the very important Attic inscription discovered in 1884, which Koehler, with great probability, regards as a decree relating to the occupation of Salamis by *κληροῦχοι* on the subjugation of the island, between 575 and 559 B.C. (Koehler, *Mittheil.* ix. (1884), p. 117 *seqq.*). The lots are proved to have been equal by the

fact that the absentee tax to be paid by non-resident κληροῦχοι, who preferred to live at Athens, seems to have been a fixed sum.

Doubtless the Athenians would follow the time-honoured method of allotting lands invariably adopted in the planting of colonies.

The supposition that the κλῆρος (portion of land) indicated originally an allotment held in a common field, is rendered probable by the practice of other primitive peoples. Without doubt such a method is the simplest means of avoiding strife and heart-burnings, and such is still the practice in the common-field system in Palestine, as we learn from an interesting extract from the records of the Palestine Exploration Fund, quoted by Mr. Seebohm, *op. cit.* p. 315.

In two passages in Homer the word κλῆρος indubitably means a portion of land. In *Il.* xv. 495, Hector guarantees that the οἶκος and κλῆρος of each slain warrior shall be secured for his wife and children. But here κλῆρος need mean nothing more than that the right to a portion in the common fields shall be preserved, and that care shall be taken to protect the widow and orphans against those who would seek to remove the landmarks, the misfortune dreaded by Andromache, as we have seen already. This view is not only supported by the evidence drawn from the epithets in the *Iliad*, but is rendered highly probable by a circumstance, which, I think, has not been previously noted. The Trojans seem to be in the stage of social development known as the House-community. This appears from the description of Priam's house in *Il.* vi. 243 *seqq.*—

αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
 πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,
 πηλσίοι ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἔνθα δὲ παῖδες
 κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῆς ἀλόχοισιν.
 κουράων δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς
 δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγעי θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,
 πηλσίοι ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἔνθα δὲ γαμβροὶ
 κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρ' αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν.

From this we see that Priam's sons and daughters, even when married, dwelt under his roof. The term ἐφέστιοι applied (*Il.* ii. 125) to the native Trojans, as contrasted with their ἐπικούροι,

tends in the same direction, especially if we call to mind the significant use of the correlative term ἀνέστιος (ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος) in *Il.* ix. 63—4.

But when we come to *Odyssey* xiv. 63—65, the case is very different. Here we find κλῆρος classed along with οἶκος and γῆνη as the usual benefactions which an ἄναξ εὖθυμος bestows on a slave who has served him faithfully. Unfortunately the use of the word ἄναξ admits two interpretations for this passage. In either case the κλῆρος mentioned cannot be taken out of the common land.

If we take ἄναξ = *king, chieftain*, then the king must have settled his freedman on part of the royal domain (which, by this time, has become hereditary), and the slave, like the mediaeval villein, would probably pay a portion of the produce to his master as a sort of rent. For, as we shall see hereafter, the king had no power over the common land. On the other hand, if ἄναξ simply means *master* (cf. *Il.* xxiv. 734, *Od.* i. 397), we are at once brought face to face with an epoch when severalty in landed property is being established. The latter view seems to me the most probable, especially in the light of what follows. The use of the adjective πολύκληρος (*Od.* xiv. 211) indicates most clearly an age when property in land is recognised as an important item of wealth, and when many κλῆροι had come to be accumulated in the hands of one individual, and when consequently landed property was held perpetually in severalty. Such, too, may be the explanation of the adjective ἄκληρος in the famous utterance of Achilles, *Od.* xi. 489—90—

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίोटος πολὺς εἴη, κ.τ.λ.

As πολύκληρος may be a general descriptive epithet of a wealthy man, so ἄκληρος may be that of a poor man. It certainly savours of a bull, if we take the epithet strictly and say that a man works as a farm-labourer (ἐπάρουρος) for a man who has no land (κλῆρος). There is, however, an explanation which entirely escapes from this difficulty. May not ἄκληρος denote such a class of 'outsiders' as are found attached to certain villages in Central and Southern India, who unmistakably 'form no part of the natural and organic aggregate to

which the bulk of the villages belong' (Maine, *Village Communities*, p. 127)?

Again, we find settled on the unappropriated land of every Irish tribe a class of persons called by various names, Seueleithes, Bothachs, and Fuidhirs. The Bordarii and Cotarii of Domesday are supposed to have occupied a somewhat similar position. In all these cases it has been suspected that the servile orders had an origin different from that of the dormant race (cf. Maine, *Early Institutions*, pp. 172 *seqq.*). Perhaps the Irish Fuidhirs, or 'broken men,' are the nearest analogy which we can find for a class of which we find distinct traces in Homer. The Fuidhirs were 'strangers or fugitives from other territories, men, in fact, who had broken the original tribal bond which gave them a place in the tribal community, and who had to obtain another as best they might in a new tribe and a new place.' Such is the man described in *Il.* ix. 63—

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκείνος
ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου κρυόεντος.

And again in *Il.* ix. 648—

ὥσεί τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην,

we get a terse description of the unhappy lot of such a 'broken man,' where, as has been happily suggested,¹ ἀτίμητον means that his life has no τίμη, is worth no *Eric* or *Bloodgelt*.

Such persons would be settled on the waste lands of the community, such lands as are described in *h. Venus*, 123–24—

πολλὰ δ' ἔπ' ἤγαγεν ἔργα καταθυγῶν ἀνθρώπων,
πολλὴν δ' ἄκληρόν τε καὶ ἄκτιτον, ἣν διὰ θῆρες
ὠμοφάγοι φοιτῶσι, κ.τ.λ.

The term ἄκληροι would fitly describe such 'outsiders,' and Achilles might well regard service for such a master as tantamount to the lowest drudgery.

It will be convenient in this place to return to *Od.* xxiv. 207, where we find the verb κτεατίζειν used in connection with ἀγρός. Although high authorities have regarded this ἀγρός as a τέμενος bestowed by the community on the aged Laertes

¹ By Dr. Henry Jackson. For τίμη = πωνή, cf. *Il.* i. 159.

in requital for his services, *ἐπεὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἐμόγησεν*, perhaps, since the term *τέμενος* is not applied to it, it is better to view the farm as his own acquisition, won from the waste by his own exertions.

Taking this in connection with a passage in *Π.* xxiii., 832-35—

εἴ οἱ καὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι πίονες ἀγροὶ
 ἔξει μιν καὶ πέντε περιπλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς
 χρεώμενος· οὐ μὲν γάρ οἱ ἀτεμβόμενός γε σιδήρου
 ποιμὴν οὐδ' ἀροτὴρ εἰς' ἐς πόλιν, ἀλλὰ παρέξει,

we get a glimpse of one of the ways by which permanent property in land may have arisen. A chieftain who had capital, *i.e.* oxen and slaves, more than sufficient to cultivate the *τέμενος*, might take possession of a piece of waste land remote from the town and from the divided lands of the community. His slaves would till it for him, and protect it against marauders. It would become his undisputed property, and at his death would naturally pass to his heirs, whilst the royal *τέμενος* would revert to the community to be bestowed on the next chieftain.

From the foregoing remarks there seem to be considerable grounds for stating that in the *Odyssey* we see evidences of a state of society later in time and more advanced in institutions than that portrayed in the *Iliad*. It would be futile to attempt any computation of the period of time which divides the two epochs. In support of this view, we may quote *Od.* xiv. 208—11, where Odysseus, pretending to be the bastard son of a certain Kretan, relates that when his father died—

τοὶ ζῶν ἐδάσαντο
 παῖδες ὑπέρθυμοι, καὶ ἐπὶ κλήρους ἐβάλοντο·
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα παῦρα δόσαν καὶ οἰκί' ἔνειμαν,
 ἡγαγόμεν δὲ γυναῖκα πολυκλήρων ἀνθρώπων.

This, to all intents, is the practice prevailing at Athens in historic times. The legitimate sons divided the property by lot, whilst the bastard received a sum of money, *τὰ νοθεῖα*, (*cf.* Arist. *Aves*, 1656,) which was limited to 1,000 drachmas by a law of Solon. Were it not for the occurrence of *πολύκληρος*, the words *ζῶν ἐδάσαντο* might be simply taken as equivalent to *διὰ κτήσιν δατέοντο*, as *ζωή* seems never to include land,

and thus there would be no necessity for regarding the passage as indicating a late epoch.

There still remains to be noticed an important feature of the Homeric community, and one which is of considerable value in aiding us to form some notion of the mode in which private property in land gradually supplanted the older system. As among other primitive peoples, we find a portion of land set apart for the chief, so the *τέμενος βασιλῆϊον* is a regular feature of the Homeric poems. In the tale of Bellerophon (*Il.* vi. 191—95), we read how the king of Lykia—

δῶκε δέ οἱ τιμῆς βασιλῆϊδος ἥμισυ πάσης
καὶ μὴν οἱ Λύκιοι τέμενος τάμον ἔξοχον ἄλλων
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης.

Here it is most noteworthy that whilst the king has the full disposal of his own *τιμῆ*, he has no power over the land, but it is the Lykians themselves who give the hero his *τέμενος*. This affords an interesting parallel to the case of the Hindu chieftains (cf. Elphinstone, *History of India*, Bk. ii. c. 2).

Again, from the story of Meleagros (*Il.* ix. 574—80), we learn that in order to appease his wrath, the elders send the priests to him—

ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον
ὀππόθι πιότατον πεδίον Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς,
ἔνθα μιν ἦνωγον τέμενος περικαλλές ἐλέσθαι
πεντηκοντόγυον, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ οἶνοπέδαιο,
ἥμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι.

In this case, likewise, it is not the king but the elders who make the grant, for King Oeneus is represented in the succeeding lines as merely adding his entreaties to those of his people.

Once more do we learn the reason why such domains were allotted from the words of Sarpedon—

Γλαῦκε, τίη δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα
ἔδρη τε κρέασίν τ' ἡδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν
ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὥς εἰσορόωσιν ;
καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο ;

Il. xii. 310—14.

These *τεμένη* were cultivated for the chief by his slaves or hired labourers (*ἐριθοί*), nay, the chief himself disdained not to guide the plough, as we know from the words (*Od.* xviii. 374) in which Odysseus vaunts his skill as a ploughman. (So, too, the Hindu king Janaka, in the *Ramayana*, i. 66, speaks of himself as ploughing his own land.) It is doubtless the harvesting of such a domain, and not a picture of an ordinary cornfield, which occupies one of the compartments of the shield (*Il.* xviii. 550–60).

It is explicitly termed a *τέμενος*, and the chieftain himself (and of this there can be doubt, for he is called *βασιλεύς*,¹ not *ἀναξ*), in the midst of his *ἐριθοί*—

σκήπτρον ἔχων ἐσθήκει ἐπ' ὄγμου γηθόσυνος κῆρ.

The *τέμενος* is described in l. 550 as either *βασιλῆιον* or *βαθυλήιον*, according as we adopt one or other of the alternative readings. *βασιλῆιον* deserves strong support from the consideration (1) that the word *τέμενος* itself is sufficient to show that the land belongs to a chief, and (2) that it is unlikely that the entire *τέμενος* would be under corn, which is necessarily implied if we adopt the reading *βαθυλήιον*. I know not how far we may be justified in believing that the harvest scene, on what we have strong grounds for regarding as the chief's domain, is directly contrasted with the scene which immediately precedes, it, the Ploughing of the Fallow. For in the latter I believe we have depicted the tilling of the great common field, *ἐν δ' ἐτίθει νεῖδον μαλακὴν, πλείραν ἄρουραν, εὐρείαν, τρίπολον*. It is plainly not the land of the chief, for in that case it should have been included under the term *τέμενος*. Its extent prevents us from regarding it as the field of an ordinary individual, for it is *εὐρεία*, and *πολλοὶ ἀροτῆρες ἐν αὐτῇ, ζεύγεα δινεύοντες ἐλάστρεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα*. I have little doubt but that the hitherto received notion regarding property in land in Homeric times has sprung from a misunderstanding of the harvest scene. People have taken for granted that the *βασιλεύς* there mentioned is simply the stout farmer of modern times superintending his labourers.

¹ The words *ἔχων σκήπτρον* likewise put the matter beyond all doubt, as an investigation of all the passages in which *σκήπτρον* occurs makes it con-

clusive that it is always a symbol of office, whether kingly or judicial, and is never used simply for a staff or walking-stick.

In the shield the poet's aim is to give a series of pictures of the various sides of human existence (except those which are sad and mournful). Accordingly we see all sorts and conditions of men severally represented in their appropriate surroundings; the βασιλεὺς stands in his τέμενος, the Gerontes are sitting ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ, and the λαοὶ εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἀθρόοι. The feature which really differentiated the chief from the Gerontes, was the possession of the Temenos, and accordingly the poet selects a scene on that royal domain as the fitting setting for his picture of the king. The ploughing of the fallow gains a new significance when we remember that everywhere under the system of common-field cultivation there were rigid rules regulating tillage. All the joint cultivators had to commence ploughing on the same day. Plough Monday, still commemorated as a village festival, is the record of the day on which our forefathers began the ploughing of the common field. Is it going too far, then, to suppose that those 'many ploughers' of the Homeric lines are joint cultivators, each tilling his own allotment in the one great field?

It is obvious that as soon as the office of chieftain became hereditary, the Temenos would become the private property of the reigning family. Such is the case with Odysseus. The office of Headman has become fixed in his family from there having been a succession of vigorous chiefs, but that the royal appanages were far from secure for his son Telemachos, is made plain by the words of his mother—

σὸν δ' οὐπω τις ἔχει καλὸν γέρας, ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος
Τηλέμαχος τέμενος νέμεται, κ.τ.λ.

Od. xi. 184–85.

From this we may infer that the Temenos went with the chieftainship. It is interesting to observe that just as in mediaeval times all improvements in agriculture arose on the lord's domain, since it was both for his private interest to make his land as remunerative as possible, and he was not bound down by the same strict rules for tillage, so in Homeric Hellas likewise, it is in the Temenos that we find what traces there are of superior cultivation. Already the harvest scene has given us a picture of a goodly crop, at the sight of which the chief's 'heart is

rejoiced,' whilst in the *Odyssey* poor dog Argos, old and outcast, lay

ἐν πολλῇ κόπρῳ, ἣ οἱ προπάροιθε θυράων,
 ἡμίωνων τε βοῶν τε, ἀλῖς κέχυτ', ὄφρ' ἂν ἄγοιεν
 δμῶες Ὀδυσσῆος τέμενος μέγα κοπρίσσοντες.

Od. xvii. 297-99.

No doubt self-interest soon taught the chiefs to manure and till their lands carefully. All other traces of superior husbandry which we find, refer to *κήποι* and *ἀλωαί*, which would either form parts of the *Temenos*, or in the case of private individuals would be held in severalty, a certain portion going with each house and inclosed by a fence, whilst on the other hand the *ἄρουρα* is always uninclosed. Whilst *ἐρκος ἀλωῆς* is a regular feature of the poems, nowhere do we meet with an *ἐρκος ἀρούρης*. We find a close parallel to this in the English 'closes' (Low Latin, 'clausum'), a fenced-off portion of ground going with each homestead, and so called in contrast to the fenceless open fields.

That the system of tillage was that known as 'two shift,' there can be but little doubt. Whenever ploughing is mentioned, we almost invariably find that the operation is taking place in a *νεὶδς* or fallow. This renders it probable that each year half the arable land was tilled, and half lay fallow, covered with a scurf of weeds.¹

Before concluding, it is worth while to inquire what is the nature of the land system indicated in the Hesiodic poems. The data are but scanty, yet I think they are sufficient to show us that we have in the *Works and Days* a record of an epoch later than the *Odyssey*, and far later than the *Iliad*. Land is held in severalty, and descends to the children, who divide it between them, just as at Athens in the age of the Orators. So we may gather from the words—

ἤδη μὲν γὰρ κληῖρον ἔδασσάμεθ', ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
 ἀρπάζων ἐφόρεις μέγα κυδαίνων βασιλῆας.

Works, 36-37.

That farms were freely bought and sold, as at Athens, is clear

¹ That such was the practice in the time of Pindar is clear from *Nem.* vi. 10.

from the *Works* (336—41), where there is an exhortation to honour the gods with sacrifices—

ὥς κέ τοι ἱλαον κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἔχουσιν,
ὄφρ' ἄλλων ὦνῃ κλήρον, μὴ τὸν τεὸν ἄλλος.

Finally, the whole tone of the poem gives us a clear impression that the system of which he treats is one of separate and hereditary ownership. Incidentally this has an important bearing on the chronology of the Homeric poems. I have already stated some reasons for supposing that the *Odyssey* represents a later age than the *Iliad*. Now although the use of the term πολύκληρος in the *Odyssey* is an indication that the accumulation of κλήροι had already commenced, possibly by inheritance, a considerable time must have elapsed before the Hesiodic stage of an open market for land was reached, a stage to all intents the same as that which we find in Attica in the age of Pericles. In thus comparing Homer and Hesiod, we of course are assuming that all parts of Greece developed at the same rate. In any case, even supposing that the rate of progress was uneven, Boeotia, in relation to other parts of Hellas, is more likely to have been in a backward than in a forward state, in which case we should allow for a longer interval between the *Odyssey* and the *Works and Days*.

We have now passed in review whatever evidence can be drawn from the poems for ascertaining the nature of the land-system in Homeric times, both positive evidence from certain agricultural terms, and negative based on an examination of certain epithets, the law of succession, the use of the term κλήρος, the institution of the Temenos, getting what help we could from the comparative method. How far this paper has succeeded in its object, is for others to judge.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY COCKERELL IN GREECE.—II.

IN the earlier number of the present volume (p. 143 *sqq.*) I gave some account of a MS. collection of inscriptions made by C. R. Cockerell in 1810-1814, and also gave copies of all those from the mainland of Greece, which appeared to be hitherto unpublished. The present paper will cover the rest of that collection, which is mostly derived from Asia Minor.

I add a complete list of the remaining contents of Cockerell's volumes. Those unpublished are reproduced below; in the case of all those previously edited, a collation with the published copy has been made and kept, and I should be very glad to show these collations to any one interested in the matter.

C. 50 ¹ = <i>C.I.G.</i> 2370	66 = In Spon (also <i>Ed. Mus.</i> 1833, 22)
C. 51 = „ 41	*67 Unpublished
*C. 52 Unpublished	68 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3924 <i>b</i>
C. 53 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 2304	*69 Unpublished
C. 54 = „ 2305	*70 Unpublished
C. 55 = „ 2294	*71 Unpublished
C. 56 = Le Bas and Wad. V. 127	72 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3909
C. 57 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3107	*73 Unpublished
C. 58 = „ 3106	74 <i>a</i> = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3925
C. 59 = Le Bas & Wad. V. 1560, 1563	<i>b</i> = part of <i>C.I.G.</i> 3915
C. 60 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3092	<i>c</i> = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3911
61 = „ 3061	*75 Unpublished
62 = „ 3094	*76 Unpublished
63 = „ 3130	77 = Le Bas and Wad. V. 630
64 = „ 3545	78 = <i>C.I.G.</i> 3453
65 = „ 3544	

¹ In my last paper I numbered all the inscriptions consecutively; it has since appeared more convenient to follow Cockerell's system of numbering, though

inconsistent. When the two systems overlap, I have added a C, to avoid confusion in references.

- 79 = *C.I.G.* 3473
 84 *a* = „ 3470
 b = Le Bas and Wad. V. 631
 80 = *C.I.G.* 3517
 *81 Unpublished
 82 *a* = *C.I.G.* 3508
 b = „ 3434
 83 = „ 3516
 84 See between 79 and 80
 85 = *C.I.G.* 3565 = 9285
 86 *a* = „ 3563
 * *b* Unpublished
 *87 Unpublished
 88 = Le Bas and Wad. V. 1662
 89 In *Mith. d. d. Inst. zu Athen*,
 VI. p. 138.
 *90 Unpublished
 91 = *C.I.G.* 2947
 92 = „ 2949
 *93 Unpublished
 *94 Unpublished
 *95 Unpublished
 96 = *C.I.G.* 2259
 *97 *a* Unpublished
 * *b* Unpublished
 132 = *C.I.G.* 39
 *98 Unpublished
 99 = *C.I.G.* 2879
 *100 Unpublished
 101 = *C.I.G.*
 *102 = Le Bas and Wad. V. 222
 103 } = *C.I.G.* 2870
 104 }
 *105 Unpublished
 106 = *C.I.G.* 4283
 107 *a* = „ 4281
 * *b* Unpublished
 108 = *C.I.G.* 4280
 109 = „ 4292
 110 = „ 4293
 111 = „ 4295
 *112 Unpublished
 *113 Unpublished
 114 = *C.I.G.* 4284
 115 = „ 4285
 116 = „ 4290
 117 = „ Add. 4300 *q*.
 118 = „ 4289
 *119 Unpublished
 *120 Unpublished
 *121 Unpublished

- *122 Unpublished
 123 = *C.I.G.* 4287
 *124 Unpublished
 *125 *a* Unpublished
 * *b* Unpublished
 *126 Unpublished
 *127 Unpublished
 128 = Le Bas and Wad. V. 1314
 129 = *C.I.G.* Add. 4303 *h* 5.
 130 = „ 4288
 131 = „ Add. 4300 *u*
 132 See between 97 and 98
 *133 Unpublished
 134 = *C.I.G.* 4304
 *135 *a* Unpublished
 * *b* Unpublished
 136 Unpublished
 137 *a* = *C.I.G.* 4311
 * *b* Unpublished
 *138 Unpublished
 *139 Unpublished
 140 } = *C.I.G.* 4305
 141 *a* }
 b = „ 4310

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- 142 = *C.I.G.* 4323
 143 = „ 4324
 144 = pt. of „ 4332
 145 = *C.I.G.* 4336
 146 *a* = „ 4340
 b = „ 4339
 c = „ 4341
 147 = „ 4360
 148 *a* = „ 4344
 b = „ 4347
 149 } = „ 4350
 150 *a* = „ 4353
 b = „ 4352
 151 *a* = „ 4358
 b = „ 4356
 152 = „ 4346
 153 *a* = „ 4357
 b = „ 4359
 154 = „ 4361
 155 = „ 4351
 156 = „ 4343
 157 = 149
 158 = pt. of „ 4355

159	a =	C.I.G.	8884
	b =	„	8883
	c =	„	4349
160	=	„	4301
161	a =	„	4404
	b =	„	4403
162	a =	„	4410
	b =	„	4405
	c =	„	4401
163	=	„	4409
164	a =	„	4408
	b =	„	4406
	c =	„	4407
165	=	„	4422
166	=	„	4423
167	a =	„	4420
	b =	„	4419
168	=	„	4418
169	=	„	4421
170	=	„	4424
171	a }	=	4413
	b }	=	„
172	}	=	4411
173	}	=	„
174	=	„	4322
175	a =	„	9220
	b =	„	9208
176	a =	„	4429 = 9213
	b =	„	9211

176	c =	C.I.G.	9224
*177	a	Unpublished	
*	b	Unpublished	
178	=	C.I.G.	4430
*179	a	Unpublished	
	b =	C.I.G.	8937
180	a =	„	9201
*	b	Unpublished	
181	a =	C.I.G.	9237
*	b	Unpublished	
182	a =	C.I.G.	9164
	b =	„	9202
	c =	„	9178
183	a =	„	9165 Add. 4432 b
	b =	„	9167
184	a =	„	Add. 4432 c
	b =	„	9169
	c =	„	9171
185	a =	„	9166
	b =	„	9163
186	=	„	9172
187	=	„	8619
*188	a	Unpublished	
	b =	C.I.G.	4435
189	a	Unpublished	
	b =	C.I.G.	4436
190	a =	„	4442
	b =	„	4443 ¹

Before we proceed to the text of those inscriptions which either are entirely new or contain so much new matter that they are worth reproducing separately, a few words must be added about the much larger number which are identical with copies already made public. These will fall at once into three classes, each of which will need separate attention. To the first of these classes we may assign those examples which are known to be the source from which the published copies are derived; to the second belong those which offer a new and independent transcription, by which the published one can be verified or corrected; the third contains such as, though no ostensible con-

¹ In the above list the word 'unpublished' must not be pressed. But I have taken reasonable precautions against mistakes on this point by a careful search in Boeckh's *Corpus*, Le Bas and Waddington, and such period-

icals as the *Ἀθηνᾶιον*, *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts zu Athen*, &c. The numbers marked with an asterisk are reproduced below.

nection can be traced between them and the published transcriptions, yet bear too close a relation to those transcriptions to be regarded as independent, since they show coincidences even in mistakes, too frequent to be the result of mere chance.

In the first class it has been found by no means superfluous to verify all inscriptions in Boeckh's *Corpus*, of which the copies have been supplied by Walpole from Cockerell's book. Walpole often did his copying in a very careless manner, and often introduced into supposed *facsimiles* conjectural emendations which have helped to confirm error or to hide the truth. Some of his copies, on the other hand, are extremely accurate. It seems necessary to make the above remarks in order to vindicate the accuracy of Cockerell, which is far greater than any one would be led to suppose, who judged of it only from the published copies that are professedly derived from him. One or two illustrations will show this. Wherever *Aperlae* is mentioned Cockerell gives the true form. Walpole invariably alters the Λ to A, and it is owing to this alteration that the completely indefensible form *Aperrhae* has long held its ground. Such changes as ω to Ω , Σ to Σ are slight, but they obliterate certain indications of date. Another and more important alteration occurs in 145, *C.I.G.* 4336, where Cockerell gives in l. 8, $\text{AKA}\Lambda\text{I}\Sigma\text{E}\Omega$, thus showing the city is Akalissos, not Limyra, as now conjecturally restored. Enough, however, has been said on this point; I need only add that I have made a note of all Walpole's alterations in my collation.

The second class will enable us to increase or improve the independent copies preserved in the *Corpus*; some of the more important cases are the following: in 50, *C.I.G.* 2370, Cockerell confirms Brøndsted's AEIBIAN in l. 2, which is therefore probably correct; in 72, *C.I.G.* 3909, he gives the two additional lines

$\text{EIAE}\Omega\text{SYMEIN}\omega$
 $\text{APXH}\Gamma\text{EITH}\Sigma,$

which may, however, not belong to this inscription;¹ in 92, *C.I.G.* 2949, l. 12, he has TAIANEION , which makes it seem

¹ [These two additional lines are at Hierapolis (*C.I.G.* 3906). $\text{APXH}\Gamma\text{ETH}\Sigma$ is the true reading.—*Ed.*]
inscribed on a passage of the theatre

that the real reading is *Tpaivelen*, the name of the games referred to¹; in 104, *C.I.G.* 2870, he adds to the right of the Greek the following Latin version :—

I·ETIS·VAILI·

DVSINSIIIVHICONSVMMA	-dus ins(t)i(t)ui(t) consumma-
VITHIDICAVIT·PER·QIVII	vit (et) dicavit per Q. Iu(l)i-
VMBAIVM·PROCOSVIEM	um Ba(l)bum proconsu(l)em
CVRAM AGENTE PASSIRIORO	curam agente Pass(e)rio Ro-
MVIOHIGATO AVG·PRO·PR	mu(l)o (le)gato Aug. pro.pr.

These instances will suffice to show what may thus be gained from Cockerell, and include the most important examples. But a few words must now be given to the third class. Of the last seventy-seven inscriptions preserved by Cockerell, seventy are in the *Corpus*, and fifty of these from Beaufort's copies. Now among these fifty there are no less than twenty-eight which show coincidences of mistake, such readings as ΜΗΠΙΑ for ΜΗΤΕΡΑ, which necessitate the assumption that the copies are not really independent; while there are only three which seem to show signs of independence, and these uncertain. One of these deserves quoting, though singularly enough it also contains the very mistake already quoted, 156, *C.I.G.* 4343. Here Cockerell preserves marks of erasure which show that the inscription referred to Geta, who is not, however, described as τὸν ἱερὸν Κα[ί]σ[α]ρα, which we should rather restore (μητέρα) τ(ῶ)ν ἱερ(ῶ)ν κάσ[τρων], a well-known title of Julia Domna. What is the exact relation between Cockerell's copies and those of Beaufort must perhaps be left an open question; for though Beaufort has the advantage in point of time, Cockerell occasionally seems to preserve details lost in the other transcription.

The unpublished inscriptions preserved by Cockerell now follow in the order in which they are found in his book. In the interpretation of them I am indebted for many valuable suggestions to the Rev. E. L. Hicks and to Prof. W. M. Ramsay.

¹ [The reading of Pococke in the last two lines περιόδῳ κβ', which Franz discredits in *C.I.G.*, is confirmed by Cockerell's copy. It denotes the twenty-second periodic celebration of the Tra-

janeia, which were certainly penteteteric. They were founded in honour or in memory of Trajan, and the twenty-second celebration was about 195-220 A.D.—*Ed.*]

C. 52.—Delos.

ΦΙΛΩΝΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΑΧΑΙΟΣ
ΤΗΝΘΥΙ'ΑΤΕΓΑΗΡΑΙΔΑΘΕΟΙΣ

ΔΗΞΑΛ . ΑΡΝΑΣΣΗΣΥΣΘΝΟ : Ε . .

Φίλων Διοδώρου Ἀχαιὸς
τὴν θυ(γ)ατέ(ρ)α Ἡραΐδα θεοῖς
Φύ(λ)ης Ἀλ[ικ]αρνασσ(ε)ῦς (ἐπ)ο[λ]ε[ι]

For the name Φύλης, cf. Hirschfeld, *Tituli Statuariorum*, &c.,
No. 70 a, b, c, 84.

67.—Hierapolis.

ΝΕΥΓ	ΑΔΟΥ
ΤΟΥΕΚ	ΕΥΟΝΕΑΥΤΟ
ΛΙΤ	ΕΑΣΤΟΠΟΝ

ὁ δεῖνα Ἀσκληπι]άδου
ἐαυτ[ῶ
ἀγορά]σας τόπον

69.—Under same heading as 67, also 70, 71, 73, 75.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣΤΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΛΑΤΕΙΝΕΙΩΣ

Τὸ μνημεῖον Εὐτύχους τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου — ?

70.

ΤΑΥΓΗΣΤΗΣΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΑΝΙΙΙΙ . ΑΦΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΑΑΡΧΕΙΑ

Ταύ[τ]ης τῆς [ἐ]πιγραφῆς ἀν[τίγρ]αφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα,
cf. *C.I.G.* 3924a, 3923, 3922 ; 3916, 3919, all also from Hiera-
polis.

71.

ΕΥΓΕΝΙΟΣ Ο ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΔΙΑΚΚΕΦΕΣΤΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ
ΚΕΝΔΟΖΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ ΚΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ



Εὐγένιος ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἀρχιδιάκ(ονος) κ(αὶ) ἐφεστ(ῶς) τοῦ ἁγίου
κ(αὶ) ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου κ(αὶ) θεολόγου Φιλίππου

Apparently Eugenios was the ἐφεστῶς of a church dedicated
to St. Philip the Apostle.

73.

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ + ΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΥ ΣΤ
ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΗΜΩΝ ΚΠΡΙΑΡΧΟ
ΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΥ

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τε καὶ θεοσ(εβοῦς)
ἀρχιεπισκ(όπ)ου ἡμῶν καὶ πατριάρχου
Γενναίου

75.

ΤΟΝ ΒΩΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΣΟΡΟΝ

τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ σορόν [κατεσκεύασεν ὁ δεῖνα]

κατ' αὐτοῦ is curious; we generally find the σορὸς is ἐπικει-
μένη, cf. C.I.G. 3915, τῇ ἐπικειμένῃ κατ' αὐτοῦ (sc. βωμοῦ) σορῶ,
it seems to mean 'against,' 'over against,' it.

76.—Sardes.

ΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΞΩ ΒΑΛΗ
ΗΝΙΟΚΤΥΜΩΛΕΙ
ΩΝΑΛΛΩΝ ΠΑΝ
ΠΥΧΟΙΤΟΜΕΤΑ ΠΑΝ

...ὅς ἂν τι τῶν ἐνθάδε
κει]μένων ἔξω βάλῃ,
τ]ῶν ἄλλων πάν]των
μετὰ πάν

5 ΩΝΜΗΤΕΘΙΕΜΜΑ

::ΜΗΤΕΟΜΜΑΤΩΝ

ΕΙΩΛΗΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ

TON

τ]ων μήτε θρεμμά[τ

ω](ν) μήτε ὀμμάτων

ἐ(ξ)ώλη[ς] γένοιτο

τὸν [πάντα χρόνον

Apparently an invocation of a curse on whoever shall cast out the remains here deposited, cf. *C.I.G.* 2826.

81.—Thyatira.

. — . ΖΩΝ . — .

ΑΛΚΙΜΟΣ . ΑΛΙΚΙΜΟΥ

ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟΜΝΗ

ΜΕΙΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΑΠΦΙ

ΩΤΗΣΥΝΒΙΩ ς.

Ζών

Ἀλκιμος Ἀλκίμου

κατεσκεύασεν τὸ μνη-

μεῖον ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἀπφί-

ω τῇ συνβίω.

*Ἀπφίον is not uncommon as a female name.

86b.—Sameh (near Pergamus).

ΔΗΕϚ

ΠΩΤΩ

ΩΑΝΕ

(ς

...δη(ς)

—πω τῷ

—ω ἀνέ-

[θηκεν]

87.—Bakir.

ΦΙΔΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ

ΚΑΙΕΛΠΙΣ ~~ΕΛΠΙΣ~~

ΕΛΠΙΔΗΦΟΡΩ

ΤΩΤΕΚΝΩΜΝΕΙ

ΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Φι(λ)έταιρος

καὶ Ἐλπίς

Ἐλπιδηφόρῳ

τῷ τέκνῳ μνεί-

ας χάριν.

The gap after Ἐλπίς seems merely to mark the place where the stone-cutter made a slip and then effaced it.

90.—Menimen.

ΙΩΝ

ΟΣΑΝΙΟΣΓΑΙΟΥΥΓΙΟΣΦΑΡΙΑ
ΛΟΝΓΟΣΕΑΥΤΟΚΑΠΟΙΣΓΟΝΕΥΣΙ
ΚΛΙΤΗΓΛΥΚΤΑΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ
ΑΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΤΡΥΦ
ΤΟΥΓΟΙΟΜ~

Ζῶν

Γάϊος Ἀν[ν]ιος Γάϊου υἱὸς Φα(β)ίᾳ
Δόγγος ἑαυτ(ῶ) κα(ὶ) τοῖς γονεῦσι
κ(α)ὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ γυναικί
Ἀ. Λουκίου θυγατρὶ Τρυφ[αίῃ] vel simile quid
τού(π)όγ(ε)ιο(ν) [κάτεσκεύασεν
οὔση]

93.—Magnesia.

ΤΜ	Τ. Μ[αρθώνιον]
ΑΝΝ	Ἀνν[ιβαλιανόν]
ΤΟΝΑ	τὸν λ[αμπρότατον ἀνθύπα-
ΤΟΝΥΠ	τον ὑπ[ατικῶν υἱὸν]
ΛΟΓΙΣΤ	λογιστ[ὴν τῆς πόλεως]
ΣΩΤΗΡ	σωτήρ[α καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ
ΚΤΙΣΤΗ	κτιστῆ[ν τῆς κοινῆς
ΠΑΤΡΙ	πατρί[δος
ΤΗΣΛΑΜΠΡ	τῆς λαμπρ[οτάτης μητρο-
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΗΣ	πόλεως τῆς [Ἀσίας καὶ νε-
ΩΚΟΡΟΥΤΩΝ	ωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ
ΙΕΡΑΣΤΟΥΔΙΟΣ	ιερᾶς τοῦ Διὸς [Καπετωλίου κα-
ΤΑΤΑΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ	τὰ τὰ δόγματα [τῆς ἱερωτάτης
ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥΙ	συνκλήτου [καὶ φιλοσεβάστου
ΛΙΑΝΩΙ	Σαρ]διανῶ[ν πόλεως
ΟΙΝΥΣΤΑ	οἱ (μ)ύστα[ι]
ΤΟΝΕΥΕ	τὸν εὐε[ργέτην].

This and the following inscription must belong to Sardis.

Lines 1 and 2 must have been in large letters; the title λογιστήν τῆς πόλεως, if correctly restored, must have been merely honorary, just as Emperors sometimes held city magistracies. Hannibalianus was Consul in A.D. 292.

94.—Magnesia.

ΥΠΑΠΚΩΝΤΙΙ—	[τοῦ ἐξ]
ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΥ	Τπα(τι)κῶν Τί [του
ΑΝΙΒΑΛΙΑΝΟΥ	Μαραθωνίου
ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΕΥΣΩ.	Ἀννιβαλιανού
ΚΛ. ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΕΙ.	ἀνθυπατεῦ[οντος
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ.Τ.ΦΛΙ	Κλ. Καπιτωλεί[ναν
ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝ	γυναῖκα Ι. Φλι
ΟΙΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΙΠ	Μητροφάν[ους
ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ	οἱ κράτιστοι Π[ολύ
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΣΑΜΕΝ	κλειτος [καὶ ὁ δεῖνα
ΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΣ	ἐπιμελησάμεν[ου
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ	τοῦ ἀνδριάντ[ος
	ἐπιτρόπου[τοῦ δείνου.

95.—Ephesus.

ΤΟΙ. Α. . . ΔΙΑΣΥ	[τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐπιμεληθέν-]
ΑΠΙΜΗΣΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙ	τω [ν] Α[ύρηλ]ίας
ΔΟΡΙΪΣΑΛΛΑΦΤΙΣ	Ἀ[μμ]ι(αν)ῆς Ἀπολλ(ω)νί-
ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΜΑΥΡΙΝΕ	δο(ς τῆ)ς ἀ(δ)[ε]λφ(ῆ)ς
ΡΑΠΟΥΘΙΟΔΟΡΟΥΑΜ	αὐτοῦ καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Νε-
ΜΙΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΜΑΥΡΝΕ	ρα(τί)ου Θιοδ(ώ)ρου Ἀμ-
ΡΑΤΙΟΥΦΙΛΟΜΗΤΡΟΣ	μιανού καὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Νε-
ΑΜΜΙΑΝΟΥΤΩΝΑΔΕΛ	ρατίου Φιλόμετρος
ΦΟΝΑΥΤΟ	Ἀμμιανού τῶν ἀδελ-
	φ(ώ)ν αὐτοῦ[ν].

97*a*.—Samos.

ΝΙΚΗΑΙΣΧΡΙ	Νίκη Αἰσχρί-
ΩΝΟΣ	ωνος
ΓΥΝΗΔΕΑΥΛΟΥ	γυνή δὲ Αὐλου
ΑΤΑΝΙΟΥΗΡΩΙΝ	Ἀτανίου ἡρώτων-
ΧΡΗΣΤΗΧΑΙΡΕ	η] χρηστὴ χαίρε.

For name Atanius, cf. Mommsen *I.R.* iv. 2480, Dio Cass. lix. 8.

97*b*.

ΩΡΟΣΑΜ	Θεόδ]ωρος Ἀμ[βρ]
ΟΣΙΟΣ	όσιος

98.—Geronta (Branchidae).

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧ	Ἀγαθὴ τύχη
ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ [ό
ΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΜ	δῆμος ἐτε[ί]μ[η-
ΣΕΝΜΑΡΚΟΝ	σεν Μάρκον [Αἰ-
ΛΙΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙ	λιον Αὐρήλι[ον
ΔΟΜΝΟΝΤΟΝ	Δόμνον τὸν [ἐ-
ΡΗΓΟΝΚΑΙΑΜ	φη(β)ον καὶ ἀμ[φι-
ΘΑΛΗΝΙΚΗΣΑ	θαλῆ, νικήσα[ν
ΤΑΠΑΙΔΩΝΓ	τα παίδων π[ά
ΛΗΝΤΑΜΕΓΑ	λην τὰ μεγάλ[α
ΔΙΔΥΜΕΙΑΕΝ	Διδυμεῖα ἐν [τῷ
ΙΕΡΩ	ἱερῷ.

Cf. *C.I.G.* 2888, which is quite similar in form.

100.—Geronta (Branchidae).

	Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ δεῖνος, ταμιεύοντος...]
HOY< . . ΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ	...ου[ς το]ῦ Ἀπολλω
ΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΤΑΙΔΩΚΟΣ	νίου τοῦ (Φ)αῖδω(ν)ος
ΔΡΕΥΟΝΤΩΝ	παρε]δρευόντων...
ΥΤΟΥΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΥΘΕΟΤΙΜΙ	...ῦτου Κρατίνου Θεοτιμί[δου
ΔΕΑΝΕΤΕΘΗΤΩΙΑΠΟΛ	ἔνθα]δε ἀνετέθη τῷ Ἀπίλ[λωνι
ἸΗΟΛΚΗΝΑΤΟΥΣΑΛΛΕ	φία]λη ὀλκὴν ᾗ(γ)ουσα (ΔΔ†)

The repetition of the ΝΙΟΥ in lines 1 and 2 is probably merely a slip of the copyist.

102 = L. and W. V. 222, under Geronta. Cockerell preserves much that is not in M. Le Bas' copy, which was moreover made in haste.

. ΟΥΤΟΥΙΚΑΙΣΤ. . . .
ΔΙΑΤΕ . . ΘΕΝΤΟΣΤΟΥ
.. ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΣΤΙΑΤΗ. Α . . .
. . . . ΝΟΙΑΤΕΝΗΤΑΙΟΝ . . Ν .
5 ΣΙΑΘΙΣΤΑΜΗΤΑΙΡΟΝΓΟΣ . . .
ΝΕΙΣΤΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥΣΑΝ. . . ΑΛΚ .
ΡΟΥΣΙΑΝΚΑΙΠΕΡΟΥΡΓΙΑΝΣΥΝΤ . .
. . ΙΣΘΑΙΚΑΚΩΣΕΟΙΣΕΤΑΙΤΩΙΣΩΙΔΙΑΤΟ
ΚΙΤΑΗΟΝΟΣΧΙΟΝΟΥΜΗΕΝΑΥΠΟΜΕΛ . .
10 ΙΗΚΕΝΑΙ ΕΔΟΞΕΤΟΙ . ΣΥΜΕΔΙΟΙΣ
ΜΩΜΗΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΩΝΕΥ . ΚΕΧΩΡΙΣΘΑ
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΩΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΥΤΟΥΗΛΙΑΣ . ΩΝΟ
ΤΗΣΑΙΣΤΗΛΗΝΠΙΟΣΤΩΠΕΡΩΙΤΟΣΔ .
ΣΤΕΥΣΩΤΗΡΟΣΧΑΡΙΝΤΟΥΑΝΑΓΡΑΡΕ
15 ΣΘΑΙΤΑΟΝΟΜΑΤΑΤΩΝΥΠΟΜΕΝΩΝΤΩΝ

ΘΗΓΩΝΠΑΡΑΔΙΛΕΝΤΩΙΙΕ . ΩΙΤΩΙΕΝΔΙ
ΔΥΜΟΙΞΚΑΘΟΤΗ . . ΡΟΓΡΑ . Ι . ΩΞΧ

20 ΕΠΙΤΡΟΙ

ΥΠΑΡΔΙ . ΝΟΥ . .
ΤΟΥΠΡΟΦΗΓΟΥΥΓΙΟΣΠΟΣΙΔΩ
ΝΙΟΣ

ἐπὶ
.]ου τοῦ καὶ στ[εφανη-
φόρου, δια(κ)ε[λευ]θέντος τοῖς
. καὶ τοῖς στρατηγ[οῖς]
. ὅπως πρόνοια γένηται ὃν ἂν ὁ
5 θεὸς (κ)αθιστάνῃ (κ)αιρὸν [πρ]οσ[ήκον-
τα] εἰς τὴν ὀφείλουσαν [Ἀπό]λλ[ωνι Διδυ-
μεῖ] θυσίαν καὶ ἱερουργίαν συντ[ελ-
ε]ῖσθαι καθὼς ἐθίζεται τῷ [θε]ῷ, διὰ τὸ
ἐκ πλέονος χρόνου μηδένα ὑπομε[μ
10 εν]ηκέναι· ἔδοξε τοῖς[ς] συ(ν)έδ(ρ)οις
γνώμῃ ἐπιστατῶν συ[γ]κεχωρ(ῇ)σθα[ι
'Επινίκῃ 'Επινίκου τοῦ Ἑ(φ)αιστίωνο[ς]
στήσαι στήλην πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ] Δ[ι-
δ]οῦ τοῦ Σωτήρος, χάριν τοῦ ἀναγράφε-
15 σθαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπομενόντων [π-
(ολιτ)ῶν παρὰ Δί(α) ἐν τῷ ἱε[ρ]ῷ τῷ ἐν Δι-
δύμοις καθότι ἡ [ἀ]πογρά[φη]
.
.
20 ἐπίτρο[ποι]
.
τοῦ προφή(τ)ου υἱὸς Ποσιδώ-
μιος

In the cursive transcription, I have of course followed M. Waddington's interpretation, except where Cockerell's copy enabled me to add to it.

105.—Geronta. An honorary decree.

ΣΟΙΚΙΑΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ
 ΛΛΑΒΩΝΤΗΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙ
 . . ΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΔΩΡΕΑΝΥ
 ΤΟΥΛ . ΜΠΡΩΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΔΟ
 5 Ι ΝΟΜΗΣΑΙΚΑΙΠΟΙΗΣΑΙΕ
 ΞΝΙ . ΜΟΥΣΣΕΙΤΟΥΚΑΙΕΛΛΙΟΥ
 ΤΩΝ . . ΟΙ ΞΝΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΙΩΝΕΝ
 ΞΧΙ . . ΣΙΚΑΙΡΟΙΣΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΥΤΑ
 ΑΠΟΔΕΙ . ΘΕΙΣΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΕΥ
 10 . . . ΤΗΣΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΓΕΝΟΣ
 ΔΕΚΑΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣΤΩΝ
 ΟΙΣΥΝΑΥΞΗΣΑΣΤΑΣΙΩΝ . . .
 ΞΝ . . ΟΣΟΔΟΥΣΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΔΕ . . .
 ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΙΑΣΤΩΝΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ
 15 - ΞΝΓΑΙΟΥΑΙΟΥΠΟΙ .
 ΝΟΥΑΙ . ΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

. . . τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκίας γενόμενος
 παρα]λαβὼν τῇμ προφητεί-
 αν τ]ῆς πατρίδος δωρεὰν ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοδό[ξως
 5 ἀγορα]νομήσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ε-
 ὑ]ωνι[σ]μοὺς σείτου καὶ ἐλαίου
 καὶ τῶν [λ]ου[π]ῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν
 δυ]σχ(ε)[ρέ]σι καιροῖς, διὰ τε ταῦτα
 ἀποδει[χ]θεὶς φιλόπατρις καὶ εὐ-
 10 εργέ]της τῆς πόλεως, γενό[μ]
 ενος] δὲ καὶ προστάτης τῶν . . .
 . . . κα]ὶ συναυξήσας τὰς (τ)ῶν . . .
 . . . ων [πρ]οσόδους ποιήσας δὲ [καὶ
 γυμνασιαρχίας τῶν πατέρων . . .

The last name is 'Ἀντιόχου; is the one in the line above
 Γαίου Αἰλίου, two letters of the apparent repetition ΑΙΑΙ being
 dropped by the copyist, or 'Ιουλίου?

107b.—Patara.

..... ΤΕΚΤΟΣ
 ΔΕΣΤΙΣ
 ΕΤΟΙΟΣ
 ΛΥΚΙΩΝΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝ

. . . Λυκίων τὸ κοινόν

112.—Patara.

ΜΕΤΤΙΟΜΟΛΕΞΓΟ
 ΛΥΚΙΩΝΤΟΘΗ· ΟΝ
 ΕΟΝΟΥΣΣΟΛΗΜΟΣ

This may be one or two inscriptions:—

(a) Μεττί[φ] Μοδέστ[φ]
 Λυκίων τὸ [κοιν]όν

(b) τοῦ Λυκίων] ἔθνους ὁ δῆμος

Cf. 108, *C.I.G.* 4280.

113.—Patara.

ΣΥΝΕΔΗΜΟΣΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥΚΑΤΕΣΣΚΕΥ
 ΑΣΕΝΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΜΑΜΙΩ . ΜΕΝΕΚΙ . .
 ΤΟΥΤΗΠΕΡΕΙΑ . ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΣ . ΤΗΓ
 ΕΑΥΤΟΥΘΡΕΨΑΣΗ.

Συνέ[γ]δημος Μηνοφίλου κατεσσεύ-
 ασεν τὸ μνημεῖον Μάμῳ Μενεκ[ρά]-
 του τῇ ἱερείᾳ Δημητρὸς τῇ γ[λ]υκυτάτῃ
 ἑαυτοῦ θρεψάσῃ

If the genitive *ἐαυτοῦ* is right, *ἡ θρέψασα* is regarded as a noun. For the name *Συνέγδημος*, cf. *C.I.G.* 4322. The 'barbarian' names in the inscriptions which follow are merely transcribed, without attempt at emendation.

119.—Under heading Patara; but clearly from Aperlae.

Cf. 116, 117, 118, *C.I.G.* 4290, Add. 4300*g*, 4289.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΤΟ
ΕΡΠΙΔΙΣΗΗΚΑΙΣΑΡΠΗΔΟΝΙΣΛΥΣΑΝ
ΔΡΟΥΑΠΕΡΛΕΝΙΣΘΡΕΠΤΟΙΣΑΥΤΗΣ
ΣΥΝΑΛΛΑΓΗΚΑΙΜΟΥΣΑΡΟΥΤΙΚΑΙΝΕ
5 ΚΗΤΙΚΩΙΣΟΣΥΝ . ΩΙΕΙΕΝΚΗΔΕΥΘΗ
ΝΑΙΚΛ . ΛΕΟΝΗΚΑΙΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΙΟΥ
ΓΑΤΡΙΑΥΤΟΥΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥΔΕΕΙΣ
ΕΝΤΑΙΗΣΕ . ΤΑΙΗΟΙΣΑΝΑΥΤΗΣΥΝ
ΧΩΡΗΣΗΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΕΤΕΡΟΣΕΝΚΗ
10 ΔΕΥΣ . ΙΗΝΑΟΦΙΛΕΣΙΤΗΑΠΕΡ
ΛΕΠΩΝΠΟΛΙΧΦ.

τὸ μνημεῖον κατ(ε)σκεύαστο
Ἑρπιδασῆ ἡ καὶ Σαρπηδονίς Λυσάν-
δρου Ἀπερλε[ῖτ]ις θρεπτοῖς αὐτῆς
Συναλλάγῃ καὶ Μουσαροῦτι καὶ Νέ-
5 κητι κ(α)ὶ ο[ῖ]ς συν[χ]ωρεῖ ἐνκηδευθῆ-
ναι κα[ὶ] Λεόνῃ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδι θυ-
γατρὶ αὐτοῦ· ἕτερος δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς
ἐντα(φ)ήσεται ἢ οἷς ἀν αὐτῇ συν-
χωρήσῃ· ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερος ἐνκη-
10 δεύσ[ῃ] τινά, ὀφιλέσ[ε]ι τῇ Ἀπερ-
λειτῶν πόλι καὶ φ'

The following remark is written beside this in pencil, by Leake's hand: 'Mr. Akerblad constantly corrects ΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΗΣ to ΑΠΕΡΑΕΙΤΗΣ, but several ancient authors call it Aperlae,

and these inscriptions prove that to be the real name.
W. M. L.

120.—As 119, still under Patara; the same heading goes on till 131, but these all come from farther east on the same coast.

ΟΤΑΦΟΣΙΔΑΓΡΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΣΕΥ
ΗΡΟΥΤΟΥΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΟΥ
ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΕΙΣΥΠΟΑΥΤΟΥΑΥΤΩ
ΤΕΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΝΑΝΗΡΗΑΓΟ
5 ΦΟΥΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΙΔΙΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥ
ΤΟΝΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΟΙΣΑΝΑΥΤΟΙ
ΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΩΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΥΠΟΣΟ
ΝΟΥΔΕΩΣΑΝΒΟΥΛ . . ΩΣΙΝΕΞΟΥ
ΣΙΝΤΗΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΑ . ΩΔΕΟΥΔΕ
ΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΕΝΘΑΨΑΙ+ΦΕΙΛΕΣΕΙ
ΤΩΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΩΝΔΗΜΩ|*βφ'

Ὁ τάφος Ἰδάγρου τοῦ καὶ Σε-
ήρου τοῦ Κρατέρου Ἀπερλείτου,
κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ
τε καὶ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Νάνῃ Ἑρ(μ)αγό-
(ρ)ου Ἀπερλείτιδι καὶ τέκνοις αὐ-
τῶν καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ
συνχωρήσωσιν. καὶ τοῦ ὑποσο-
ρίου δὲ ὡς ἂν βουλ[ηθ]ῶσιν ἔξου-
σιν τὴν ἐξουσίαν. ἄ[λλ]φ δὲ οὐδέ-
νι ἔξεσται ἐνθάψαι, [ἢ ὁ] φειλέσει
τῷ Ἀπερλειτῶν δήμῳ χ β φ'

121.—See 120.

ΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΑΥΡ . ΘΕΩΤΕΙΜΟΣΔΑΠΕΡΛΕΝΗΣ
 ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΜΟΥΑΥΡΑΡΕΑΣΕΙΚΑΙΥΙΩΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ_ΞΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ
 ΑΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΚΙΔΙΑΝΗΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΝΕΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΟΝΚΑΙΔΕΑΥ
 ΤΟΥ
 ΗΤΕΑΔΕΑΦΗΝΟΥΑΡΕΑΣΙΣΚΑΙΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΜΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΚΑΙ
 ΓΥΝΑΙ
 ΚΑΙΟ_ΞΝΕΚΟΣΜΟΥ_ΞΡΜΑΠΙΑΣΕΝΔΕΤΩΥΠΟΣΟΡΩΤΑΘΡΕΠΤΑΡΙΑ
 ΕΝΟΥΡΕΚΑΙΗCΕΤΝΑΙΚ_ΞΜΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΗΜΩΝΟΥΔΕΝΙΔΕΝΞΕC
 ΚΑΙΕΤΕΡΩΤΗCΥΝΧΩΡΗCΑΙΕΚΗΔΕΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΤΕΕΝΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟ
 ΟΥΤΕΕΝΤΩΥΠΟΣΟΡΙΚΩΗΚ · ΤΟΝΛΙΘΟΚΟΠΟΜΟΥΑΥΡ · ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΑ
 ΝΔ.
 ΑΝΤΕΚΕΛΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΗΣΚΑΙΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΙΑΙΟΝΑΟΝΟΜΟΥ
 ΑΛΛΟΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΝΕΝΘΑΥΕΝΕΙΜΕΝΕΓΟΕΞΕΝΓΡΑΦΟΣΕΠΙΤΡΕΨΩ
 ΗΟΦΕΙΛΕC_Ξ . . . CΠΕΙΜΟΥΤΩΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΩΝΔΗΜΩ_ΞΧΕΙΛ_Ξ . ΦΛ.

Τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν Αὐρ. Θεότειμος (τετράκις) Ἀπερλ(εί)της
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναικί μου Αὐρ. Ἀρσάσει καὶ υἱῷ Δημητρί[φ] καὶ γυναικί
 αὐτοῦ Διοκιδιάνῃ καὶ τέκνοις αὐτῶν. ἐνκηδευθήσον(τ)αι δὲ αὐτοῦ
 ἢ τε ἀδε(λ)φή(μ)ου Ἀρ(σ)ασίς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός μου Καλλίστρατος καὶ γυναι-
 καῖο[ς] νε(π)ός μου Ἑ[ρ]μαπίας. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορ[ι]κῷ τὰ θρεπτάρια
 ἐ(μ)οῦ (τ)ε καὶ (τ)ῆς (γυ)ναϊκός μου καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἡμῶν. Οὐδενὶ δὲ ἐξ(ε)σ-
 (τ)αι ἐτέρῳ τῇ(δ)[ε] συνχωρῆσαι ἐνκηδε[ν]θῆναι οὔτε ἐν τ(ῷ) μνημεί(φ)
 οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὑποσορικῷ τὸν λιθοκόπο[ν] μου Αὐρ. Χαρίτων
 Ἀπερλεῖτης καὶ γυνῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ μου.
 ἀλλ(φ) δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἐνθάψε[ι]ν, εἰ μ(ῆ) ἐγ(ὼ) ζ(ῶν) ἐνγράφως ἐπιτρέψω,
 ἢ ὀφειλέσ[ει] [προστ]είμουν τῷ Ἀπερλεῖτῶν δήμῳ χ χεῖλ(ια)

122.

ΤΟΜΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ
 ΑΥΡ.ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΔΗΜΑΡΕΙΗΣ
 ΑΠΕΡΛΕ ΗΞΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙ
 ΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙC
 ΚΑΙΕΝΘΟΝΟΙCΚΑΙΠΕΝΘΕΡΩ

ΑΥΡΕΩΤΗΡΙΧΩΚΑΙΦΙΛΩ
 ΑΥΤΟΥΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΕΙΔΟΥΛΟΥ
 ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΩΝΑΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥΑΛΛΩΔΓΟΥ
 ΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΕΝΘΑΨΑ

Τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκευάσεν
 Αὐρ. Διονύσιος Δημα[ρ]έ(τ)ης
 Ἀπερλε[ίτ]ης ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναι-
 κὶ αὐτοῦ Στεφάνῃ καὶ τέκνοις
 καὶ ἐν(γ)όνοις καὶ πενθερῷ
 Αὐρ. Σωτηρίῳ καὶ φίλῳ
 αὐτοῦ Περιγένει δούλ[ον τῶν
 ἀξιολογωτάτων Λυσάνδρου
 καὶ Διοφάντου. ἄλλῳ δ(ε) οὐ-
 δὲν ἐξεστὶ ἐνθάψα[ι]

124.—See 120. From Myra, apparently.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΙΑΥΝΗΡΟΔΙΠ	Αὐρήλιος	-ιπ-
ΠΟΥΜΤΡΕΥΣΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ	που Μυρεὺς ἑαυτῷ καὶ	
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΘΑΜΗΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ	γυναικὶ Θάμῃ καὶ τέκνοις.	

125a.

ΚΑΙΟΣΩΖΙΜΟΣ	-καιος (Ζ)ώ(σ)ιμος
ΖΩΤΙΚΗΕΥΒΟΥ	Ζωτικὴ Εὐβου-
ΛΟΣΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ	λος Εὐτύχης
ΦΙΛΟΓΕΝ . .	φιλογένης
ΜΟΛΗΣ	Μόλης.

For the name Μόλης, cf. 133, and *C.I.G.* 4321f, Add. 4325h.

125b.

ΕΠΡΑΘΗΧΩΡΙΣΤΟΥ ἐπράθη χωρὶς τοῦ
 ΙΥΠΟΣΩΡΙΟΥ ὑποσορίου.

126.—See 120. Apparently from Cyane.

ΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΤΟ
 ΕΠΑΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣΜΟΥ . . ΣΑΙΟ Υ
 ΕΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΉΜΗΡΙΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΑΙΚΑΤΑΘΚΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ
 5 ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΟΙΣΑΝΕΓΓΟΖΟΝΣΥΝ
 ΧΟΡΗΣΟ.ΥΕΝΔΕΤΟΥΠΟΣΘΟΡΙΟΚΗΛΕΥ
 ΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΟΙΘΡΕΙ . ΤΟΙ . ΜΟΝΗΟΙΣΑΝΗΜΙΣ
 ΖΟΝΤΕΣΣΥΝΧΟΡΗΣΟΜΕΝΑΛΛΟΔΕΟΥ
 ΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣ ΚΑΙΕΚΗΔΕΥΣΑΙΤΙΝΑΟΥΤΕ
 10 ΕΝΤΟΜΗΜΙΟΙΥΤΘΕΝΤΟΥΠΟΣΟΝΟ
 ΗΟΦΑΛΗΣΕΙΤΗΚΥΑΝΙΤΟΝΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ* Α
 ΟΝΟΕΛΕΝΣΑΣΛΗΝΨΕΤΑΙΤΟΗΜΙΣΥ
 ΣΥΝΧΟΡΩΔΕΚΑΙΤΗΘΡΕΠΤΕΛΙΟ.

Τὸν τάφον κατεσκευάσ[α]το
 Ἐπαφρόδιτος Μουσαίου
 ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ
 Αἰκατάθῃ καὶ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνοις
 5 αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ζῶν συν-
 χωρήσω· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποσορίῳ κη(δ)ευ-
 θήσονται οἱ θρε(π)τοὶ ἡμῶν ἢ οἷς ἂν ἡμῖς
 ζῶντες συνχωρήσομεν· ἄλλῃ δὲ οὐ-
 δὲνι ἔ(ξ)εσ(τ)αὶ ἐκκηδεῦσαί τινα οὔτε
 10 ἐν τῷ μνημίῳ [ο]ὔτ[ε] ἐν τῷ ὀποσο(ρ)ίῳ,
 ἢ ὀφειλ(έ)σει τῇ Κυανειτῶν γερουσίᾳ * Α,
 ὧν ὁ ἐλέν(ξ)ας λήνψεται τὸ ἡμῖν.
 συνχωρῶ δὲ καὶ τῇ θρεπτ(ῇ) [Δ]ιο[νυσία]?

Evidently an ω was used which Cockerell failed to distinguish, except in one case, from ο ; perhaps ω or ω.

127.

ΣΥΧΩΡΕΚΕΛΕ	Σὺ χῶρε κελε[υθεὶς
ΕΝΚΗΘΕΙΘΗΟΛΛ	ἐνκηδευθῆ[ναι
ΚΑΙΓΛΥΠΤΩ	καὶ Γλίπτω (?)
ΚΑΙΘΡΕΠΗΑΥ	καὶ θρεπ[τὰ] αὐ-
ΠΗΣΠΡΟΣ	(τ)ῆς προσ-
ΔΕΞΕΙ.	δέξει.

133.—‘Finica.’ The same heading lasts till 141.

ΣΕΛΛΙΟΣΤΟΥΓΟΝΑΜΟΑ Σέλλιος τοῦ Γοναμόα (Ποναμόα?).

135.

α. ΩΜΙ
ΑΠΟΛΕΣ	ἀπολέσ[θαι
ΕΣΤΕΙΟ
ΟΝΤΕΙΜΟΚ
ΝΕΑΥΤΩΝ	ἐαυτῶν.

β. ΛΗΤΑΤΟΝΚΑΙΕΡΠΙΓΡΗΝ

τὸν δεῖνα Φι]λήτα τὸν καὶ Ερπίγρην

136.

ΜΗΘΕΝΤΑΥΝΟΤΟΥ
ΔΗΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΑΛΛΟΥΣ
ΚΑΤΑΤΗΝ[ΔΙΑ]ΣΗΚΗΝ

τὸν δεῖνα
τι]μηθέντα ὑ(π)ὸ τοῦ
δήμου
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους,
κατὰ τὴν [δ]ια(θ)ήκην.

137b.

ΦΑΣΗΛΕΙ	Φασηλεί[την νεικήσαντα ἐνδ-
ΟΞΩΞΠΙ	όξω[ς] Π[ύθια] ?
ΓΩΝΟΣ	a]γωνος.

138.—See 133. The inscription seems in fact to have come from Olympus.

ΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΙΟΣΤΩ
ΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΟΥΜΑΥΡΩ
ΝΟΛΗΤΟΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΓ.
ΜΟΛΗΤΟΣΓΚΟΝΩΝΟΣ
. ΟΛΗΜΠΗΝΟΣ

Ἄγωνοθετοῦν(τ)ος τοῦ
ἀξιο]λογωτάτου Μ. Αὐρ.
(Μ)όλητος Δημητρίου
Μόλης γ' Κόνωνος
Ὁλ[υ]μπηνός.

139.

ΤΟΝΤΥΜΒΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ
ΟΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΚΥΡΙΣΑΠΦΙΑΣΟΛΥΜΗΝΟΣΕΛΥΤΗ
ΚΕΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΝΨΟΝΟΙΣ
ΕΙΣΟΝΕΡΟΣΟΥΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΕΚΕΙΣΕΡ
ῶΔΗΜ,✱ΦΙΛΩΝΟΕΛΕΝΣΑΣΛΗΝΨΕΡΟΪ
ΕΥΝΧΩΡΟΥΝΤΟΣΗΟΥΡΑΚΛΩΝΙΚΕΓΥΝΕΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΠΑΥΣΟΥΝΙ

τὸν τύμβον κατεσκεύασεν Δημήτριος
ὁ καὶ Φιλοκύρις Ἀπφίας Ὀλυμπ[η]νὸς ἑαυτ[ῶ]
κὲ γυναικὶ Εὐλογίᾳ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ ἐνγόνοις
εἰς δὲ ἕτερος οὐ κηδευθήσεται, ἢ ἐκτελεσε(ι)
τῷ δήμῳ ✱ φ', ὃν ὁ ἐλένξας λήνψεται το γ.
συνχωροῦντός (μου) Ἡρακλῶνι κὲ γυνεκὶ αὐτοῦ Παύσωνι

177.—Seleucia.

- α. + ΤΟΠΟ τόπο[ς]
 ΔΕΣΑΝΙΑΣΑ
 ΣΙΘΕ[]ΟΥ
- β. ΜΝΗΜ. ΟΔ Μνημ[εῖ]ο[ν]
 ΟΥΚΟΠΙΑΤΟΥ τ]οῦ Κοπιάτου
 ΔΡΙΕΔΜΕΝΟ Ἀρισσαμένο[ν]
 ΔΣΤΑΣΙΣΛΟ ἀν[ι]στάσις
 ΔΡΙΣ.

179a.—Seleucia.

+ ΘΗΚΗΘΩΜ Θήκη Θωμ[ᾶ]
 ΩΤΡΙΣΩΝΤΟΣ [ζ]ώντος

180b.



? Γεωργίου Ἀνδρέου Ἰωάννου.

These interpretations are suggested in pencil, in Cockerell's book, and seem to fit.

181b.—Corycus.

... ΙΟΥΑΥΙΣΣ
 ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΝΑΔΙ
 ΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΣ
 ΠΠΛΙΛΕΠΙΚ
 ΠΙΟΝΤΟΝΑΓΑ
 ΚΥΡΙΟΝΕΚ

[Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
 Θεοῦ Τραιάνου Παρθικοῦ υἱὸν
 Θεοῦ Νέρ]ουα νίω[νὸν
 Τραιανὸν Ἀδρια-
 νὸν Σεβαστόν . . .
 . . . Δία ἐπικ[λησιν Ὀλύμ-
 πιον τὸν ἀ(π)ά[ντων
 κύριον . . .

188a.—Corycus.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ

Θ Μ

189a. Corycus.

ΚΩΔ
 Σ
 ΙΤΡΠ
 ΠΑΔΛ
 Λ)
 Υ Χ ~
 Σ Μ ,
 Ρ

E. A. GARDNER.

ON THE SYRINX (σύριγξ) IN THE ANCIENT CHARIOT.

THE Attic Tragedians—for the use seems to have extant examples there only—several times apply the word σύριγξ to the wheel of a chariot or some part of it. The passages are these:—

Aesch. *Supp.* 181 :

σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἀξονήλατοι.

Id. *Sept.* 205 :

σύριγγες ἐκλαγξαν ἐλίτροχοι.

Soph. *Electra*, 720 :

κεῖνος δ' ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐσχάτην στήλην ἔχων
ἔχριμπτ' ἀεὶ σύριγγα, δεξιὸν τ' ἀνελς
σειραῖον ἵππον εἶργε τὸν προσκείμενον.

Eur. *Hipp.* 1234 :

ξύμφурτα δ' ἦν ἅπαντα, σύριγγές τ' ἄνω
τροχῶν ἐπήδων ἀξόνων τ' ἐνήλατα.

Id. *Iph. A.* 227 :

οἷς παρεπάλλετο

Πηλείδας σὺν ὅπλοισι παρ' ἄντυγα καὶ
σύριγγας ἀρματείους.

The current explanation of the word in this application is given by Liddell and Scott thus: 'σύριγξ, II., *anything like a rive*; 1. *a spear-case* = *δορατοθήκη*, II. 19, 387. 2. *the box or hole in the nave of a wheel*,' with references selected from the above.

This view appears to have been suggested by the fact that in two of the passages in which the σύριγξ is mentioned, the axle is also mentioned. In the *Supplices* the σύριγγες are said to be 'axle-driven'; in the *Hippolytus* the σύριγγες of the broken

wheel 'leap up', and so do the 'pins of the axles', *i.e.* the pegs of wood or metal in the axle-tree by which the wheels are kept from coming off. It is obvious, however, that no decisive evidence can be obtained from these descriptions, which are consistent with many different interpretations of the term; and on consideration it is impossible to be satisfied with that which has been preferred. The first and readiest objection has been felt by the lexicographers, who have innocently endeavoured to turn it by an ambiguity. 'The box, or hole in the nave of a wheel.' Which? Was the *σῦρυξ* according to this view a separate piece fitted in the nave of the wheel, and surrounding the axle, or was it merely the perforation of the axle? If the former, is there any reason to suppose that archaic wheelwrights used any such complication? If the latter, why should such a perforation have any name, as distinct from the thing perforated, the nave itself, and what could direct the choice of a name to the highly inappropriate word *σῦρυξ*? The Pan's-pipe, *σῦρυξ* or *σῦρυγες*—for the word is both singular and plural—is properly a set of reeds, proportioned to give the notes of a scale, and bound together for convenience of playing,—the rudiments in fact of an organ. And even if we start from the single reed as the object for comparison, nothing could be less like a reed than the hole in a wheel-nave, or the lining, if there was such a lining, which protected it, a hole or circle which must be nearly as broad as it is deep.

If we turn from the literal use of the word to the other borrowed applications, we find that they are what we should expect, and not at all like the supposed use in the case of the chariot. The *σῦρυξ* is generally a long and narrow pipe, and is most frequently applied to such pipes or passages as are found in sets (see the *Lex. s.v.*). The hollow of the spine, for example, is *σῦρυξ*, the trunk of the elephant is *σῦρυξ*, the nostrils are *σῦρυγες*: a single plume of a wing is *σῦρυξ*, the galleries made in mining operations or for burial purposes are *σῦρυγες*, &c. And it will be noticed that in some of these instances the resemblance to the original *σῦρυξ*, the musical instrument, goes beyond the mere presence of a pipe or pipes, and appears also in the variation of length. The *σῦρυγες* of a wing, for example, decrease in length somewhat as those of Pan do; the mine of

the besieger is carried in a series of rectangular turns, the forward piece long, the passage from the far end of one gallery to the near end of the next short, so that the plan of the whole, if all the galleries were supposed complete, would closely resemble that of the Pan's-pipe. So, when Achilles, in the *Iliad*, snatches his spear from the σύριγξ (19, 387),

ἐκ δ' ἄρα σύριγγος πατρώιον ἐσπάσατ' ἔγχος,

it is strictly not a 'spear-case' that the poet has in view, but a *spear-stand*, something like that in which a modern Peleides keeps his guns or his billiard-cues, a frame with a series of holes and a box beneath. When filled with a set of spears, which would naturally vary in length, such a *δορατοθήκη* would have an obvious resemblance to the σύριγξ proper. Somewhat similar is the *πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον* or *stocks*, with its five holes for the neck, hands, and feet.

Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* apparently says nothing of the chariot-syrinx; and if any better or other explanation than that of Liddell and Scott has been proposed elsewhere, the suggestion has had no effect on the commentators of the tragedians, who repeat the 'nave-hole' theory, when they do not vary it by reading the word simply *nave*. Thus Dindorf, in the *Lexicon Aeschyleum* translates it by *modiolus*. But the *modiolus* was not σύριγξ but *χνόη*: and although in the passage from Sophocles' *Electra*, the phrase used for the final catastrophe (*ἐθραυσεν ἄντυγος μέσας χνόας*) is consistent, if we compare *ἔχριμπτ' αἰὲλ σύριγγα*, with the supposition that the *χνόη* and the σύριγξ were the same, we must presume, till the contrary is proved, that a difference of name indicates a difference of thing. And indeed, in the much more explicit and particular description of Euripides,

σύριγγές τ' ἄνω τροχῶν ἐπήδων ἀξόνων τ' ἐνήλατα,

the common explanation itself *ἄνω πηδᾶ*—is exploded and seen to be untenable altogether. The 'pins' could and certainly would 'leap up,' when the wheel received a severe shock; but surely the very last thing to make a visible spring would be the 'box,' tightly fixed in the middle of the nave.

In truth, the extant examples of *σύριγξ* in reference to the chariot, though they may tell us what it was not, are too few, and not precise enough, to tell us of themselves what it was. We want a larger collection of literature, or in default of this the testimony of those who had such a collection, and could reach the stores of Alexandrine and Byzantine tradition. But the curious thing is, that we actually have such testimony, though, as far as I can discover, no notice has been taken of it; indeed, I doubt whether any one has been at the pains to translate the brief but perfectly clear passage in which it occurs. It is found in the scholia to the Medicean MS. of Aeschylus, at the second of the above-cited places, *Sept.* 205. It is perhaps needless to remind the reader that the Medicean scholia are to be sharply distinguished from the ignorant and, for the most part worthless, notes in the other MSS. of Aeschylus. They form in the main a very good commentary, their chief defect being the obscurity, to which the ancient editor, with nothing but his margin to write on, was often reduced by mere lack of adequate space. The particular note in question is one of the additions to the scholia by the hand known as *m'*, a very learned and sensible hand, if one may judge from the average quality of the additions. The note is as follows: *σύριγγες τὰ ξύλα τὰ μέσον τοῦ περιφεροῦς ξύλου τοῦ τροχοῦ διαπαιριούμενα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστι μέγα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μικρότερον, λόγον τῶν αὐλῶν τῶν συρίγγων ἐπέχοντα.* 'The *σύριγγες* were the pieces of wood which crossed from side to side of the wooden circumference of the wheel; named so because, one being large and the next smaller [and so on], they have a proportion resembling that of the pipes in the instrument so called.'

Note that *μέσον* (not *τὸ μέσον*, the centre, which would make nonsense of the whole) is used in the late Greek fashion almost as a preposition, equivalent to the classical *διά*, *between* or *across*. In *ἐπέχοντα* the preposition has perhaps a sense correlative to that which it has in *ἐπιφέρειν*. When a quality is transferred from one thing to another, which resembles it, the quality *ἐπιφέρεται*, the recipient thing *ἐπέχει*. Or perhaps *λόγον* is merely an adverbial accusative, 'extending over it in such a way as to resemble.' The question does not affect the sense.

It is clear that the author of this interesting and undoubtedly ancient explanation, supposed the wheel, to which the term *σὺριγγες* applied, to be a very different thing from the spoke-wheel which we know. The wheel which he describes was not made with spokes (*κνήμαι*) at all, but with *staves* or *cross-pieces*, going right across the circle inclosed by the circumference, and fixed probably not into the circumference, like spokes, but on it. There would necessarily be two sets of such cross-pieces, to prevent the collapse of the wheel in all positions, one set across each surface (if I may so say) of the wheel. In each set the longest stave (*τὸ μέγα*) would be the diametrical stave, which passed over the axle. Those parallel to it, being placed at equal intervals, would of course diminish in a regular progression; so that, as the writer says, each set of staves would



MACEDONIAN CHARIOT, WITH ARCHAIC WHEEL (FROM A COIN).

have a proportion resembling that of the reeds in a Pan's-pipe, and indeed would look when fixed very much like a double Pan's-pipe in which the reeds diminish in both directions from a centre one. The whole structure, therefore, the *wheel* so made, was appropriately called *σὺριγγες*, or sometimes loosely, as we see from Sophocles, *σὺριγξ*. Such a wheel, though mechanically a very poor contrivance compared with the spoke-wheel, is far easier for a clumsy workman to make, and is in fact a sort of first departure from the still more primitive solid wheel. In Greek vases and coins, we actually see representations of such wheels, so far, at least, as that the wheels have sometimes staves, not spokes. Mr. Leaf tells me that they have regularly two cross-pieces on one side and one on the other; and a

similar arrangement is shown in the coin which Professor Gardner has chosen as an illustration. Perhaps, as the workmanship improved, this number was found sufficient. It seems, however, that it would be much too weak for violent use, and it may be merely one of the eclectic devices so common in the ancient draughtsmen, a few staves being given as representative of more, for the sake of the better effect to the eye of the fewer lines.

For myself, I find this explanation perfectly satisfactory, and see no reason to doubt that it descends to us from those who had not only the evidence of abundant Attic tragedy, but probably also those lost epics, especially the Theban, which of course the tragedians followed in their archaic descriptions. That the Attic poets themselves correctly understood the word could not necessarily be inferred. If the ancient bards termed the wheel *σύριγγες*, from whatever cause, the word would easily continue in poetical use, even when the wheel pictured by the writer had no *σύριγγες* at all. But it is to be remembered that an epic bard does not commonly err in defect of detail; and the *à priori* probability that the antiquarian Euripides knew just what a *σύριγξ* was, and meant his reader to know, is certainly not diminished by the sole passage which is precise enough to afford evidence. Nothing could better fit his description of Hippolytus' breaking wheel than the meaning of *σύριγγες* offered by the scholiast.

*σύριγγές τ' ἄνω
τροχῶν ἐπήδων ἄξόνων τ' ἐνήλατα.*

The weak point of the stave-wheel is just this, that in an unusual wrench the ill-adjusted weight would force the staves from the periphery to which they were fixed. They would then 'leap up' in all directions exactly as Euripides says. The spoke-wheel, on the other hand, is so strong that, as every one knows, it does not as a rule break to pieces at all in an upset, but by the breaking of the axle or otherwise comes off entire. The 'leaping' of the 'staves' is a genuine archaic touch, and Euripides knew well what he meant. Elsewhere *stave-wheel*, or *wheel* simply, will be our best translation. If it is asked why

Aeschylus twice attributes to the σὺριγγες the sound of the wheel, the answer is that in this, as so often, his fancy has been guided by the associations of the word. The passage in the *Seven against Thebes* is full of such suggestions, and indeed the whole point of it is to liken the roll of the chariots to that of a terrible music.

A. W. VERRALL.

VASES FROM RHODES WITH INCISED INSCRIPTIONS.

I HAVE already had occasion (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. V. p. 220) to speak of a collection of antiquities discovered by Mr. Biliotti in his excavations in Rhodes. These objects it will be remembered were transmitted to England with a diary of the excavations in which were noted the contents of each tomb as it was found; and a running number was pencilled upon every object as a reference to the tomb which had contained it. Unfortunately, these numbers have in many cases been lost, owing to the wear and tear of packing, breakage and cleaning; and even in other cases where these are preserved, it has been difficult sometimes to identify the object in its cleaned state with Mr. Biliotti's description on the spot: so that the most that can be done is to deduce general inferences only. I propose in the next volume of this *Journal* to publish the more interesting portions of the Diary, with references, wherever it has been possible to identify the objects, to Messrs. Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, in compiling which I have classed all the objects according to their style and have given a description of the more important. The results are I think likely to prove valuable for the study of Rhodian vase-fabrics.

The present paper deals merely with a small class of vases from this collection, which have a special interest from the inscriptions which they bear, and which form an important addition to the vases hitherto known with *graffiti*, i.e. inscriptions incised with a sharp point. The most usual place to find these *graffiti* is upon the under-surface of the foot, but in some

cases, especially in the earlier periods, they occur on the more visible portions of the vase.

The numbers quoted refer to the lots in the sale catalogue.

Lot 60.—Amphoriskos, so-called Fikellura type, drab with brown ornaments; on neck rosettes, body covered with a network of dotted lines: on the shoulder is incised in rough characters |V|: it will be remembered that a precisely similar amphora in the British Museum bearing the graffito ΝΙΚΟ is described by Mr. Murray in the *Revue Arch.* new series, vol. xlv. p. 348.

Lot 218.—Two aski with red figures on black glaze of the finest period; (1) Eros flying and Nike flying with two phialæ; (2) Two mules. On the base of each of these aski, which were found in the same tomb, is the letter Λ.

Lot 219.—An askos similar to preceding, but rather heavier in form, and duller glaze, though the drawing is very fine; on it is a Satyr advancing to attack a Mænad: on the base the letter Α.

Lot 240.—A kylix of the commonest type with black figures, white accessories, details incised. On *int.* a bearded figure with chelys; on *ext.*, each side, a quadriga with Mænads riding on mules; around the lower surface of the base runs the inscription:

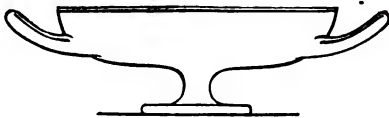
Φιλτῶς ἡμὶ τὰς καλὰς ἡ κύλις ἡ ποικίλα.

I do not recall any instance which exactly represents the scansion of this pair of verses; it just misses by one syllable the ordinary trochaic trimeter catalectic, and would appear to be a combination of two trochaic dimeters catalectic, a form which is used singly occasionally in tragic choruses, *e.g.* *Ajax*, l. 174. Roughly turned into English it would run somewhat like this:

‘Philto’s fairest of the fair:
Philto’s painted cup am I.’

It is curious that the beautiful Philto or her admirer should have taken so much pains to identify as her property a cup which is intrinsically of so little value. But it is only what we find in plenty of other instances, as for example the lekythos

of Tataie now in the British Museum,¹ which would be a very insignificant object without its inscription. May it not be that painted fictile ware was seldom or never in antiquity applied to daily use, but was reserved, as *éditions de luxe* of the shapes



of metal or common crockery, for presents, or for temple or funeral service? In that case the meanest painted vase would for the ancients have had its own peculiar interest.

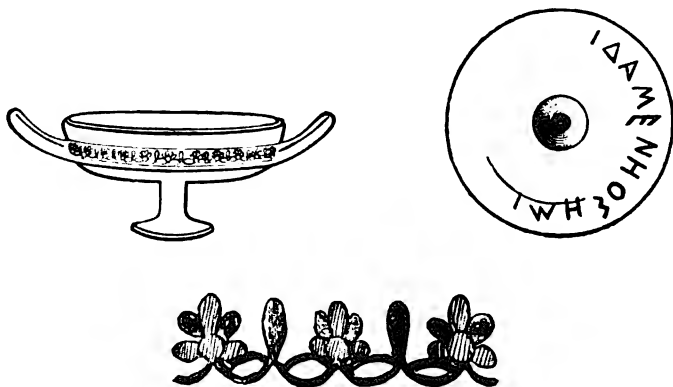
In the style of painting this kylix corresponds with the rough

¹ Purchased at a sale in London this year; the inscription runs *Tataieis ἐμὶ λήρυθος· ὅς δ' ἂν με κλέψῃ, θυφλὸς ἔσται*. Röhl's transcript (*Inscr. Ant.* no. 526) seems accurate with this

exception, that the first letter of *θυφλὸς* is not, as he gives it, Θ, but certainly complete, thus ⊕.

black-figured vases of which so many have come from Rhodes, and which often have a distinguishing mark, such as a dolphin or ivy-leaf under each handle; in our case it is an ivy-leaf: I have already suggested that these marks may be the 'trade-marks' of individual artists or workshops, as a comparison of the similarity of style among the different instances of vases bearing the same mark would seem to suggest. The strongly Doric character of the inscription, especially in the form $\eta\mu\iota$, and in the genitive termination of $\Phi\iota\lambda\tau\omega\varsigma$ (see Ahrens, *De Dial. Dor.* p. 238) are only what we should expect in Rhodes, so that I think we may safely attribute the origin of both vase and inscription to that island.

Lot 241.—A kylix of early form (height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., diameter $5\frac{3}{4}$ in.) with an external band of anthemion ornament set vertically, black with purple and incised lines. On the under-surface of the foot is lightly incised Ἰδαμενῆος ἡμί .



The forms of the letters, e.g. the sloping ϵ and the Λ , appear certainly earlier than those of the Philto cup; this vase was not found in Rhodes itself but in the adjoining island of Ixia; considering the peculiarity of the epic genitive, and the interchange of a for o in Ἰδαμηνεύς , which Ahrens (*loc. cit.* p. 119) says is very rare except in Crete, it would be tempting to connect it with that island and the specially Cretan hero Idomeneus; but there seems hardly evidence enough for this: Idomeneus is already known as the name of a Rhodian (Diod. Sic. 12, 57),

and we are accustomed in Rhodes to meet with strange anomalies of dialect, especially on the vases which come thence (see Kirchhoff, *Studien*, third edition, p. 43).

Lot 242. An aryballos with elaborate cruciform anthemion pattern black and purple with incised lines on drab: beneath the base is the usual device of a wheel with curved spokes: round the mouth and on the shoulder are rays. The inscription runs round the vertical edge of the lip.

Ἀστυοψίδα (or Ἀστυοχίδα) ἡμί.



Α { Τ Ν Θ Υ Ι Δ Α Η Μ Ι

The special point of interest of this vase lies in the fact that we know exactly its provenance, the pencil reference to the *Diary* having fortunately in this case survived. It was found on the south side of Camirus, in a tomb which contained also a broken hydria decorated with two red figures; this hydria can only be lot 235, which is distinctly late in style. Such a juxtaposition as that of an apparently early aryballos with a late red-figured vase is of the greatest interest, as, even if we do not necessarily attribute all objects found together to precisely the same period of manufacture, it must in any case tend to modify our ideas of the exclusively archaic character of these aryballi. And there is nothing in the form of the inscription which need prevent a comparatively late attribution. It is true that the name Ἀστύοχος is known, whereas the name

'Αστυοψίδας is not known, and is of course impossible as a patronymic; but on the other hand I doubt if the Dorochalcidian form of $\psi = \chi$ would occur among letters so late as these; if as I suppose it represents a ψ , we have this point of comparison with the Philto cup; whereas in the Philto cup we have the $\tau\xi$ used instead of the non-phoenician letter Ξ , and where, if the necessity had arisen, we should no doubt have had $\Gamma\xi$ for Ψ , in this case the later form is used.

In lots 243 and 244 we have a curious instance of three vases all bearing in different forms the same name, ΑΓΗ, and which seem to have all belonged to the same lady; the two last at any rate, as the Diary shows, were found together in one tomb.

Lot 245.—An oinochoe, fine black glaze, encircled with a thin purple line halfway up the body, beneath the base is incised ΦΙΑΗ.

Lot 246.—A phialè with two handles, fine black glaze, on base an inscription of which I can make nothing, thus

Κ Ε Φ Ω

Lot 250.—A similar case to the vases of Agè; here are an askos and two small stands, all of black ware, and all bearing the same inscription, ΑΠΙ; perhaps as they were all found in separate tombs this may be the commencement of the maker's name.

Lot 399 includes a small 'salt-cellar' of black ware, apparently late, which bears the same graffito as that on the shoulder of lot 60: as however they were from different tombs, and the periods seem widely distinct, this is probably an accidental coincidence.

Lot. 695.—A black glaze kotyle of a good period, ht. 2 in., diam. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., with red base, on which is incised in good, deep characters

ΓΟΡΓΟΜΑΤΡΟΣΙ Γοργόματρος.¹

¹ It has been suggested to me that this may equally be read as Γοργὸ μάτρωσι, but as that would be a very unusual form of dedication to meet with among this class of inscriptions,

I prefer to consider Γοργόματρος as a proper name, formed on the analogy of such names as Ἀντίπατρος, Σάπατρος. The final Ι would be in that case nothing more than a *lapis calami*.

Lot 700 includes one cup with graffito ΔΡΧΕ.

Lot 743.—A large stand of finest black glaze; under the foot, which is red, is incised in semicircular form ΡΟΔΙΟΣ ΚΛΕΤΗΣ, 'Ρόδιος Κλετής. It seems doubtful whether 'Ρόδιος in this order can refer to the citizenship of Kleteas, or whether it is simply another man's name as *passim* in inscriptions. Κλετής is interesting because, if our vase engraver has spelt it right, we must alter the form Κλητέας, Böckh's interpretation of this name in a Tegean inscription *C.I.* 1512.

I need scarcely say that in all the above cases the inscriptions are beyond a doubt genuine, as they were without exception invisible until the earth and deposit from the tomb were cleaned away. Lots 218, 219, 240, 241, 242 were all purchased for the British Museum.

CECIL SMITH.

STATUE OF AN EMPEROR IN THE BRITISH
MUSEUM.

IN the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (VI. No. 1) Mr. Wroth tries to prove that the torso of a Roman Emperor from Cyrene in the Graeco-Roman Gallery at the British Museum originally belonged to a statue of Hadrian. This torso is described in my *Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures*, 1877, Pt. I. p. 21, No. 46, as the 'Torso of a Roman Emperor'; it was found at Cyrene in a building which Messrs. Smith and Porcher in their *History of Discoveries*, p. 76, conjecture to have been the palace of a Roman governor, but which in the 'List of Sculptures,' which forms one of the Appendices of the same work, p. 104, may, it is suggested, have been an Augusteum, inasmuch as two busts and one head of emperors of the Antonine period were found in the same building.

Mr. Wroth supposes that the torso in question is that of Hadrian, because 'when complete it constituted a substantial replica' of a statue found at Hierapytna in Crete, which is published in the *Gazette Archéologique* for 1880 (pp. 52-55, Pl. 6), and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. But how far can the Cyrene torso be considered a replica of the Cretan statue, of which latter I have before me a photograph? I cannot agree with M. Sorlin-Dorigny, who, in publishing this figure in the *Gazette Archéologique*, states that it is worthy to rank among the finest Iconic statues of the Roman Empire. I consider it a clumsy work of a provincial artist, just such as might have been expected in an island like Crete, which, as far as I know, has yielded only very mediocre specimens of sculpture. On the other hand, in the torso from Cyrene, in spite of the defaced condition of the front of the cuirass, we

may discern great refinement of treatment in the ornaments. This is particularly shown in the elephants' heads on either flank. It is from the excellence of the sculpture in these details that I was led to assign this torso to the Augustan age rather than to that of the Antonines. I am still of that opinion, though I note that Mr. Wolters in his *Gipsabgüsse Antiker Bildwerke*, p. 668, No. 1655, agrees with Mr. Wroth in considering this a torso of Hadrian on account of its resemblance to the Cretan statue. Mr. Wroth bases his attribution mainly on the fact that on both these figures the cuirass is decorated with the same group in relief, which in the *Guide to the Graeco-Roman Gallery* already cited I have described as Rome standing between two Victories crowning her, with her feet resting on the wolf suckling the twins. A comparison of other representations of the same subject on imperial cuirasses leads me to the conclusion that the central figure is not Rome but the Palladium. Now before it can be assumed that the occurrence of this subject both on the Museum torso and the Cretan statue proves that the torso is necessarily that of Hadrian, it must be shown that he alone among Roman emperors has his cuirass ornamented with this composition.

When Mr. Wroth wrote his article he could hardly have been aware of the number of examples of cuirasses similarly ornamented on Roman imperial statues. In Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, v., I find the following: Pl. 919, No. 2326 (Turin); Pl. 942, No. 2412 (Naples); Pl. 963, No. 2479 (Vatican); Pl. 973, No. 2505 (Naples). To this list may be added the statue of Augustus, formerly in the Pourtalès Collection, and now in the Museum at Berlin (see Hübner, *Winckelmanns-fest-program*, Berlin, 1868), the torso found in the German excavations at Olympia (*Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, ii. Pl. 29),¹ and the fragment of a cuirass found at Athens, Hübner, *op. cit.* p. 12, pl. 2. Now to establish Mr. Wroth's attribution of the Cyrene torso, it would be necessary for him to prove (1) that all the statues and torsos in the above list represent the emperor Hadrian rather than any other emperor; (2) that the Cretan statue represents Hadrian rather than some later emperor.

¹ It would appear from the note to p. 13 of the *Ausgrabungen* iv., that the torso found at Olympia

referred to above has been proved to be that of Hadrian by the discovery of the head of that emperor.

Dethier, the late keeper of the museum at Constantinople, thought that this figure represented Caracalla trampling on a Persian; and, notwithstanding the great authority of Longpérier, as cited by Sorlin-Dorigny, I should be disposed to place this statue rather in the third than in the second century A.D. I should not have expected a medallion in the centre of the wreath in a statue of Hadrian, and the action of trampling on a fallen foe is a motive which, so far as can be gathered from the evidence of coins, is more characteristic of the third and fourth centuries A.D. than of the age of Hadrian. I would in conclusion observe that the slightly-bent left knee of the Museum torso is no proof that the leg trampled on a prostrate foe; I should rather infer from the angle formed that the left foot stood on the same level as the right foot. Again, nothing whatever can be inferred from the correspondence in the direction of the folds of the paludamentum, which Mr. Wroth adduces as a corroboration of his general argument. Lastly, Mr. Wroth is not justified in stating that the marble statue of Aphrodite from Crete engraved in Spratt's *Travels in Crete*, i. p. 72, is *identical* with the Cyrene torso representing this same subject. The type is one of which there are many replicas in marble, in bronze, on gems, pastes, and coins (see Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 330-35); but these replicas are never, so far as I know, exact copies one of another, but varieties of the same theme.

C. T. NEWTON.

REMARKS ON AESCH. *AGAM.* 1172, IN EMENDATION
OF MR. BURY'S READING (p. 175).

IN the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (p. 175) Mr. John B. Bury advocates the emended reading of the corrupt verse 1172 of the *Agamemnon*,

ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόν οὖς τάχ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ.

He does not exactly explain this (in my opinion it is inexplicable), but he says *θερμῶ* in 1278 seems to prove that *θερμόν* is right in 1172. But *θερμῶ* refers to shedding the warm life-blood, while *θερμόν οὖς*, if I understand Mr. Bury aright, means an inspired or prophetic ear—'an ear that used to listen to the utterances of the victims.' Between the literal and the figurative senses there is no resemblance at all.

Nevertheless, Mr. Bury is right in the comparison, provided an emendation be admitted, which appears to me to be at once necessary to grammar and logic, and to account most satisfactorily for the reading of the MS. *ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους*, &c.

In v. 1136 and 1146, *seqq.*, Cassandra laments her own fate; in 1156 she traces it to the marriage of Helen and Paris; in 1167 she bewails the fall of her city and her father. She passes from topic to topic, and does not revert to herself. What she ought here to say is this—

'Alas for the utter destruction of my city; alas for the vainly-offered sacrifices of my poor father! They did not prevent the city from falling, *nor himself* from shedding his life-blood on the ground.'

I propose to read, with especial regard to *μὲν* and *δὲ*,—

ἄκος δ' οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν
τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν,
αὐτὸν δὲ θερμούς σταγόνας ἐν πέδῳ βαλεῖν.

It is to be observed that blood falling on the plain, so as to be absorbed by Mother Earth, was thought to bring retribution

as its fruit. So *Choeph.* 47, τί γὰρ λύτρον πεσόντος αἵματος πέδω; *ibid.* 400, νόμος μὲν φονίας σταγόνας χυμένας ἐς πέδον ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν αἶμα, and *Eumen.* 478, ἰὸς ἐκ φρονημάτων πέδω πεσών.

The reading *θερμὸν οὖς*, &c. gives this sense, if sense it can be called; but Cassandra must have been very mad indeed to talk in such an illogical strain—

‘My father’s sacrifices availed nought in preventing the city, on its part (*μὲν*), from falling, and I shall soon throw my inspired ear on the ground.’

The corruption arose in this way, I believe. There were variant readings, *θερμούςς σταγόνας ἐν πέδω*, and *θερμὸν σταγόνα πρὸς πέδω*, or *πρὸς πέδον*. The singular (*σταγὼν*) had occurred just before, v. 1122. The superscribed termination of the

adjective, *θερμούςς*, resulted in *θερμόνους*. This, from a comparison of *ζωπυρουμένας φρενὸς* in 1034, and *οἶον τὸ πῦρ* in 1256, was assumed to be a compound in the nominative. Thus *ἐγὼ* was introduced, to the rejection of *αὐτὸν*, and *βαλεῖν* was altered to *βαλῶ*, while *σταγόνας* was clipped down to *τάχα*.

Thus it appears that an emendation which at first sight seems rather violent, and a mere guess, is really based on very sound reasoning. For my own part, I think the poet could not well have written anything else. The death of Priam at the family altar was an incident of the *Troica* as followed by the Tragics. In *Hec.* 21, Euripides closely associates the two events—

ἐπεὶ δὲ Τροία θ’ Ἑκτορός τ’ ἀπόλλυται
 ψυχῇ, πατρώα θ’ ἐστία κατεσκάφη,
 αὐτὸς δὲ βωμῷ πρὸς θεοδμήτῃ πίτνει, &c.

And what is really very interesting, he commences the verse with *αὐτὸς δὲ*, an exact counterpart of *αὐτὸν δὲ* in my proposed correction.

This correction had occurred to me independently; but Dr. Donaldson had before said (*New Cratylus*, § 309), ‘We entertain no doubt that the line (*Agam.* 1172) exhibits merely a confusion of the true reading, *ἐγὼ δὲ θερμὰς σταγόνας ἐν πέδω βαλῶ*.’

F. A. PALEY.

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